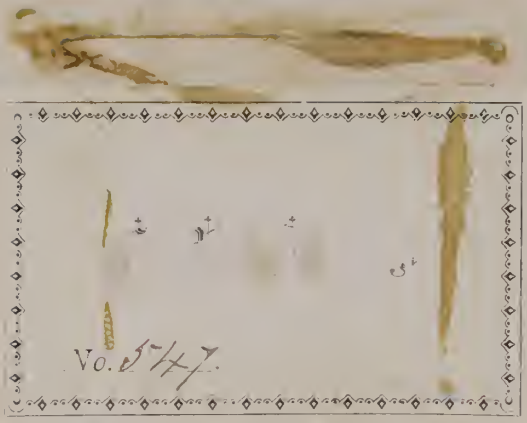

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THE

PRINCETON REVIEW.

JANUARY, 1866.

No. I.

ART. I.—*Sustentation Fund.*

AT the recent meeting of the Synod of New Jersey, the Rev. Samuel J. Baird, D. D., as chairman of a committee appointed a year ago, presented an elaborate report on the subject of "unemployed ministers." One reason assigned for the fact that so many ministers, well qualified for the sacred office, were destitute of regular employment, was the insufficiency of support. Many of them had been forced to leave their fields of labour because they could not sustain themselves and families upon the salaries which they received. As the truth of this statement could not be denied, it naturally gave rise to the inquiry, What could be done to meet the difficulty, and to secure to every faithful minister devoted to his work an adequate support? The importance of this question and its bearing on the interests of individuals and of the church, secured for it the earnest consideration of every member of the Synod. In the course of the discussion which arose on this subject, reference was made to the attempt originated in 1847 to secure the adoption of the plan of a general sustentation fund analogous to that which had been so successfully carried out in the Free Church of Scotland. In that year, James Lenox, Esq., of New York, caused to be printed a pamphlet on Church Economics by the late illustrious Dr. Chalmers, a copy of which was sent to every

minister in our church. The sermon before the General Assembly which met May, 1847, in Richmond, Virginia, was devoted to a recommendation of that plan. In the *Princeton Review* for July, 1847, the same scheme was pressed upon the attention of the church. All these efforts proved powerless. They produced no sensible impression. When, however, the same views were presented to the Synod they met with immediate and general approbation, and that body resolved to memorialize the next General Assembly in favour of the adoption of the plan of a sustentation fund. This resolution, we believe, was adopted by an unanimous vote.

The subject was presented to the last General Assembly in an overture from the North River Presbytery, drawn up by the Rev. J. K. Wight. This overture proposed the plan of separate presbyterial sustentation funds; each presbytery being expected to take measures for raising the salaries paid by the feebler churches up to a given standard. The obvious objections to this plan are, 1. That it cuts off the distant, small, and feeble presbyteries from the abounding resources of those which are more numerous and wealthy. 2. It throws the burden of self-support after all on those who are least able to bear it, and effectually prevents the progress of the church towards, and beyond its extremities. Another overture on the same subject was presented to the Assembly from the Presbytery of Indianapolis. It was hardly to be expected that the Assembly could favourably entertain these propositions in the state of the country and of public feeling then existing. The subject was therefore laid aside, with the expression of the judgment of the Assembly, that the object aimed at by these overtures is desirable, and referring to "the unsettled condition of the country," as the reason why it was deemed inexpedient "to adopt measures at present to raise a special sustentation fund by collections in the churches for that object." At the last meeting of the Synod of New York this subject occupied the attention of that body, and a committee of fifteen was appointed to prepare a report to be made at the next meeting.

The facts above mentioned indicate that the mind of the church is awake to the importance of this subject, and is in a favourable state for its consideration. We, therefore, hope

that the following exhibition of the principles and facts which should control our action in this matter, may not prove altogether useless. As God has ordained the preaching of the gospel to be the great means of salvation, and has appointed a class of men to be devoted to that work, and expressly declared that those who preach the gospel should live by the gospel, the duty of providing for the support of the ministry has been recognized in all ages and in all parts of the church. The great practical question has ever been, How can this duty be most advantageously performed? Our limits will not admit of an enumeration of the different methods which have in fact been adopted, much less of any attempt to exhibit their comparative advantages and disadvantages. In this country we are shut up to one or the other of two plans. First, we may throw the responsibility upon the particular congregation of which the minister is the pastor; or, second, we may make the support of the ministry of the church the common duty of the whole church.

The former of these plans has been generally acted upon by Presbyterians in this country from the beginning. It has become so familiar, and regarded so much as a matter of course, that it will probably be a long and difficult process to convince the people that it is not the best or the most righteous plan. It is so obviously unjust and unreasonable, and so out of analogy with the action of the church in other matters, that it has never been adhered to with strictness or uniformity. From the earliest periods of our history we were accustomed to send out missionaries to destitute portions of the church, supported by a general contribution from the church as a whole. And in later times we have made it the duty of the Board of Missions to supplement the salaries of the pastors of feeble congregations in every part of the land. This, as far as it goes, is a recognition of the right principle, and has been the means of incalculable good. Hundreds of churches have been organized, and hundreds more have been cherished until they have become not only self-supporting, but able to aid in sustaining others. But it is obvious, and almost universally admitted, that this mode of operation does not accomplish all that is desirable and obligatory. It leaves a very large proportion of our ministers

to suffer under the greatest privations. They are subjected not only to great self-denials, but to a course of life which is injurious to their health, and to that of their families. Females, delicately brought up and encumbered with the care of children, are obliged to do all their own household work. The children themselves are deprived of the advantages of education, and the minister is either harassed and broken down, or he is forced to turn his attention to secular affairs in order to gain the necessaries of life. If a fair and full statement of the sufferings of a large class of the most faithful of our ministers could be presented to the church, it would fill every heart with shame and sorrow. Our present system not only works this great injustice to the ministers, it is no less unjust and injurious in its operation on the people. A poor man who desires the preaching of the gospel for himself and family, is obliged to pay a larger portion out of his daily earnings than the wealthy members of our flourishing churches. It is a far greater burden for some congregations to raise two or three hundred dollars for their pastors, than for others to raise five or six thousand. The present system throws the burden on those least able to bear it.

But the greatest evil of our present plan is that it cripples the energy of the church, and prevents its progress. Churches begun and cherished for a while are abandoned; promising fields are neglected, and to a large extent the poor have not the gospel preached to them. Hundred of thousands in our cities and in every part of the land are as ignorant almost as the heathen, and they must so continue, and their children after them, so far as we are concerned, if our present plan be persisted in. It is the crying sin and reproach of the Presbyterian Church that it does not preach the gospel to the poor. It cannot do so to any great extent or with real efficiency, if the preacher is to be supported by pew-rents, or by the contributions of those to whom he preaches. What provision have we for preaching to the destitute? How many missionaries have we at home sustained as are our foreign missionaries, independently of those to whom they carry the news of salvation? How is it in New York, Philadelphia, or Baltimore? How is it with large districts in our country where a Presbyterian minister

is never seen? It is plain that on our present plan the people by thousands must perish for lack of knowledge, and if other churches were to act on our principles, the gospel would become a luxury, confined almost exclusively to the wealthier classes of the people. We do not think that these facts can be disputed. Nor is it possible for conscientious, Christian men, to look them in the face, and not feel humbled and convinced that something must be done to rescue our church from this reproach, and to enable her to do her part in preaching the gospel to all people.

The great thing, as we believe, to be accomplished is, to bring Presbyterians to feel and acknowledge before God, that the obligation to support those who are called to the ministry is the common duty of the church as a whole. It is not enough that a congregation supports its own pastor, it is not less bound to see that others of their fellow-sinners have the benefits of a Christian church. That the support of the clergy of a church is the common duty of that church as a whole is plain,

1. Because the command of Christ to preach the gospel to every creature is given to the whole church. This is the grand design for which the church was instituted. It was to teach all nations. It was to bear witness to the truth among all people. It was to bring men everywhere to the obedience of the faith, to make them the sincere worshippers and followers of the Lord Jesus Christ, and thus advance his kingdom on the earth. This is what the church exists for. If she neglects this work, and in proportion as she neglects it, she fails of her mission. And any plan of operation which hinders her in the discharge of this great and primary duty ought to be rejected or modified. There can therefore be no greater mistake than for our wealthy congregations to suppose that they discharge their duty in securing the preaching of the gospel to the people of this land when they support their own pastor, and leave others to do as they can. If the church as a whole is bound to see that the gospel is preached to the people of China and India, why is it not bound to see that it is preached to the people of Minnesota and Iowa? The heathen are unwilling, and, in many cases, unable, to support the missionaries of the cross, and therefore we feel bound to send them the gospel. If any portion of the

people of this land are unwilling or unable to sustain the messengers of Christ, we are bound to do it for them, to the extent of our ability. This clearly follows from the command of Christ.

2. It is not every member of the church who is called to preach the gospel. The call to the ministry is a distinct call, given to some and not to others. Christ constituted different offices, making some apostles, others prophets, others evangelists, others pastors and teachers. As the body has its organs each with its appropriate functions, so the church has its organs by which, as the body of Christ, it has to discharge its great duty in the world. What the body would be without hands, feet, and eyes, that the church would be without its divinely constituted officers. The gospel, the apostle teaches us, is designed for all men and necessary for their salvation. Men cannot be saved without faith; but they cannot believe without hearing; and they cannot hear without a preacher, and how can they preach, he asks, except they be sent. It is therefore the church's duty to send preachers to all those who it is the will of God should hear the gospel. To send is not merely to say, Go. That would be easy work. It would give the church no part in the self-denial, the glory, and blessedness of promoting the kingdom of Christ in the world. When the government sends embassadors, or an army, it sustains them. When men send labourers into the field they give them their hire. And where that is withheld, its cry enters into the ears of the Lord of Hosts. In like manner when the church sends forth ministers or missionaries, to discharge, as her organs and officers, the work Christ has given her to do, the church is bound, by the clearest of all obligations, to sustain those whom she sends. And it matters not where she sends them; whether it be at home or abroad; to the heathen of our great cities; to the ignorant in the thinly-settled portions of the country; or to the few scattered sheep of the flock of Christ who may have none to guide them into his pastures and to the living waters.

3. It is to be borne in mind that the minister is not the officer and organ exclusively of the particular congregation of which he may be the pastor. He is a minister and functionary of the church as a whole. He is ordained by the church and for the

church. He is as much a minister without a congregation as with one. He is responsible to the church as a whole, dependent upon it, and employed in its service, and therefore the responsibility for his support rests on the whole church. If he is unworthy, or idle, or inefficient, he may be dismissed, or put on a retired list. But while he is able and willing to work, it is the sin and shame of the church to which he belongs that he is not employed and adequately supported. The relation of a minister to the church is, in this point, analogous to the relation of the officers of the army and navy to the country. Our military officers belong to the country; they are in the service of the country, and they are sustained by the country. The children of the world are wiser in their generation than the children of light. It would be well for the church if she discharged her duty to her ministers as well as the state acquits itself of its obligations to the servants of the public.

4. As it is the common duty of believers to labour for the conversion of sinners, the edification of the people of God, and the extension of the Redeemer's kingdom, it is a duty common to them to sustain the ministry, which is the divinely appointed instrumentality for the accomplishment of those ends. We are bound to do what we can for the salvation and spiritual welfare not only of our immediate friends and neighbours, but of all men wherever they are. The souls of men afar off are as precious as those of our neighbours. The honour of Christ is as much promoted by the salvation of the one as of the other. The union of believers effected by the indwelling of the Holy Spirit secures a love for all believers, and the union of all with Christ produces the desire to bring all men to acknowledge and serve him. There is no pure Christian motive to impel a man to support his own pastor, which does not operate to make him desire to secure the blessings of the gospel and of the stated ministry for his fellow-men, and especially for his fellow-citizens. The recognition of the duty to sustain the ministry as obligatory on the church as a whole, as it grows out of the nature of Christianity, and is the proper outworking of its expansive, catholic spirit, would be the greatest blessing to the church itself. It would promote brotherly love, which our Lord so often and explicitly enjoins as the great duty of his disciples. It would call into

more vigorous exercise all Christian graces. It would lead to self-denial, to diligence and zeal in the work of Christ. It would open a new and copious fountain of blessing to the whole land, and do more for the promotion of the best interests of the nation than any other measure we, as a church, could adopt.

5. The principle in question is recognized in other departments of Christian and benevolent enterprise. Even the state, which is held together by far weaker bonds than those which unite the people of God, recognizes it as a common duty to provide for the education of the people. It is common to hear selfish and narrow-minded men say that it is unreasonable to tax one man for the education of another man's children. If he wishes them to be educated, let him pay for it himself. This selfish spirit has at times and places prevailed, and the principle has been adopted of making every teacher dependent on his school for his support. But this plan has been repudiated in every enlightened Christian community. The benefits of knowledge, and especially the ability to read the word of God, were recognized as privileges belonging to all classes, poor as well as rich, to the children of the ignorant and indifferent as well as to those capable of estimating the advantages of mental culture and willing to make sacrifices to secure them for their offspring. It was seen too that the interests of society as a whole, and of all the classes of which it is composed, demand the general education of the people. What was a common benefit should be a common burden. Hence in every enlightened community we have free schools and a school fund; adequate provision is made by a general tax in some way to render the blessings of education attainable by all the people. Why should not the church act on the same principle? Will Christians say that it is unreasonable for them to be taxed to secure the gospel for other men? Will they say, Let those who want the gospel pay for it themselves? No man professing to be a Christian would venture to utter such sentiments aloud. They would shock the most sluggish conscience. Besides, if the common interests of the state are promoted by general education, will not the common interests of the church, which are of so much higher order, be promoted by making the gospel and the ministry accessible

to all its members and to all men? We are simply urging the duty of making a common benefit a common obligation. If we act in reference to the heathen on the principle that the church is one, and that the obligation to send them the gospel rests on the whole church, why should we not act on the same principle in reference to our own people? If it is obligatory in the one case, it is still more obligatory in the other.

This matter is so plain that it cannot well be disputed. Indeed it may be said to be universally recognized. Our Board of Domestic Missions is founded on the principle that it is the duty of the whole church to aid in rendering the gospel accessible to those who of themselves are not able to sustain the expense of a stated minister. This is important as an acknowledgment of a principle; and no one can doubt that great good has resulted to the church and to the country from the operations of that Board. But it does not, and cannot, with its present aim and method, accomplish what the full recognition of the unity of believers and the interests of the church demand. It is well however to bear in mind that in advocating the organization of a sustentation fund, we are only advocating the carrying out more effectually the principle on which the Board of Domestic Missions has been conducted. It may also anticipate one class of objections to say, that the adoption of the plan which has so successfully operated in Scotland, does not necessitate any interference with the work of that Board. It, even as now organized, may be the agent of the church for carrying out the Scottish plan in its application to our church.

Some persons have supposed that by a sustentation fund was intended a permanent fund, the annual interest of which was to be applied to add some five or seven hundred dollars to the salary of every Presbyterian minister in the country. This is a wild idea. This would require a fund of eight or ten millions of dollars. If such a sum could be raised for such a purpose, which is impossible, it would throw the burden of supporting the ministry of the future in large measure on the present generation. No such idea has been seriously entertained in any quarter.

A sustentation fund is a sum raised by annual contributions to carry out the two principles, first, that every minister of

the gospel devoted to his work is entitled, by the command of Christ, to a competent support; and secondly, that the obligation to furnish that support rests upon the church as a whole. That is, that the church in her organic unity is bound to provide an adequate support for every man whom she ordains to the ministry, and who is qualified and willing to devote himself to her service. The soundness of these principles we have endeavoured to establish. In carrying them out the following guiding rules are important.

First, that the contributions to this fund are to be general. While special donations are to be gratefully received, and large contributions from a few wealthy congregations may be reasonably expected, yet success is out of the question, unless every member of the church, as far as possible, is willing to contribute according to his ability. In Scotland, although extraordinary liberality has been exhibited by individuals and congregations in the support of this fund, yet from the beginning the main dependence was placed upon the general contributions of the people. This was a point on which Dr. Chalmers strenuously insisted. He warned the weaker churches from relying on the stronger, and insisted that those who were not willing to help themselves, could not expect to be always helped by others. The duty to contribute to the support of the gospel is as obligatory upon the poor as upon the rich. It is as important as a means of culture for the former as for the latter, to practise self-denial and liberality in the service of Christ. The aggregates of small contributions from a multitude will always exceed that of the larger contributions of the few. The hundreds of millions raised by our government for national expenses from year to year, are made up principally by the five, ten, and twenty dollar taxes paid by the millions, and not by the thousands paid by a few hundred of the population. This therefore is to be settled in the minds of the church from the start. The sustentation fund is not a plan for relieving the poor from the duty of sustaining the ministry, and for throwing that burden exclusively upon the rich. None partake of the blessings of the gospel, who do not participate in its duties. And no man however poor has reason to regard himself as a Christian who is not willing to do what he can to secure for himself and others

the ministration of God's word and of the ordinances of his house. In Scotland, therefore, provision is made for the contributions of those who are not able to pay even as much as a penny a week.

There is always a tendency in the poor of a congregation to throw all pecuniary burdens on the richer members of the church, and a similar tendency on the part of weak churches to rely upon those which are more wealthy. This tendency is in both cases to be resisted; in the former case, both for the poor themselves and for the sake of the congregation to which they belong. The same principles apply in their full force against the disposition of weaker churches to rely exclusively or mainly upon assistance from abroad. It enervates and degrades the weak, and it puts the liberality of the strong to a trial they will not be likely long to sustain. This was found to be "the sorest and heaviest impediment" in the way of the success of the plan in Scotland, which it was foreseen would infallibly frustrate the measure unless effectually resisted. The friends of the sustentation fund, therefore, said, "We should infinitely less value all the additional hundreds and thousands that might be raised from the wealthier congregations, than we should an average elevation of fifty pounds in the contributions which come from the lower half of the scale. This were like the opening of a gate that would set us at liberty, and make us free to expatiate, so as that we might find our way both to the most wretched population in towns, and to the poorest and remotest extremities of the land."

It is, however, not only on moral considerations that the coöperation of all classes in this work is so desirable, the pecuniary value of the smaller contributions, as just remarked, in the aggregate exceeds all that can be expected from wealthy individuals or congregations. Our mightiest rivers owe their fulness to drops of rain, and all great benevolent operations depend upon the small contributions of the many far more than on the large contributions of the few. Neither class should feel exempted. All must coöperate—each giving according to his ability; and without this general coöperation, any sustentation scheme must inevitably fail.

Secondly. Nothing so chimerical as equality in the salaries

of ministers is contemplated. This would be unreasonable and impossible. The expense of living in one place is ten-fold what it is in another. The demands upon the minister's purse are also far greater in some positions than in others. The people of a congregation who contribute their just proportion to the general fund, have the right, and will always exercise it, to give what they see fit to their own pastor. Unity does not mean uniformity, and parity as to constitutional rights, does not imply equality in everything else. In Scotland the attempt was made to have all the church edifices erected on the same model, and to forbid any addition to the dividend received by each minister from the general fund. This was but an attempt. The good sense of the people revolted against the idea. It was seen that the additional money spent by the wealthier congregations in adorning their places of worship, was not taken from the resources which would have swelled the general building fund, but from money which would otherwise never have found its way into the treasury of the church. And in like manner, the money given to supplement a pastor's salary, was not so much substracted from the sustentation fund, but money which would not have been given at all. In some cases the pew-rents were abolished, on the assumption that the amount paid for the pews would be thrown into the common fund. It was found, however, that the pew-rents were lost, and the fund was not increased. We must allow free scope to the workings of natural feelings, and to religious affections. We cannot secure dead uniformity in anything. The people will dress, and live, and build, and give according to their own dispositions, feelings, tastes, and principles. All we can require, and all that is desirable is, that each and all should have a just regard for others as well as for themselves, and remember that Christian love requires that the necessities of the weak should be supplied from the resources of the strong. What is beyond the limits of that which is necessary to the decent support of the ministry, and the comfort of God's ministers and people, lies outside the sphere of church legislation and ordinances.

It has been objected to the plan of a sustentation fund that it would tend to weaken the bond between the pastor and his people. The Scriptures assume that this is a relation which

implies a reciprocity of benefits. The one bestows spiritual things, the other carnal things. The people feel their obligations to the man who instructs, guides, and comforts them in the way to heaven. They are impelled by a natural and proper feeling to contribute to the well-being of the minister from whom such benefits are received. And the pastor, on his part, is the more bound to the people of whose kind feeling he is daily receiving the expressions. This is a healthful and scriptural relationship. It was feared that it would be impaired by making the pastor independent of the people to whom he ministers. This objection is fully obviated by making the amount received from the general fund sufficient only for a support, and allowing it to be supplemented by the voluntary contributions of the people.

Thirdly. Admitting the obligation of the church as a whole to sustain the ministry, the great question is, How is this to be done? What plan or method should be adopted in order to discharge most effectually and justly this important duty? In answer to this question we propose to submit for the consideration of our brethren a general outline of the method adopted in the Free Church of Scotland.

The point about which the greatest diversity of judgment existed among the advocates of a sustentation fund was, whether there should be an equal dividend made of that fund, or, whether each pastor should receive from the fund an amount proportionate to the sum contributed by his congregation to it. It was proposed that that proportion should be one and a half more. If a church contributed thirty pounds, it would receive ninety; if it gave fifty, it would receive seventy-five; if one hundred, it would get back one hundred and fifty, which was to be regarded as the limit. No contribution from the fund was to be given to raise the salaries of those who received one hundred and fifty pounds, or seven hundred and fifty dollars. With us the limit might be fixed at eight hundred dollars, which is, considering the relative expense of living, a lower standard of support than that adopted in Scotland. Dr. Chalmers was very strenuous in his opposition to the plan of an equal dividend, which was adopted at the beginning. All the four hundred and seventy ministers, who came out from the Established

Church, received at first, and were to receive as long as they lived, an equal portion of the general fund. But when this rule was applied to their successors and to the pastors of new congregations, it awakened serious apprehensions. It was urged that if the same yearly allowance be made to every new minister, however little was received from his congregation, it would lead to such successive reductions of the dividend as must sooner or later involve the whole church in one common overthrow. Another objection was, that it would prevent church extension. No new enterprise could be started, or missionary sustained, except at an expense which, it was said, would be ruinous. Besides this, the congregations, it was assumed, needed the stimulus of the principle of getting only in proportion to what they gave. Notwithstanding the weight of these objections, the plan of an equal dividend has, we believe, been persevered in. This is the only rule consistent with principle. We are bound to sustain those whom we send to preach the gospel. We are not called upon to enrich them. They have renounced the world, and given themselves to the service of the Lord. But we are bound to support them. To an adequate support they have a right. The government does not send a regiment of soldiers to garrison a frontier fort in the wilderness, and require them to protect the country from the incursions of savages, to risk their lives and spend their strength, foregoing all opportunities of advancing their own interests, and then leave them to starve or shift for themselves. This cannot be done. And it is never attempted except in the sphere of religion, and by the church, by us calling ourselves Christians. There always will be men, blessed be God, who will preach the gospel, supported or unsupported, men who will labour and starve in silence, and break their hearts over the sufferings of wife and children, but this does not free the church from the guilt of injustice and cruelty. All that the Free Church contended for was that the church should sustain every faithful minister. As much as possible was to be secured for this purpose from the people to whom he preached. But if they were so besotted, so ignorant, or hardened that they would do little or nothing, they were not to be left to perish, nor were those who carried to them the word of life be left to starve.

We are bound to deal with them as we do with the heathen. We support ministers and churches, teachers and schools, among the Indians, even where the Indians contribute nothing to these objects, but we refuse to do this for our own fellow-citizens, and for the baptized members of our own church. We are not surprised, therefore, that the rule of an equal dividend, (*i. e.*, security for an adequate support,) was adhered to in the Free Church of Scotland. In connection with this system for sustaining pastors, there may be, and should be, a plan for the support of itinerant ministers, evangelists, whose adequate support may require a less sum than is needed for a settled pastor.

Assuming, then, that the church should aim at securing for every settled minister devoted to his work a salary, say, of eight hundred dollars a year, allowing every congregation to supplement that salary to any amount, and in any way it sees fit, the next question is, how is a fund adequate for that purpose to be raised? It is obvious that it cannot be done without thorough organization and constant supervision by the officers of the churches.

As already insisted upon, contributions must be sought from all classes of the people—from the poor as well as from the rich. All must coöperate in a scheme which contemplates the advantage of all, and the advancement of the kingdom of the common Lord of all. In Scotland every parish is divided into districts. Each district is assigned to a deacon or some other person to act as collector. This collector has a book containing the names of all persons connected with the congregation living in his district. It is his duty to call upon each individual, and ascertain how much each is willing to contribute during the year to the sustentation fund, and whether the subscribers prefer to pay weekly, monthly, or quarterly. It is his further duty to collect these subscriptions and to forward the amount to the Treasurer of the fund. Measures must of course be taken to organize and sustain this vast machinery. It will not rise of itself; nor will it continue in successful operation without constant supervision and stimulus. Hence the necessity of a Financial Committee or Central Agency. According to Dr. Chalmers the principles which should regulate the constitution of such a committee are, 1. That it should be com-

posed principally of laymen—men trained in counting-houses or "chambers of agency." 2. That it would be "monstrous impolicy in the church to confide altogether, or in very great proportion, so large an interest as her Sustentation Fund to the discretionary and unremunerated attendance even of her most zealous and best qualified adherents. There ought to be a greatly fuller paid agency, and with all the guaranties for a vigorous and punctual discharge of our business, which obtain in our national offices, or in any of the great trading establishments of the country. And first, in addition to a treasurer with the proper complement of clerks, there should be a Lay Superintendent, whose business it is, whether by personal visits, or by the emanations of a central correspondence, to keep the whole machinery of the Associations constantly and vigorously a going." "It is of the utmost importance to our financial prosperity, that we should have a Superintendent of thorough business ability and habits, under the control, at the same time, and surveillance of a Committee, mainly composed of business men." 3. There should also, he says, "be a Clerical Correspondent, who, besides seeing to the preparation and issue of tracts and circulars, charged with the high matters of principle and religious duty, should hold converse chiefly, if not exclusively, with the ministers of the Free Church. Without an office of this sort, both well filled and well executed, our present financial returns will not be increased, will not even be upholden. If left exclusively in the hands of secular men, the whole financial system will be secularized, after which it will infallibly go to pieces. Our's is essentially a religious operation for a religious object, and if separated from the religious principle by which it is kept in healthful and living play, then, as if bereft of its needful and sustaining aliment, it will wither into extinction in a few years." 4. He urges the appointment of agents to visit the Associations, putting them into action and good order, and setting up new ones. "This," he says, "is the true way of making the life-blood of our cause circulate from the heart to extremities of Scotland." "We do hope," he adds, "that these mighty advantages will reconcile the church to the expenses of a larger paid agency. There is a prejudice, I had almost said, a low-minded suspicion, on this subject, most

grievously adverse to the enlargement of the Church's resources and her means. The sum of two thousand pounds or even three thousand, and perhaps more, rightly expended on right men, would be remunerated more than fifty-fold by the impulse thus given to the mechanism of our Associations."

These views of a man so remarkable for his constructive genius as Dr. Chalmers, and so revered for his character and services, are submitted for the consideration of those who may favour the adoption of the plan of a sustentation fund for the ministry of our church.

Such is the general outline of the scheme. The considerations in favour of its adoption are briefly as follows:

1. It is practicable. What has been done, may be done. What has been carried out successfully for years in Scotland, may be carried out in America. It is true the work is far more extensive here than there, and has difficulties to encounter here which were not to be overcome there. But if our work be the more difficult, it is more necessary, and we have more men and greater resources, so that in proportion to the strength of the two bodies, the Free Church of Scotland had perhaps as heavy a burden to bear as can ever be imposed on us. That this plan of a general sustentation fund is practicable, is proved not only by the example of the Free Church, but also by that of the Methodists. Among that extensive and flourishing body of Christians, the minister is not made dependent on the particular church to which he preaches, but is sustained by the general funds of the body as a whole. This general fund is supplied in part from the weekly contributions of the members, and partly from the profits of their extensive "book concern." How efficient this scheme has proved in their hands, is proved by the experiment both in England and America. In answer to the cavil that the plan of a general contribution was "a proposal to grind the faces of the poor for the support of an ecclesiastical system," Dr. Chalmers says, "These reasoners would be puzzled to understand how it is that the Methodists of England, many of them in humble life, give their shilling a month, or even their six-pence a week, for the maintenance of the gospel. Why, after all, they form the best conditioned and most prosperous community in the empire. The truth is, that

instead of what they give being extracted from the earnings of their hard and honest industry, it were far more correct to say, in reference to the great majority of their converts, that what they give is the spontaneous tribute of but a fraction from the squanderings of their former extravagance." Presbyterians of this country, it is hoped, will not be disposed to pronounce impracticable what has been actually accomplished by their brethren in Scotland, and by other bodies of believers both in Europe and America.

2. Another consideration in favour of this plan, is that it is only the application to the home-field of the principle on which we act in the foreign field. When we send a missionary to the heathen, it is not on his own charges. We do not tell him to gather his support from the people to whom he carries the gospel, or sustain himself as he best can. We know that the heathen cannot, or will not support him; and we know that if required to support himself either in whole or in part, his efficiency as a missionary would be impaired or destroyed. We therefore pledge the faith of the church that he shall be sustained. This is right; it is Christian; it is necessary. Why should not the same principle be acted upon at home? Souls here are as valuable as the souls of the heathen. The necessity of a pastor supporting himself is as inconsistent with his efficiency here as it is abroad; it is as much in contravention of the command of Christ and of the spirit of the gospel in the one case as in the other. The suffering entailed by the neglect of this duty is as great in this country as it would be anywhere else.

3. Another great recommendation of a sustentation fund is that it would enable the church to secure the service of the numerous ministers who are now unoccupied. What that number is we are unable accurately to determine. The estimates which we have seen vary so much that they cannot be relied upon. The lowest estimate places the number at several hundred. Whenever a vacancy occurs in a self-sustaining church, the pulpit is crowded with candidates. Many men in the prime of life, of high culture and attainments, are obliged to seek for months, or even years, before they can find a field of labour to which they feel authorized to take their families.

From these facts some have inferred that the ministry is overstocked, that the supply exceeds the demand, and they therefore call for curtailing the number of ministers and candidates. These men know not what they do. The complaint is not that the church is overrun by unconverted or incompetent ministers; but that we have too many really pious and well qualified men in the sacred office. Those who make this objection profess to believe that the Holy Ghost as truly calls men to the ministry as he calls them to faith and salvation. The church through her appropriate organs solemnly declares, that, in her judgment, every man whom she ordains, is called of God to the ministry of the word. As the complaint is not of remissness, or want of fidelity on the part of the presbyteries, it is in fact a complaint against the Holy Spirit. He has been too lavish in his calls. If this is revolting; if this shocks every Christian's mind, it is not our fault. We simply put into plain English the real meaning of those who complain that we have too many faithful and well qualified men in the ministry. What is true in this matter, and all that is true, is, that we have more ministers than we have self-sustaining churches; more men whom God has called to preach the gospel, than the church is willing to support. There is the difficulty. If we should do our duty, we would find that God would multiply the ministry ten-fold, and increase an hundred-fold the ability and willingness of the church to support them all. It is difficult for the individual to obtain Christian symmetry of character. Some are prominent for one virtue and deficient in another. So it is with churches. Some are more devoted to the care of the poor than to foreign missions; some to education than to sustentation. What is needed is, not that the work well done should be neglected, but that what has been neglected should be properly attended to. If we, as a church, have prayed more, and laboured more, in order that God would send labourers into his harvest, than that he would give his people wisdom and liberality to provide for their support, we should not complain that he has answered our prayers, but seek for grace to turn his gifts to advantage.

The objection that the ministry is overstocked can be made by those only who forget that the field is the world; that Christ

has commanded us to preach the gospel to every creature. In some of our cities there are half a million of men who are living almost in the darkness of heathenism. Every unemployed minister in our church could be profitably employed in two such crowded places as New York and Philadelphia. And while these thousands have no one to care for their souls, men complain that we have too many ministers! Two-thirds of the human family have never heard of Christ. In many lands to which we have sent missionaries there is not one minister to a million of people. It is a strange thing therefore to hear from the lips of Christians that God has given his church too many preachers. What we want is the heart to support them. There is room for ten times as many faithful ministers as we now have. Even in our land, in some large states, the proportion of our ministers to the population is less now than it was ten years ago. And the records show that all the graduates of all our seminaries would be required in some of the Western States to keep the proportion of ministers to the people what it is at the present time; to say nothing of the constant losses by death, and to the demands of other portions of the land. If the church could be brought to resolve to give an adequate support to every minister able and willing to work, we should soon find that the number of such ministers was too small and not too large. The sin therefore that so many qualified men fail to find employment rests on the church.

4. Another consideration in favour of a sustentation fund is, that it is necessary to render the church aggressive. We are falling behind other denominations. In our cities and towns the Episcopalians are eating us out. In other places the Baptists, Congregationalists, or Methodists, are occupying the ground. We rejoice in the progress of these churches. In every way Christ is preached. But we have our duty to perform, and our part to do in the work of advancing the kingdom of God. Our candlestick will be removed out of its place, unless that duty be performed. The Secretary of the Board of Missions, in his last communication to the churches (Dec. 1865), says: "The requisitions of the past year have not been met. New fields could have been entered, new territories secured, and our church been represented in the advance of that great tide

of population which rolls across the continent." The demand for ministers, he tells us, is above the supply; directly the reverse of what some of our religious journals are striving to make our people believe. "Unless," says the Secretary, "the Lord of the harvest furnish the labourers, the harvest, so far as our church is concerned, will be ungathered,—golden opportunities will be lost." "We have not the men." "There are men," he tells us, "who hover around vacancies . . . but men glowing with missionary zeal we have not." "Great and precious revivals of religion can only remedy this great and serious evil. Earthly sacrifices are not counted by earnest hearts, who have received the baptism; men of whom our fathers have told us, counted it an honour to suffer for Christ—men who laid the foundations of our church in the early history of our country." It thus appears that important fields are constantly presenting which we cannot occupy. The reason is, that we have not the men who are willing to go. There are men enough to hover around vacancies, but not men of "missionary zeal," "of earnest hearts;" men "willing to suffer for Christ." The whole fault of the failure of the church to do her duty to Christ and the world, is thus thrown upon the ministers. There is another side to this question. The ministers thus complained of give as much evidence of zeal and willingness to suffer as the rest of us. They are willing to go if they are supported; we are not willing to support them. We say, Go and suffer. It is an honour to suffer. If you had a proper spirit you would not shrink from "these earthly sacrifices." Now it is very plain that it is no more their duty to go, than it is our duty to sustain them. They are no more called to make the sacrifice of leaving home and friends, and early associations, and to encounter all the trials incident to a new mode of life, and to labouring among the ignorant and destitute, than we are to make the sacrifice of so increasing our contributions to the missionary fund, as to secure an adequate support to those whom we send to labour and suffer in our stead and to do our work. Until we do our duty, we are not in a state of mind to reprove the negligence or want of zeal of others. Until we take the beam out of our own eye, we cannot see clearly to take the mote out of our brother's eye. There may be, and doubtless there

is, in the ministry a lack of the zeal and devotion which they ought to possess. That they will be the first to acknowledge, and we may all join in the same humiliating confession. But this is not the real difficulty. The blame is not with the ministers. It is with the church. If the church refuses to comply with the command of Christ and provide an adequate support for those whom she sends into the field, she has no right to turn round and upbraid them with the want of zeal. Hear what the Spirit says by the mouth of the apostle, "Have we not the right to eat and to drink? Have we not the right to lead about a wife? Have we not the right to forbear working? Who goeth a warfare at his own charges? Doth not the law say the same thing? for Moses said, Thou shalt not muzzle the ox which treadeth out the corn." If men support the brutes who labour in their service, shall they refuse to support their Christian brethren whom they send to labour for the church and for their divine Master? Surely the lips of the church should be sealed until we are willing to perform a duty so clearly commanded and so self-evidently obligatory.

We are slow to believe that our ministers are less zealous or self-sacrificing than the Romish priests, or than the Methodist clergy. They go everywhere. They plant firm feet on all unoccupied territory. Not because they have more zeal, but because they have a church behind them. They are sure of being sustained. They know that they will not be allowed to struggle single-handed, uncheered and unsupported. We find men willing to go to the heathen, because they know they will not be called upon to support themselves or to suffer for the necessaries of life. If therefore the church would do her duty in this matter and secure an adequate support to every minister whom she sends into the field, she would, we are persuaded, have little reason to complain of the want of a missionary spirit in the clergy. At any rate we are bound to do our duty.

It is obvious also that a competent sustentation fund would greatly increase the efficiency of the church. It would redeem from secular pursuits all that portion of time which ministers have now to devote to securing the means of support. Taking the ministry as a whole, it is probable, one-third of their time

is necessarily taken from their official duties for that purpose. We may also reasonably hope for a corresponding increase of their spirituality. At least the excuse for engaging in worldly pursuits would be taken away, and greater responsibility would be imposed. All the institutions of the church would have increased stability and permanence, where they are now occasional, uncertain, and ever changing. We should present an ever-advancing front. Congregations too feeble to support the gospel at all, under this steady culture, would soon be able not only to sustain themselves, but to aid in sustaining others. A new spirit of alacrity and confidence would be infused into the ministry. The church itself would feel a new life in all its parts. It would renew its strength by the exercise of the graces of liberality and devotion to its divine Head, and if the principles which Paul lays down in 2 Cor. ix. 8, is still to be relied upon, it would grow in wealth in proportion as it increased in the bountifulness of its benefactions. There is no surer way of securing the Divine favour, than the faithful performance of duty.

Many objections, more or less formidable, will doubtless be urged against the plan of a sustentation fund. It may be objected that making a pastor independent of his congregation will render him idle. If secure of a support, whether he works or not, he will be sorely tempted to neglect his work. To this it may be answered, 1. That this supposes the minister to be without conscience and without any true devotion to his Master's service. We have greater security against the admission of unworthy men into the ministry than we have against the admission of unworthy members into the church. Such cases will always occur, but to reject a great and necessary scheme, because perfection cannot be secured in its operation, would be unwise. 2. The pastor, even when sustained by a general fund, is not independent of his congregation. The fund can yield him little more than the necessaries of life; and that supply would soon be cut off in cases of persistent neglect of duty. 3. The Methodist clergy, although sustained by a general fund, are faithful and laborious. The same is true of the ministers of the Free Church, and of the clergy of Prussia. The latter are sustained by the government and go through the

laborious parish duties imposed upon them with the regularity of clock-work. Indeed, all the officers of the government, civil and military, are independent of those whom they immediately serve. Our foreign missionaries are faithful and devoted men although sustained by the church at home. We may surely dismiss this objection as derogatory not only to the ministry, but to the promise and grace of Christ. A more serious objection may be founded on the largeness of the sum which it will be necessary to raise. In answer to this it may be said, 1. That sums proportionably large are raised by other churches. 2. That all that is needed to make this burden light is its equal distribution, to be secured by a thorough and efficient organization. How readily were millions of money raised during the war to alleviate the bodily wants of our soldiers. The souls of men can suffer more than their bodies. The greatest difficulties to be encountered will doubtless arise from the undue multiplication of churches. This is a great evil already. In a population not able to sustain more than one church, there are often five or six, Presbyterian, Episcopal, Methodist, Baptist, and Roman Catholic, and that too where there is little or no prospect of growth. The principle should be adopted that a pastor is not to be permanently sustained in any place where the people have access to other evangelical churches, unless he has an adequate field of labour. There must be a rigid supervision as to this matter exercised by not only the Presbyteries, but by the Central Committee, and by the General Assembly.

Notwithstanding these and other objections and difficulties, we believe that if we could secure the services of some man of the executive power of George H. Stuart, of Philadelphia, who made the Christian Commission what it was, the plan of a sustentation fund could be carried into successful operation in the course of a very few years. Then we should stand erect again, with our loins girded, and our feet shod with the preparation of the gospel of peace.

ART. II.—*Annual Report of the School Committee of the City of Boston*, 1864. 412 pp. 8vo.

IF the style and character of an Annual Report are any index to the character of the thing reported, there is in this volume a strong presumption certainly in favour of the excellence of the Boston schools. No city in this country, no state, so far as we are aware, sends forth more complete reports, whether we regard the fulness and exactness of the information contained, the clearness and method of the arrangement, or the typographical beauty of their appearance. The report for 1864, for a copy of which we are indebted to John D. Philbrick, Esq., Superintendent of the Boston public schools, is a large octavo volume, of more than four hundred pages, printed with inviting type, on fair paper, handsomely bound, and seems to contain an answer to almost every question which a stranger might wish to ask concerning the progress and the present condition of the schools. It is indeed a model report, and we have reason to believe that it is only a fair exponent of the institutions which it represents.

It is not our intention, however, at this time, to speak of the schools of Boston, but to take the occasion to express some views in regard to the general subject of education by means of common schools. The argument for popular education is familiar and trite, and yet it needs to be occasionally re-stated and enforced. There is no community in which there is not a considerable number of persons grossly and dangerously ignorant, and there are many communities in which the majority of the people are in this condition. There is no community in which the importance of general education is over-estimated; there are unfortunately many communities in which education is held to be the least important of public interests. A brief discussion of the subject, therefore, can never be entirely out of place.

Before proceeding to the direct argument, let us notice some of the most common objections.

It is a not uncommon opinion, that the business of education should be left, like other kinds of business, to the laws of trade. It is said, if a carpenter is wanted in any community, or a blacksmith, or a tailor, or a lawyer, or a doctor, carpenters, blacksmiths, tailors, lawyers and doctors will make their appearance. If a store is wanted, a store will spring up. Why not a school house? Those who use this argument forget the essential difference between the two classes of wants to be supplied. All men equally feel the distress, if naked, or hungry, or sick, or suffering from any material want. The poor man, no less than the rich, feels the pinchings of hunger, and will exert himself to remedy the evil. The sick man, even more than the well, appreciates the value of medicine and the necessity of a physician. Not so in the matter of knowledge. A man must himself be educated, to understand the value of education. There are exceptions, of course. Yet it is substantially true, that the want of education is not one of those felt and pinching necessities that compel men's attention, and that consequently may be left to shift for themselves. A man who has himself enjoyed the blessing of a good education, expects to provide schools for his children, as much as he expects to provide for them food and clothing. The wants of their minds are to him pressing realities, as much as are the wants of their bodies. Not so with the ignorant and debased neighbours, who live within stone's throw of his dwelling. They, from their own experience, know nothing better, and are quite content, both for themselves and their children, to live on in the debased condition in which we see them. If these wretched creatures are ever moved to seek a higher style of living and being, the movement must originate outside of themselves. It is a case in which the man of higher advantages must think and act for those below him. It is a case in which people have a pressing need without knowing it, and in which consequently the laws of supply and demand do not meet the emergency.

Another common opinion on this subject is that private enterprise is adequate to meet the want. Private enterprise in education is not indeed to be discarded. Where the community as a whole, in its organized capacity, will do nothing, let individuals do what they can. In such cases, let those who

appreciate the advantages of education, concert measures for the establishment of schools and the employment of teachers, and for inducing parents who are indifferent to send their children. By these private efforts, the community may be gradually awakened to the importance of the subject, and so be induced to take it up on their own account. But private benevolence is not sufficient for so great a work. Private benevolence besides is apt to be fitful. It is at best subject to interruption by death and by reverses of fortune, while the cause is one which especially demands steadiness and continuity. The means for educating a community or a city should no more be subject to interruption, than the means of lighting it, or of supplying it with water.

The argument for depending upon private enterprise for devising and providing the means for popular education, would apply equally well to matters of police, and to the protection of property. The strong armed and the sagacious can take care of themselves. The stout hearted and the good, by due concert and combination, could keep criminals in some check, even in a country where there were no courts of justice, or prisons, or detective police. But this is not the ordinary or the best mode of accomplishing the end, nor could it in any case be thoroughly efficient. The restraint and punishment of crime belong to society as a whole, in its sovereign capacity. To the same society belongs the duty of seeing that its members do not fall into degrading ignorance and vice. God, in ordaining human society, had something higher in view than merely providing for the punishment of crime. Our Heavenly Father would have his children raised to the full enjoyment of their privileges as social and rational beings, and he seems to have established society for this very end, among others, that there may be an agency and a machinery adequate and fitted to drag even the unwilling out of the mire into which they have fallen. Without such an interposition on the part of society as a whole, the work will not be done. The mass of the people will remain in ignorance in every community, in which the community as such does not provide the means of education and general enlightenment.

It is often urged against common schools, that they tend to

impair parental obligation. Let us look this objection fairly in the face. The argument is stated as follows. If the community, in its organic capacity as a civil government, provides systematically for the instruction of the young, the system, just so far as it is successful and complete, does away with the necessity for any other provision. The parent, finding this work done to his hands, feels no necessity of looking after it himself, and so gradually loses all sense of obligation on the subject. Such a result, it is contended, is in contravention of the plainest dictates of nature and the most positive teachings of religion, both nature and religion requiring it as a primary duty of every parent to give his child a suitable education.

In meeting this objection, the friends of common schools agree with the objector to the fullest extent in asserting the imperative, universal, irrepealable duty of the parent to educate his own child. The duty is not the less binding on the parent, because a like duty, covering the same point, rests also on the community. The interests involved are so momentous, that God in his wise ordination has given them a double security. It is a case in which two distinct parties are both separately required to see one and the same thing done. It is like taking two endorsers to a note. The obligation of one endorser is not impaired, because another man equally with himself is bound for payment. If a child grows up in ignorance and vice, while God will undoubtedly hold the parent responsible, he will also not hold the community guiltless. Both parties will be guilty before him, both parties will be punished. A man is bound to maintain a certain amount of cleanliness about his habitation. If he fails to do so, and if in consequence of this failure the atmosphere around him becomes tainted and malarious, he and his will suffer. Disease and death will visit his abode. But the consequences will not end here. The infection will extend. The whole community will be affected by it. The whole community, equally with the individual, are bound to see that the cause of the infection is removed. The infection will not spare the community because the individual has generated it, nor will it spare the individual because the community has failed to remove it. Each party has a duty and a peril of its own in regard to the same matter.

The fact is, individuals and the community are so bound together, that on many points their obligations lie in coincident lines. The matter of education is one of these points. God has ordained the parental relation, and has implanted the parental affections, for this very reason, among others, that the faculties of the helpless young immortal may have due training and development,—that this development may not be left to chance, like that of a worthless weed, but may have the protection and guardianship which are the necessary birthright of every rational creature brought into being by the voluntary act of another. But God has ordained society also for this same end, among others, namely, that his rational creatures may have a compentent agency, bound by the laws and necessities of its own welfare to make adequate provision for the instruction and education of every human being. The one duty does not conflict with the other. The one obligation does not impair the other. Both lie in coincident lines.

But, as a question of fact, is it true, that common schools impair the sense of obligation in the minds of parents in regard to the duty of educating their children? We affirm the fact to be exactly the contrary. Those communities in which there are no common schools, and in which the people generally are in a state of deplorable ignorance, are precisely those in which the sense of parental obligation on this point is at the lowest ebb. Go to a region of country in which not one man in ten can read and write, and you will find that not one man in ten will care whether his children are taught to read and write. Those communities on the contrary which have the best and most complete system of common schools, and in which this system has prevailed longest and has taken most complete hold of the public mind, are the very ones in which individuals will be found most keenly alive to the importance of the subject, and in which a parent will be regarded as a monster, if his children are allowed to grow up uneducated.

The objection, therefore, has no foundation either in fact or in reason. There is moreover another consideration not to be overlooked. In this matter of education, it is after all but a small part which the school does for a child. The main part of the child's education always takes place at home, or at least,

out of school. We speak here of course of day schools. The teacher is at best only an aid to the parent, supplementing the influences of the home and the street. The child is taking lessons continually from the father and mother, whether they mean it or not. Every teacher knows how much more rapidly a child improves at school, whose parents are well educated, and how difficult it is to teach a child who at home lives in an atmosphere of profound ignorance. The mind of the one whose home is a region of darkness and intellectual torpor, will be dwarfed and distorted, no matter what the efforts of its teachers. The mind of the one, on the contrary, whose home is the abode of intellectual light, warmth, and sunshine, will have a corresponding growth and expansion at school. There is a continual unconscious tuition, good or bad, received from the very atmosphere of the family. Besides this, there is a great deal of direct, active duty to be performed by the parent in the education of the child. No matter how good the school, or how faithful the teacher, there always remains much to be done by the parent, even in regard to the school duties. The parent must see that lessons are prepared, that the child is properly provided with books, that the meal times and the other arrangements of the household are such as to help forward the child's studies. There are a hundred things which the father and mother can do to help or to hinder the work of the school. A child, whose parents give proper home supervision over his studies, will, other things being equal, make twice the progress of one whose parents give the matter no attention. The community, therefore, in establishing common schools, does by no means take the whole matter of education out of the hands of the parent. On the contrary, it still leaves with him the most important and necessary of the duties connected with the education of his children, while it gives him aids for the performance of the remaining duties, which no private means can ordinarily supply.

We come, however, to a much graver objection. It is urged against common schools, as organized in this country, that religious instruction is excluded from them, and that without this element they only tend to make educated villains. Education, it is said, without the restraining and sanctifying influ-

ences of religion, only puts into the hands of the multitude greater power for evil. If this objection is valid, the most enlightened and Christian communities of the world have made, and are making, an enormous mistake. Yet the objection is urged with seriousness by men whose purity of motive is above question, and whose personal character gives great weight to their opinions. The objection originated in England, where all attempts to make legislative provision for the education of the common people have been steadily resisted by a potential party in the established church. The arguments put forth in the English religious journals have been reproduced in the journals here, and have in many instances awakened the apprehensions of serious minded persons. It is worth while, therefore, to give the subject some distinct consideration.

In the first place, the facts are not exactly as stated by those making the objection. Though little direct religious instruction may be given in the common school, there is usually a large amount of religious influence. A great majority of the teachers of our common schools are professing Christians. Very many of them are among our most active Sabbath-school teachers. Now a truly godly man or woman, at the head of a school, though never speaking a word directly on the subject of religion, yet by the power of a silent, consistent example, exerts a continual Christian influence. In the next place, as a matter of fact, direct religious teaching is not entirely excluded from our public schools. We think, it by no means holds that prominent position in the course of study which it should hold. But it is not entirely excluded. The Bible, with very rare exceptions, is read daily in all our common schools. It is appealed to as ultimate authority in questions of history and morals. It is quoted for illustration in questions of taste. It is in many schools a text-book for direct study. In the third place, nine out of ten of the children of the week-day school attend the Sabbath-school. The Sabbath-school supplements the instructions of the week-day school. The case, therefore, is not that of an education purely intellectual. Moral and religious instruction accompanies the instruction in worldly knowledge. The Sabbath-school, the church, and the family, by their combined and ceaseless activities, infuse into

our course of elementary education a much larger religious ingredient than a stranger might suppose, who should confine his examination to a mere inspection of our common schools, or to the reading of the annual reports of our educational boards.

But apart from all these considerations, taking the question in its naked form, is it true that mere intellectual education has the tendency alleged? We do not believe it. The constitution of the human mind gives no warrant for such an inference. Recorded, indisputable facts, overwhelmingly disprove it. So far is it from being true that the mere diffusion of knowledge has a tendency to make men knaves and infidels, we believe the very opposite to be true. Knowledge is the natural ally of religion. To hold otherwise, is to disparage and dishonour religion—to imply, if not to say, that ignorance is the mother of devotion.

There is an inborn antagonism between the intellectual and the sensual nature of man. If you give to the intellect no development, you leave the senses as the ruling power. We see this strikingly illustrated in the idiotic, who are for the most part disgustingly sensual. Among a population grossly ignorant and uneducated, sensualism prevails in its most appalling forms. The man is a sensualist, simply because he knows no higher pleasures. He is degraded, because he has no motives to be otherwise. He is barely above a brute. The amount of crime, of the coarsest and most debasing character, among the uneducated peasantry of England, is almost incredible. Here is a description of an English peasant of the present day, given by a competent and unimpeached witness, himself an Englishman. We quote from a work on "The Social Condition and Education of the People of England," by Joseph Kay, Esq., of Trinity College, Cambridge, who was commissioned by the Senate of the University to travel for the purpose of examining into the social condition of the poorer classes. Says Mr. Kay, "You cannot address an English peasant, without being struck with the intellectual darkness which surrounds him. There is neither speculation in his eye nor intelligence in his countenance. His whole expression is more that of an animal than of a man. He is wanting too in the erect and independent bearing of a man. As a class, our peasants have no amuse-

ments beyond the indulgence of sense. In nine cases out of ten recreation is associated in their minds with nothing higher than sensuality. About one half of our poor can neither read nor write, have never been in any school, and know little, or positively nothing, of the doctrines of the Christian religion, of moral duties, or of any higher pleasures than beer drinking and spirit drinking, and the grossest sensual indulgence. They live precisely like brutes, to gratify, so far as their means allow, the appetites of their uncultivated bodies, and then die, to go they have never thought, cared, or wondered whither. Brought up in the darkness of barbarism, they have no idea that it is possible for them to attain to any higher condition; they are not even sentient enough to desire, with any strength of feeling, to change their situation; they are not intelligent enough to be perseveringly discontented; they are not sensible to what we call the voice of conscience; they do not understand the necessity of avoiding crime, beyond the mere fear of the police and the jail; they have unclear, indefinite, and undefinable ideas of all around them; they eat, drink, breed, work, and die; and while they pass through their brute-like existence here, the richer and more intelligent classes are obliged to guard them with police and standing armies, and to cover the land with prisons, cages, and all kinds of receptacles for the perpetrators of crime."

Surely it must be some hallucination of mind, which leads men to suppose that the diffusion of knowledge among such a population, even though it be only scientific and intellectual knowledge, can have any natural or general tendency adverse to religion and morals. Apart, however, from speculation, and as a pure question of fact, the recorded statistics of crime point unmistakably the other way. Criminal records the world over prove, beyond reasonable doubt, that the overwhelming majority of crimes are committed by persons deplorably ignorant. Intellectual education, therefore, we contend, even when deprived of its natural ally and adjunct, religious training, has no natural tendency to produce knaves and villains. On the contrary, it is a most efficient corrective and restraint of the evil and debasing tendencies of human nature. If the intellect is not so high a region in man's constitution as the moral

powers, which we readily grant, it is at least above the mere sensual part, in which vice and crime have their main-spring and aliment. The question fortunately is one susceptible of a direct appeal to facts. Who are the men and women that people our jails and prisons? Are they persons of education, or are they in the main persons deplorably ignorant? What is the record of criminal statistics on this point?

We will quote a few of these statistics, from a great mass of similar evidence lying before us.

Out of 252,544 persons committed for crime in England and Wales, during a series of years, 229,300, or more than 90 per cent., are reported as uneducated, either entirely unable to read and write, or able to do so only very imperfectly; 22,159 could read and write, but not fluently; and only 1085 (*less than one half of one per cent. of the whole*) were what we call educated persons.

In nine consecutive years, beginning with the year 1837, only 28 educated females were brought to the bar of criminal justice in England and Wales, out of 7,673,633 females then living in that part of the United Kingdom; and in the year 1841, out of the same population, not one educated female was committed for trial.

In a special commission, held in 1842, to try those who had been guilty of rioting and disturbance in the manufacturing districts, out of 567 thus tried, 154 could neither read nor write, 155 could read only, 184 could read and write imperfectly, 73 could read and write well, and only one had received superior instruction.

In 1840, in 20 counties of England and Wales, with a population of 8,724,338, there were convicted of crime only 59 educated persons, or one for every 147,870 inhabitants. In 32 other counties, with a population of 7,182,491, the records furnished *not one convict* who had received more than the merest elements of instruction.

In 1841, in 15 English counties, with a population of 9,569,064, there were convicted only 74 instructed persons, or one to every 129,311 inhabitants, while the 25 remaining counties and the whole of Wales, with a population of

6,342,661, did not furnish one single conviction of a person who had received more than the mere elements of education.

In 1845, out of a total of 59,123 persons taken into custody, 15,263 could neither read nor write, and 39,659 could barely read, and could write very imperfectly.

In the four best taught counties of England, the number of schools being one for every 700 hundred inhabitants, the number of criminal convictions was one a year for every 1108 inhabitants. In the four worst taught counties, the number of schools being one for every 1501 inhabitants, the number of convictions was one a year for every 550 inhabitants. That is, in one set of counties, the people were about twice as well educated as in the other, and one half as much addicted to crime. In other words, in proportion as the people were educated, were they free from crime.

Thrift and good morals usually keep pace with the spread of intelligence among the people. This has been the result in all those countries of Europe where good common schools are maintained, as in Ireland, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Holland, Belgium, and most of the German States. Pauperism, with its attendant evils and crimes, is almost unknown in those countries, while in England, where the common people are worse educated than those of any Protestant nation in the world, pauperism has become an evil which her wisest statesmen have given up as unmanageable. In 1848, in addition to hundreds of persons assisted by charitable individuals, no less than 1,876,541 paupers (*one out of every eight of the population!*) were relieved by the boards of guardians of the poor, at an expense from the public purse of nearly thirty millions of dollars.

In our own country, the same pains have not been taken to collect statistics on this subject, because comparatively little controversy about it has existed here to call forth inquiry. We as a people have generally taken it for granted that popular education lessens crime and pauperism. Still, facts enough have been recorded to show the same results here as elsewhere. When an educated villain is convicted, like Monroe Edwards or Professor Webster, the fact becomes so notorious by means of

the press, that it is unconsciously multiplied in our imagination, and we think the instances more numerous than they really are. We never think of the scores of obscure villains that are convicted every week all the year round. A quotation or two from the facts which have been recorded, will be sufficient to satisfy us on this point.

In the Ohio penitentiary, out of 276 inmates, nearly all were reported as ignorant, and 175 as grossly so.

In the Auburn prison, New York, out of 244 inmates, only 39 could read and write.

In the Sing Sing prison, no official record has been made on this point. But the Rev. Mr. Luckey, for more than twenty years chaplain of the prison, is obliged by the prison regulations to superintend and read all the letters between the prisoners and their friends, and so he becomes personally acquainted with their condition in regard to education. He reported a few months since to the writer of these pages, that while there are always some among the convicts who have been educated, yet the great mass of them are stolidly ignorant. There are usually between one and two hundred learning to read, and this does not include the half of those who are unable to read, as the attendance upon the class is voluntary, the accommodations are meagre, and most of the prisoners are indifferent to their own improvement. Not five in a hundred can write otherwise than in the most clumsy and awkward manner, and with the grossest blunders in orthography, and not more than two in a hundred can write a sentence grammatically. Out of the 700 then in prison, only three were liberally educated, and two of these were foreigners.

Throughout the state of New York, in 1841, the ratio of uneducated criminals to the whole number of uneducated persons was twenty-eight times as great as the ratio of educated criminals to the whole number of the educated inhabitants.

In view of the facts which have been given, and which might be multiplied to almost any extent, it is not easy to avoid the conclusion that mere intellectual education has some power to restrain man from the commission of crime. Assuredly, ignorance and sin are natural adjuncts and allies.

Schools undoubtedly cost something. The community that undertakes to educate the masses, or the individual that undertakes to educate his children, must expect to have a serious bill to pay. It is a pernicious folly to inculcate the contrary. The advocate of popular education, who tries to persuade people into the experiment, under the assurance that the expense will be trifling, misleads his readers, and puts back the cause which he would fain put forward. But there is a most significant *per contra* in the account, and on this there is no danger of dwelling too much. Nothing is so costly as crime, and no preventive of crime is more efficient than education. Schoolhouses are cheaper than jails, teachers and books are a better security than handcuffs and policemen. There are educated villains, it is true. But they are rare, and they attract the greater attention by the very fact of their rarity. But go into a prison, or a criminal court, or a police court, and see who they are that mainly occupy the proceedings of our expensive machinery of criminal justice. Nine-tenths of those miserable creatures are in a state of most deplorable ignorance. Degraded, sensual, with no knowledge of anything better than the indulgence of the lowest passions, without mental resources, or any avenue to intellectual enjoyment, they often resort to crime from sheer want of something better to do. When Dr. Johnson was asked, "Who is the most miserable man?" his reply was, "The man who cannot read on a rainy day." There is profound meaning in the answer. The man who has been educated, who not only can read, but has acquired a taste for reading, and for reading of a proper kind, is rarely driven into low and debasing crime. He has resources within himself, which are a counterpoise to the incitements of his animal nature. His awakened intellect and conscience also make him understand more clearly the danger and guilt of a life of crime. Many of the deeds which swell the records of our criminal courts spring from poverty, as every criminal lawyer well knows, and there is no remedy against extreme poverty so sure as education. The old adage says that knowledge is power. It is also wealth. A man with even an ordinary, common school education, can turn himself in a hundred ways, where a

mere ignorant boor would be utterly helpless. The faculties are developed, ingenuity is quickened, the man's resources are enlarged. An educated man may be tempted to crime, but he is not driven into it, as hundreds are daily, by mere poverty, or by an intolerable hunger of the mind for enjoyment of some kind.

Schools, then, especially schools in which moral and religious truth is inculcated, are the most powerful means of lessening crime, and of lessening the costly and frightful apparatus of criminal administration. As schoolhouses and churches increase in the land, jails and prisons diminish. As knowledge is diffused, property becomes secure, and rises in value. A community, therefore, is bound to see that its members are properly educated, if for no other reason, in mere self-defence. The many must be educated, in order that the many may be protected. A great city is just as sacredly bound to provide for its teeming population the light of knowledge, as it is to provide material light for its streets. The one kind of illumination, equally with the other, is an essential part of its police. No matter what the cost, the dark holes and alleys must be flooded with the light of truth, before which the owls and bats and vampyres of society will be scattered to the winds. A great city without schools would be a hell,—a seething caldron of vice, impurity, and crime. No man of sound mind would choose such a place for the residence of himself and family, who had the means of living in any other place. If we could suppose two cities entirely equal in other respects, but in one of them a superior and costly system of free schools, while the other spent not a dollar upon schools, but depended solely upon the rigors of the law and the strong arm of avenging justice for restraining the ignorant and corrupt masses, can there be any doubt which city would be the safest and most desirable place of residence?

Whatever view of this subject may be taken in other countries, we in this country are shut up to the necessity of popular education. We at least have no choice. Universal suffrage necessitates universal education. If we do not educate our people, educate universally, educate wisely and liberally, we

can hardly expect to maintain permanently our popular institutions. The man's vote, who cannot read the names on the ballot which he throws into the box, counts just as much in deciding public affairs as yours, who are versed in statesmanship and political economy. He is a partner in the political firm. You can neither withdraw from the firm yourself, nor can you throw him out. In the absence of general education, this tremendous power of suffrage is something frightful to contemplate. "The greatest despotism on earth," says De Tocqueville, "is an excited, untaught public sentiment; and we should hate not only despots, but despotism. When I feel the hand of power lie heavy on my brow, I care not to know who oppresses me; the yoke is not the easier, because it is held out to me by a million of men."

The danger from this source is intensified by the immense immigration from abroad which is going on, and which bids fair very greatly to increase. The great majority of those who seek our shores, come here ignorant. With little knowledge of any kind, and with no knowledge whatever of the nature of republican institutions, these men, almost at once, are made sharers of the popular sovereignity, with all its tremendous powers of peace and war, order and anarchy, life and death. Not to have a system of public education, by which these ignorant and dangerous masses shall be enlightened, and shall be assimilated to the rest, and to the better part, of the population, is simply suicidal. Our national life hangs upon our common schools.

Besides this grave political consideration, affecting the interests of the entire body politic, and the question of the success and stability of our national institutions, there is another consideration coming home closely and individually to each man's personal interests. Where the law of trial by jury prevails, every citizen, whether educated or ignorant, takes part in the administration of justice. Twelve men, taken indiscriminately from the mass of the people, or if with any discrimination, taken more frequently from the lower walks of life than from the higher, are placed in a jury box to decide upon almost every possible question of human interests. The jury decides your fortune, your reputation. The jury says

whether you live or die. Go into a court of justice. Are they light matters which those twelve men are to determine? Look at the anxious faces of those whose estates, whose good name, whose worldly all, hangs upon the intelligence of those twelve men, or of any one of them. What assurance have you, save that which comes from popular education, that these men will understand and do their duty? Who would like to trust his legal rights or his personal safety to the verdict of a jury of Neapolitan lazzaroni?

In a few short years, the idle boys who are now prowling about the streets and alleys of our towns, the wharf-rats of our cities, will be a part of our jurymen. Is it of no consequence to me, whether their minds shall be early trained and disciplined, so that they will be capable of following a train of argument, or of comprehending a statement of facts? How is it possible to administer justice with any degree of fairness and efficiency, where the majority of those who are to constitute the jurymen and the witnesses are stolidly ignorant? By common law, every man has a right to be tried by his peers. Let law then provide that those shall, in some substantial sense, be my peers, on whose voice my all in life may depend.

But let us recur once more to the economical part of the argument. When a community is taxed for the support of common schools, the question naturally rises among the taxpayers, is the system worth the cost? Does the community, by the diffusion of knowledge and education, gain enough to counterbalance the large expense which such education involves? Even if this question could not be answered in the affirmative, it would not follow that common schools should be dispensed with. Common schools are needed as the best and cheapest protection against the crimes incident to an ignorant and degraded population. Common schools are right and proper, because without them the majority of those created in the image of God will never attain to that noble manhood which is their rightful inheritance. But the argument will receive additional force, if it can be shown that general education increases the wealth of the community.

That education does have this effect is evident, we think, from two independent lines of argument. First, an intelligent,

educated man is capable individually of achieving greater material results than one who is ignorant. Secondly, the general diffusion of intelligence through a community leads to labour-saving inventions, and thus increases its producing power.

In regard to the first line of argument, some curious and instructive facts were collected a few years since by the late Horace Mann. His inquiries were directed to the efficiency of operatives in factories, a class of men who would seem to require as little general intelligence as any kind of labourers. It was found that, as a general rule, those operatives who could sign their names to their weekly receipts for money, were able to do one-third more work, and to do it better, than those who made their mark. Nor is this at all to be wondered at. There is no kind of work, done by the aid of human muscle, that is purely mechanical. Mind is partner in all that the body does. Mind directs and controls muscle, and even in emergency gives it additional energy and power. No matter how simple the process in which an operative may be engaged, some cultivation of his mental powers is needed. Without it he misdirects his own movements, and mistakes continually the orders of his superintending workman. A boy who has been to a good common school, and has had his mental activities quickened, and whose mind has been stimulated and roused by worthy motives, not only will be more industrious for it when he becomes a man, but his industry will be more effective. He will accomplish more, even as a day labourer, than the mere ignorant boor. When we come to any kind of skilled labour, the difference between the educated and the ignorant is still more apparent. An intelligent mechanic is worth twice as much as one ignorant and stupid.

Many years ago a very instructive fact on this point came under our own personal observation. A gentleman of our acquaintance had frequent need of the aid of a carpenter. The work to be done was not regular carpentry, but various odd jobs, alterations and adaptations to suit special wants, and no little time and materials were wasted in the perpetual misconceptions and mistakes of the successive workmen employed. At length a workman was sent who was a German, from the

kingdom of Prussia. After listening attentively to the orders given, and doing what he could to understand what his employer wanted, Michael would whip out his pencil, and in two or three minutes, with a few rapid lines, would present a sketch of the article, so clear that any one could recognize it at a glance. It could be seen at once, also, whether the intention of his employer had been rightly conceived, and whether it was practicable. The consequence was, that so long as Michael was employed, there was no more waste of materials and time, to say nothing of the vexation of continual failures. Michael was not really more skilful as a carpenter than the many others who had preceded him. But his knowledge of drawing, gained in a common school in his native country, made his services worth from fifty cents to a dollar a day more than those of any other workman in the shop, and he actually received two dollars a day, when others in the same shop were receiving only a dollar and a quarter. He was always in demand, and he always received extra wages, and his work even at that rate was considered cheap.

What was true of Michael in carpentry, would be true of any other department of mechanical industry. In cabinet making, in shoe making, in tailoring, in masonry, in upholstery, in the various contrivances of tin and sheet iron with which our houses are made comfortable, in gas fitting and plumbing, in the thousand-and-one necessities of the farm, the garden, and the kitchen, a workman who is ready and expert with his pencil, who has learned to put his own ideas, or those of another, rapidly on paper, is worth fifty per cent. more than his fellows who have not this skill.

The example of this man was brought vividly to mind at a later day, in one of our large cities, when an important educational question was under discussion. Rembrandt Peale had two dreams, each worthy of his genius. One was to paint a Washington which should go down to posterity; the other was so to simplify the elements of the art of drawing, that young boys and girls might learn it as universally as they learn to read and write. He spent long years in maturing a little work for this purpose, no bigger than a primer or a spelling book, and a determined effort was made on the part of some of the

friends of popular education to introduce the study into the primary public schools of Philadelphia. It was introduced into some of the higher schools. But its benefits were limited to a comparatively small number. The hope and the aim of the friends of Mr. Peale's project were to make the study an elementary one—to make a certain amount of proficiency in drawing a test of promotion from the primary school to the schools above it. This would have placed "Graphics" along side of the copy-book and the spelling-book. After struggling for several years with popular prejudice, the friends of the scheme were obliged to abandon it as hopeless. The idea was too much in advance of the times. Could the plan have succeeded, and could the entire youthful population of that great city, which is preëminently a mechanical and manufacturing centre, have grown up with a familiar practised skill in the use of the pencil, in ordinary off-hand drawing, such as our friend Michael had, there can be no question that it would have added untold millions to the general wealth. If every boy and girl in that great metropolitan city were now obliged to spend as much time in learning to draw as is spent in learning to spell, and at the same age that they learn to spell, we do soberly believe that the addition to the wealth of the city, by the increased mechanical skill that would be developed, would be worth more than the entire cost of her public schools, although they do cost well nigh a million of dollars annually.

What is true of drawing, is true of every branch and accomplishment necessary to a complete education. A man is educated when all his capacities bodily and mental are developed, and a community is educated when all its members are. Now if we could imagine two communities, of exactly equal numbers, and in physical circumstances exactly equal as to climate, soil, access to markets, and so forth, and if one of these communities should tax itself to the extent of even one-fourth of its income in promoting popular education, while the other spent not a dollar in this way, there can be little doubt as to which community would make the most rapid advances in wealth and in every other desirable social good.

We happen to have on this subject one most striking and significant record. In 1670, the English Commissioners for

Foreign Plantations addressed to the Governors of the several colonies a series of questions concerning the condition of the settlements under their charge. One of these questions related to the means of popular education. The answers of two of the Governors are preserved. One of them, the Governor of Connecticut, ruled a territory to which nature had not been specially propitious. Its climate was bleak, its coast rock-bound, its soil blest with only ordinary fertility. The other territory, Virginia, had an extraordinary amount of natural advantages. It had fine harbors, numerous navigable streams, a climate more temperate by several degrees than its rival, the soil in its lowlands and valleys unsurpassed in any of the Plantations for its capacity to produce wheat, corn, and tobacco, its mountains filled with untold treasures of lime, iron, and coal, (and, it now seems, with petroleum also), and withal that wonderful variety of natural resources, which seems best suited to stimulate and reward the productive industry of its inhabitants.

The Governor of the less favoured colony replied to the Royal Commissioners, as follows: "*One-fourth* of the annual revenue of the Colony is laid out in maintaining free schools for the education of our children." The policy thus early impressed upon the colony has been maintained with steadfast and almost proverbial consistency to this day, that region being known the world over as the land of schoolmasters. The Governor of the other colony replied, "I thank God, there are no free schools, nor printing, and I hope we shall not have these hundred years." To this policy she also has only too faithfully adhered. Now what is the result?

By referring to the tables accompanying the Census of 1860, we find the following significant facts.

1. The average cash value of land was not quite $12 an acre in one commonwealth (Virginia), and a little over $36 an acre in the other.

2. One commonwealth sustained only five inhabitants to every hundred acres of her soil, the other sustained eighteen inhabitants to every hundred acres.

3. The value of all property, real and personal, averaged by

the population, was in one commonwealth $496 to every inhabitant, in the other $965 to every inhabitant.

4. The value of all property, real and personal, averaged by the acre, was in one commonwealth less than $26 to the acre, in the other more than $177 to the acre.

To which facts we may add, what is true, though not in the Census, it was the invention of Eli Whitney, a travelling schoolmaster from Connecticut, that has trebled the value of land in nearly every Southern State.

We have been endeavouring to show that popular education, though it is expensive, tends to national wealth. Our argument is that an educated population is capable of producing greater material results than a population uneducated can produce. The example of Eli Whitney, just referred to, suggests the other line of argument, which we will now notice briefly in conclusion. This second argument is, that the general diffusion of intelligence in a community tends to quicken invention, and leads to the discovery of those scientific principles and of those ingenious labour-saving machines, by which the productive power of the community is so greatly multiplied. The cotton-gin, the steam-engine, the sewing-machine, and the reaping-machine would never have been invented in a nation of boors. It is not asserted that every boy who goes to school will become an inventor. But it is as certain as the laws of mind and matter can make it, that inventions abound in a nation in proportion to its progress in science and the general spread of intelligence among the masses. Multiply common schools and you multiply inventions. How much these latter increase man's producing power, and so add to the aggregate of human wealth, it is needless to say. The invention of Watt alone has quadrupled the productive power of the whole human race. The aggregate steam power of one single country, Great Britain, equals the muscular capacity for labour of four hundred millions of men—more than twice the number of adult males capable of labour on our planet. Its aggregate power throughout the earth is equal to the male capacity for manual work of four or five worlds like ours. The commerce, the navigation, the maritime warfare, the agriculture, the mechanic

arts of the human race, have been revolutionized by this single invention not yet a century old.

The application of scientific truths to the common industries of life is becoming every day more and more a necessity. The village carpenter, no less than the builder of the Niagara Suspension Bridge, makes hourly reference to scientific laws. The carpenter who misapplies his formulæ for the strength of materials, builds a house which falls down. The properties of the various mechanical powers are involved in every machine. Every machine, indeed, it has been well said, is a solidified mechanical theorem. The surveyor in determining the limits of one's farm, the architect in planning a house, the builder in planning his estimates, and the several master workmen who do the carpentry, masonry, and finishing, are all dependent upon geometric truths. Bleaching, dyeing, calico-printing, gas-making, soap-making, sugar-refining, the reduction of metals from their ores, with innumerable other productive industries, are dependent upon chemistry. Agriculture, the basis of all the other arts, is in the same condition. Chemical knowledge, indeed, is doing for the productive powers of the soil what the application of steam has done for the increase of mechanical power. The farmer who wishes to double his crops, finds the means of doing so, not in multiplying his acres, but in applying a knowledge of the laws of chemistry to the cultivation of the soil already possessed. Even physiology is adding to the wealth of the farming interest. The truth that the production of animal heat implies waste of substance, and that therefore preventing the loss of heat prevents the need for extra food—which is a purely theoretical conclusion—now guides the fattening of cattle. By keeping cattle warm, fodder is saved. Experiments of physiologists have proved, not only that change of diet is beneficial, but that digestion is facilitated by a mixture of ingredients in each meal. Both these truths are now influencing cattle feeding. In the keen race of competition, the farmer who has a competent knowledge of the laws of animal and vegetable physiology and of agricultural chemistry, will surely distance the one who gropes along by guess and by tradition. A general diffusion of scientific knowledge saves the community from innumerable wasteful and foolish mistakes.

In England, not many years ago, the partners in a large mining company were ruined from not knowing that a certain fossil belonged to the old red sandstone, below which coal is never found. In another enterprise, £20,000 was lost in the prosecution of a scheme for collecting the alcohol that distils from bread in baking, all of which might have been saved, had the parties known that less than one hundredth part by weight of the flour is changed in fermentation.

But it is not necessary to multiply illustrations. Suffice it to say, in conclusion, we hold it to be a most manifest truth, that the general education of a community increases largely its material wealth, both by the direct effect which knowledge has upon individuals in making them individually more productive, and by the increased control which the diffusion of knowledge gives to mankind over the powers of nature. A nation or a state is wisely economical which spends largely and even lavishly upon popular education.

Art. III.—*The Patristic Doctrine on the Eucharist.*

The theology and piety of the early fathers are the common inheritance of all Christian churches. They laboured before the separation of the East from the West, and before the rise of the Papacy proper. What they taught and believed is of equal interest, although not of equal authority, for Protestants and Greek and Roman Catholics. With the Protestant, indeed, the first and last question in all matters of Christian faith and practice is: What says the word of God? In the Greek and Roman Church, this question is coördinate in principle, and subordinate in fact to the question, What says the church, which is the only safe and legitimate interpreter of the Bible? But no sound Protestant is on that account indifferent to the testimony of the church and the teaching of the fathers, provided only it be duly subordinated to that of the Scriptures. We cannot forget that the Bible itself has come down to us

through the channel of the Catholic Church; and that the fathers shaped many of the principal institutions of Christendom, and wrought out from the Bible those fundamental articles of faith in the Holy Trinity, and the Person of Christ, which are common to the Evangelical and Catholic confessions of faith.

As regards the doctrine of the Lord's Supper, the fathers have been often used and abused by different controversial writers in the interest of Roman Catholic, the Lutheran, the Calvinistic, and the Zwinglian views on the subject. We shall endeavour to divest ourselves from all denominational and sectarian bias, and to give an objective historical statement of the views of the early church on this important subject.

The Eucharist is both a sacrament, wherein God conveys to us a certain blessing, and a commemorative sacrifice which man offers to God. As a sacrament, or the communion, it stands at the head of all sacred rites; as a commemorative sacrifice, it stands alone. The celebration of it under this twofold character forms the holy of holies of the Christian cultus in the ancient church, and to this day in the greater part of Christendom.

We consider first the doctrine of the Eucharist as a *sacrament*, then the doctrine of the Eucharist as a *sacrifice*, and finally the *celebration* of the eucharistic communion and eucharistic sacrifice.

I. *The Eucharist as a Sacrament.*

The doctrine of the sacrament of the Eucharist was not a subject of theological controversy and ecclesiastical action, till the time of Paschasius Radbert in the ninth century; whereas since then this feast of the Saviour's dying love has been the innocent cause of the most bitter disputes, especially in the age of the Reformation, between Papists and Protestants, and among Lutherans, Zwinglians, and Calvinists. Hence the doctrine of the ancient church on this point lacks the clearness and definiteness which the Nicene dogma of the Trinity, the Chalcedonian Christology, and the Augustinian anthropology and soteriology acquired from the controversies preceding them. In the doctrine of baptism also we have a much better

right to speak of a *consensus patrum*, than in the doctrine of the Holy Supper.

In general the fathers may be said to agree in the belief of the presence of Christ in the sacrament of the Eucharist. But the kind and mode of this presence are not yet particularly defined, and admit very different views: Christ may be conceived as really present either in and with the elements (consubstantiation, impanation), or under the illusive appearance of the changed elements (transubstantiation), or only dynamically and spiritually (the Calvinistic view).

In the ante-Nicene period we distinguish three views: the mystic view of Ignatius, Justin Martyr, and Irenæus; the symbolical view of Tertullian and Cyprian; and the allegorical or spiritualistic view of Clement of Alexandria and Origen. In the Nicene and post-Nicene age, the first view, which best answered the mystic and superstitious tendency of the time, preponderated, but the second also was represented by considerable authorities.*

I. The realistic and mystic view is represented by several fathers, and the early liturgies whose testimony we shall further cite below. They speak in enthusiastic and extravagant terms of the sacrament and sacrifice of the altar. They teach a real presence of the body and blood of Christ, which is included in the very idea of a real sacrifice, and they see in the mystical union of it with the sensible elements, a sort of repetition of the incarnation of the Logos. With the act of consecration a change accordingly takes place in the elements, whereby they become vehicles and organs of the life of Christ, although by no means necessarily changed into another substance. To denote this change they use very strong expressions, like *μεταβολή*, *μεταβάλλειν*, *μεταβάλλεσθαι*, *μεταστοιχειοῦσθαι*, *μεταποιεῖσθαι*, *mutatio*, *translatio*, *transfiguratio*, *transformatio*,†

* Rückert, in his Geschichte der Lehre vom Abendmahl, therefore divides the church-fathers on this point into two classes: the *Metabolical*, and the *Symbolical*. To this designation there are many objections. "Of the Synecdochian (Lutheran) interpretation of the words of institution the ancient church knew nothing." So says Kahnis, Luth. Dogmatik, ii. p. 221.

† But not yet the technical term *transsubstantiatio*, which was introduced by Paschasius Radbertus toward the middle of the ninth century, and the corresponding Greek term *μετουσίωσις*, which is still later.

and they appeal to the miraculous transformation of water into wine, the assimilation of food, and the pervasive power of leaven.

Cyril of Jerusalem goes further in this direction than any of the fathers. He plainly teaches some sort of supernatural connection between the body of Christ and the elements, though not necessarily a transubstantiation of the latter. Let us hear the principal passages.* "Then follows," he says in describing the celebration of the Eucharist, "the invocation of God, for the sending of his Spirit to make the bread the body of Christ, the wine the blood of Christ. For what the Holy Ghost touches, is sanctified and transformed." "Under the type of bread† is given to thee the body, under the type of the wine is given to thee the blood, that thou mayest be a partaker of the body and blood of Christ, and be of one body and blood with him."‡ "After the invocation of the Holy Ghost the bread of the Eucharist is no longer bread, but the body of Christ." "Consider therefore the bread and the wine not as empty elements, for they are, according to the declaration of the Lord, the body and blood of Christ." In support of this change, Cyril refers at one time to the wedding-feast at Cana, which indicates the Roman theory of change of substance; but at another to the consecration of the chrism, wherein the substance is unchanged. He was not clear and consistent with himself. His opinion probably was, that the eucharistic elements lost by consecration, not so much their earthly substance as their earthly purpose.

Gregory of Nyssa, though in general a very faithful disciple of the spiritualistic Origen, is on this point entirely realistic. He calls the Eucharist a food of immortality, and speaks of a

* Comp. especially his five mystagogical discourses, addressed to the newly baptized. Cyril's doctrine is discussed at large in Rückert, Des Abendmahl, sein Wesen u. seine Geschichte, p. 410, sqq. Comp. also Neander, Dogmengesch. i. p. 426, and in part against Rückert, Kahnis, Die Luth. Dogmatik, ii. p. 211, sq.

† Ἐν τύπῳ ἄρτου, which may mean either under the emblem of the bread (still existing as such), or under the outward form, sub specie panis. More naturally the former.

‡ Σύσσωμος καὶ σύναιμος αὐτοῦ.

miraculous transformation of the nature of the elements into the glorified body of Christ by virtue of the priestly blessing.*

Chrysostom likewise, though only incidentally in his homilies, and not in the strain of sober logic and theology, but of glowing rhetoric, speaks several times of a union of our whole nature with the body of Christ in the Eucharist, and even of a *manducatio oralis.*† Of the Latin fathers, Hilary,‡ Ambrose,§ and Gaudentius (A. D. 410) come nearest to the later dogma of transubstantiation. The latter says: "The Creator and Lord of nature, who produces bread from the earth, prepares out of bread his own body, makes of wine his own blood."‖

But closely as these and similar expressions verge upon the Roman doctrine of transubstantiation, they seem to contain at most a *dynamic*, not a substantial, change of the elements into the body and the blood of Christ. For, in the first place, it must be remembered that there is a great difference between the half-poetic, enthusiastic, glowing language of devotion, in which the fathers, and especially the liturgies, speak of the eucharistic sacrifice, and the clear, calm, and cool language of logic and doctrinal definition. In the second place, the same fathers apply the same or quite similar terms to the baptismal water and the chrism of confirmation, without intending to teach a proper change of the substance of these material elements into the Holy Ghost. On the other hand they not rarely use concerning the bread and wine *τύπος*, *ἀντίτυπα*, *figura*, *signum*, and

* Orat. catech. magna, c. 37. Comp. Neander, l. c. i. p. 428, and Kahnis, ii. 213.

† Of an *ἐμπῆξαι τισὶς ὀδόντας τῇ σαρκὶ καὶ συμπλακῆναι.* Comp. the passages from Chrysostom in Ebrard and Rückert, l. c., and Kahnis, ii. p. 215, sqq.

‡ De Trinit. viii. 13, sq.

§ De Mysteriis, c. 8 and 9, where a *mutatio* of the *species elementorum* by the word of Christ is spoken of, and the changing of Moses' rod into a serpent, and of the Nile into blood, is cited in illustration. The genuineness of this small work, however, is doubted by many. Rückert considers Ambrose the pillar of the mediæval doctrine of the Supper.

‖ Serm. p. 42: "Ipse naturarum creator et dominus, qui producit de terra panem, de pane rursus, quia et potest et promisit, efficit proprium corpus, et qui de aqua vinum fecit, facit et de vino sanguinem." But on the other hand Gaudentius (bishop of Bripia) calls the Supper a *figure* of the passion of Christ, and the bread the *figure* (*figura*) of the body of Christ (p. 43).

like expressions, which denote rather a symbolical than a metabolical relation of them to the body and blood of the Lord. Finally, the favourite comparison of the mysterious transformation with the incarnation of the Logos, which in fact was not an annihilation of the human nature, but an assumption of it into unity with the divine, is of itself in favour of the continuance of the substance of the elements; else it would abet the Eutychian heresy.

II. The symbolical view, though on a realistic basis, is represented first by Eusebius, who calls the Supper a commemoration of Christ by the symbols of his body and blood, and takes the flesh and blood of Christ in the sixth chapter of John to mean the words of Christ, which are spirit and life, the true food of the soul, to believers.* Here appears the influence of his venerated Origen, whose views in regard to the sacramental aspect of the Eucharist he substantially repeats.

But it is striking, that even Athanasius, "the father of orthodoxy," recognized only a *spiritual* participation, a self-communication of the nourishing divine virtue of the Logos, in the symbols of the bread and wine, and incidentally evinces a doctrine of the Eucharist wholly foreign to the Catholic, and very like the older Alexandrian, and the Calvinistic, though by no means identical with the latter.† By the flesh and blood, in the mysterious discourse of Jesus, in the sixth chapter of John, which he refers to the Lord's Supper, he understands not the earthly, human, but the heavenly, divine manifestation of Jesus, a spiritual nutriment coming down from above, which

* Demonstr. evang. l. c. 10; Theol. eccl. iii. c. 12, and the fragment of a tract De paschate, published by Angelo Mai in Scriptorum veterum nova collectio. vol. i. p. 247. Comp. Neander, l. c. i. 430, and especially Steitz, art. on the early Greek doctrine of the Eucharist, in Deutsche Jahrbücher for 1865, p. 97—106.

† To this result H. Voigt comes, after the most thorough investigation, in his learned monograph on the doctrine of Athanasius, Bremen, 1861, p. 170—181, and since that time also Steitz, in his second article already quoted, l. c. p. 109 ff—127. Möhler finds in the passage Ad Serap. iv. 19, (the principal eucharistic declaration of Athanasius then known) the Roman Catholic doctrine of the Supper (Athanasius der Gr., p. 560, sqq.), but by a manifestly strained interpretation, and in contradiction with passages in the more recently known Festival Letters of Athanasius, which confirm the exposition of Voigt.

the Logos through the Holy Ghost communicates to believers (but not to a Judas, nor to the unbelieving).* With this view accords his extending of the participation of the eucharistic food to believers in heaven, and even to the angels, who, on account of their incorporeal nature, are incapable of a corporeal participation of Christ.†

Gregory Nazianzen sees in the Eucharist a type of the incarnation, and calls the consecrated elements symbols and antitypes of the great mysteries, but ascribes to them a saving virtue.‡

St. Basil, likewise, in explaining the words of Christ, "I live by the Father," (John vi. 57), against the Arians, who inferred from it that Christ was a creature, incidentally gives a spiritual meaning to the fruition of the eucharistic elements. "We eat the flesh of Christ," he says, "and drink his blood, if we through his incarnation and human life become partakers of the Logos and of wisdom."§

* So in the main passage, the fourth Epistle to Serapion (Ad Serap. iv. 19), which properly treats of the sin against the Holy Ghost (c. 8—23), and has been variously interpreted in the interest of different Confessions, but now receives new light from several passages in the recently discovered Syriac Festival Letters of Athanasius, translated by Larsow, Leipzig, 1852, p. 59, 78 sqq , 153 sqq., and especially p. 101.

† In the Festival Letters in Larsow p. 101, Athanasius says: "And not only, my brethren, is this bread [of the Eucharist] a food of the righteous, and not only are the saints who dwell on earth nourished with such bread and blood, but also in heaven we eat such food; for even to the higher spirits and the angels the Lord is nutriment, and he is the delight of all the powers of heaven, to all he is all, and over every one he yearns in his love of man."

‡ Orat. xvii. 12; viii. 17; iv. 52. Comp. Ullmann's Gregor. v. Naz. p. 483—488. Neander, l. c. i. p. 431, and Steitz in Dorner's Jahrbücher for 1865, p. 133–141. Steitz makes Gregory an advocate of the symbolical theory.

§ Epist. viii. c. 4 (or Ep. 141 in the older editions): Τρώγομεν γὰρ αὐτοῦ τὴν σάρκα καὶ πίνομεν αὐτοῦ τὸ αἷμα κοινωνοὶ γινόμενοι διὰ τῆς ἐνανθρωπήσεως καὶ τῆς αἰσθητῆς ζωῆς τοῦ λόγου καὶ τῆς σοφίας. Σάρκα γὰρ καὶ αἷμα πᾶσαν αὐτοῦ τὴν μυστικὴν ἐπιδημίαν [*i. e.*, a spiritual incarnation or his internal coming to the soul, as distinct from his historical incarnation], ὠνόμασε καὶ τὴν ἐκ πρακτικῆς καὶ φυσικῆς καὶ θεολογικῆς συνεστῶσαν διδασκαλίαν, δι' ἧς τρέφεται ψυχὴ καὶ πρὸς τῶν ὄντων θεωρίαν παρασκευάζεται. This passage overlooked by Klose, Ebrard, and Kahnis, but noticed by Rückert, and more fully by Steitz (l. c. p. 127 ff.), in favour of the symbolical view, is the principal one in Basil on the Eucharist, and must regulate the interpretation of the less important allusions in his other writings.

Macarius the elder, a gifted representative of the earlier Greek mysticism (A. D. 390), belongs to the same symbolical school, he calls bread and wine the antitype of the body and blood of Christ, and seems to know only a spiritual eating of the flesh of the Lord.*

Theodoret, who was acknowledged orthodox by the council of Chalcedon, teaches indeed a transformation (*πεταβάλλειν*) of the eucharistic elements by virtue of the priestly consecration, and an adoration of them, which certainly sounds quite Romish, but in the same connection expressly rejects the idea of an absorption of the elements in the body of the Lord, as an error akin to the Monophysite. "The mystical emblems of the body and blood of Christ," says he, "continue in their original essence and form, they are visible and tangible as they were before [the consecration];† but the contemplation of the spirit and of faith sees in them that which they have become, and they are adored also as that which they are to believers."‡

Similar language occurs in an Epistle to the monk Cæsarius, ascribed to Chrysostom, but perhaps not genuine;§ in Ephraim of Antioch, cited by Photius; and even in the Roman bishop Gelasius at the end of the fifth century (492–496).

* Hom. xxvii. 17, and other passages. Steitz (l. c. p. 142), enters more fully into the views of this monk of the Egyptian desert.

† Dial. ii., Opera. ed. Hal. tom. iv. p. 126, where the orthodox man says against the errorist: *Τὰ μυστικὰ σύμβολα . . . μένει ἐπὶ τῆς προτέρας οὐσίας καὶ τοῦ σχήματος καὶ τοῦ εἴδους, καὶ ὁρατά ἐστι καὶ ἁπτά, οἷα καὶ πρότερον ἦν.*

‡ *Προσκυνεῖται ὡς ἐκεῖνα ὄντα ἅπερ πιστεύεται.* These words certainly prove that the consecrated elements are regarded as being not only subjectively, but in some sense objectively and really what the believer takes them for, namely, the body and blood of Christ. But with this they also retained, accordiug to Theodoret, their natural reality and their symbolical character.

§ Ep. ad Cæsarium monach. (in Chrys. Opera, tom. iii., Pars altera, p. 897 of the new Paris ed. of Montfaucon after the Benedictine): "Sicut enim antequam sanctificetur panis, panem nominamus: divina autem illum sanctificante gratia, mediante sacerdote, liberatus est quidem ab appellatioue panis; dignus autem habitus dominici corporis appellatione, *etiamsi natura panis in ipso permansit*, et non duo corpora, sed unum corpus Filii prædicamus." This epistle is extant in full only in an old Latin version.

The latter says expressly in his work against Eutyches and Nestorius: "The sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, which we receive, is a Divine thing, because by it we are made partakers of the Divine nature. Yet the substance or nature of the bread and wine does not cease. And assuredly the image and the similitude of the body and blood of Christ are celebrated in the performance of the mysteries."*

It is remarkable that Augustine, in other respects so decidedly catholic in the doctrine of the church and of baptism, and in the cardinal points of the Latin orthodoxy, follows the older African theologians, Tertullian and Cyprian, in a symbolical theory of the Supper, which however includes a real spiritual participation of the Lord by faith, and in this respect stands nearest to the Calvinistic or orthodox Reformed doctrine, while in minor points he differs from it as much as from transubstantiation and consubstantiation.† He was the first to make a clear distinction between the outward sign and the inward grace, which are equally essential to the conception of the sacrament. He maintains the figurative character of the words of institution, and of the discourse of Jesus on the eating and drinking of his flesh and blood in the sixth chapter of John; with Tertullian, he calls the bread and wine "*figuræ* or *signa* corporis et sanguinis Christi" (but certainly not *mere* figures), and insists on a distinction between "that which is visibly received in the sacrament, and that which is spiritually eaten and drunk," or between a carnal, visible manducation of

* De duabus naturis in Christo adv. Eutychen et Nestorium (in the Bibl. Max. Patrum, tom. viii. p. 703,) . . . . "et tamen esse non desinit *substantia* vel *natura* panis et vini. Et certe *imago* et *similitudo* corporis et sanguinis Christi in actione mysteriorum celebrantur." Many Roman divines, through dogmatic prejudice, doubt the genuineness of this epistle. Comp. the Bibl. Max. tom. viii. p. 699—700.

† From his immense dogmatic authority Augustine has been an apple of contention among the different Confessions in all controversies on the doctrine of the Supper. Albertinus (De euchar. p. 602—742) and Rückert (l. c. p. 353, sqq.) have successfully proved that he is no witness for the Roman doctrine; but they go too far when they make him a mere symbolist. That he as little favours the Lutheran doctrine, Kahnis (vom Abendmahl, p. 221, and in the second part of his Luth. Dogmatik, p. 207,) frankly concedes.

the sacrament, and a spiritual eating of the flesh of Christ and drinking of his blood.* The latter he limits to the elect and the believing, though in opposition to the subjectivism of the Donatists, he asserts that the sacrament (in its *objective* import) is the body of Christ even for unworthy receivers. He says of Judas, that he only ate the bread of the Lord, while the other apostles "ate the Lord who was the bread." In another place: The *sacramentum* "is given to some unto life, to others unto destruction;" but the *res sacramenti*, *i. e.*, "the thing itself of which it is the sacramentum, is given to every one who is partaker of it, unto life." "He who does not abide in Christ, undoubtedly neither eats his flesh nor drinks his blood, though he eats and drinks the sacramentum (*i. e.*, the outward sign) of so great a thing to his condemnation." Augustine at all events lays chief stress on the spiritual participation. "Why preparest thou the teeth and the belly? Believe, and thou hast eaten!"† He claims for the sacrament religious reverence, but not a superstitious dread, as if it were a miracle with a magical effect.‡ He also expressly rejects the hypothesis of the ubiquity of Christ's body, which had already come into use in support of the materializing view, and has since been further developed by Lutheran divines in support of the theory of consubstantiation. "The body with which Christ rose," says he, "he took to heaven, which must be in a place . . . . . We must guard against such a conception of his divinity as destroys the reality of his flesh. For when the flesh of the Lord was upon earth, it was certainly not in heaven; and now that it is in heaven, it is not upon earth." "I believe that the body of the Lord is in heaven, as it was upon earth when he

* In Psalm. iii. 1: "Convivium, in quo corporis et sanguinis sui *figuram* discipulis commendavit." Contra Adamant. xii. 3 ("*signum* corporis sui"); Contra Advers. legis et prophet. ii. c. 9; Epist. 23; De Doctr. Christ. iii. 10, 16, 19; De Civit. Dei, xxi. c. 20, 25; De peccat. mer. ac rem. ii. 26 ("*quamvis non sit corpus Christi*, sanctum est tamen, quoniam sacramentum est").

† Tract. in Joh. 25; "Quid paras dentes et ventrem? *Crede*, et manducasti." Comp. Tract. 26: "Qui non manet in Christo, *nec manducat carnem ejus, nec bibit ejus sanguinem*, licet premat dentibus sacramentum corporis et sanguinis Christi."

‡ De Trinit. iii. 10: "Honorem tamquam religiosa possunt habere, stuporem tamquam mira non possunt."

ascended to heaven."* Yet this great church teacher at the same time holds fast to the real presence of Christ in the supper. He says of the martyrs: "They have drunk the blood of *Christ*, and have shed their *own* blood for Christ." He was also inclined, with the Oriental fathers, to ascribe a saving virtue to the consecrated elements.

Augustine's pupil, Facundus, taught that the sacramental bread "is not properly the body of Christ, but contains the mystery of the body." Fulgentius of Ruspina held the same symbolical view, and even at a much later period we can trace it through the mighty influence of Augustine's writings in Isidore of Sevilla, the venerable Beda, among the divines of the Carlovingian age, in Ratramnus, and Berengar of Tours, until it broke forth in a modified form with greater force than ever in the 16th century, and took permanent foothold in the Reformed churches.

Pope Leo I. is sometimes likewise numbered with the symbolists, but without good reason. He calls the communion a "spiritual food,† as Athanasius had done before, but supposes a sort of assimilation of the flesh and blood of Christ by the believing participation. "What we believe, *that* we receive with the mouth . . . . The participation of the body and blood of Christ causes that we pass into that which we receive, and bear Christ in us in spirit and body." Voluntary abstinence from the wine in the supper was as yet considered by this pope a sin.‡

III. The old liturgies, whose testimony on this point is as

* Ep. 146: "Ego Domini corpus ita in cœlo esse credo, ut erat in terra, quando ascendit in cœlum." Comp. similar passages in Tract. in Joh. 13; Ep. 187; Serm. 264.

† "Spiritualis alimonia." This expression, however, as the connection of the passage in Serm. lix. 2 clearly shows, by no means excludes an operation of the sacrament on the body; for "spiritual" is often equivalent to "supernatural." Even Ignatius called the bread of the Supper "a medicine of immortality, and an antidote of death" (φάρμακον ἀθανασίας, ἀντίδοτος τοῦ μὴ ἀποθανεῖν, ἀλλὰ ζῆν ἐν Χριστῷ διὰ παντός), Ad Ephes. c. 20; though this passage is wanting in the shorter Syriac recension.

‡ Comp. the relevant passages from the writings of Leo in Perthel, Papst. Leo's I. Leben u. Lehren, p. 216 sqq., and in Rückert, l. c. p. 479 sqq. Leo's doctrine of the Supper is not so clearly defined as his doctrine of Baptism, and has little that is peculiar. But he certainly had a higher than a purely symbolic view of the sacrament and of the sacrifice of the Eucharist.

important as that of the church fathers, presuppose the actual presence of Christ in the Supper, but speak throughout in the stately language of sentiment, and nowhere attempt an explanation of the nature and mode of this presence, and of its relation to the still visible forms of bread and wine. They use concerning the consecrated elements such terms as: the holy body, the dear blood, of our Lord Jesus Christ, the sanctified oblation, the heavenly, spotless, glorious, awful, divine gifts, the awful, unbloody, holy sacrifice, &c. In the act of consecration the liturgies pray for the sending down of the Holy Ghost, that he may "sanctify and perfect"* the bread and wine, or that he may "sanctify and make" them the body and blood of Christ,† or "bless and make."‡

IV. As to the adoration of the consecrated elements: This follows with logical necessity from the doctrine of transubstantiation, and is the sure touchstone of it. No trace of such adoration appears, however, in the ancient liturgies, and the whole patristic literature yields only four passages from which this practice can be inferred; plainly showing that the doctrine of transubstantiation was not yet fixed in the consciousness of the church.

Chrysostom says: "The wise men adored Christ in the manger; we see him not in the manger, but on the altar, and should pay him still greater homage."§ Theodoret, in the passage already cited, likewise uses the term *προσκυνεῖν*, but at the same time expressly asserts the continuance of the substance of the elements. Ambrose speaks once of the flesh of Christ "which we to-day adore in the mysteries,"‖ and Augustine,

* In the liturgy of St. Mark (in Neale's Ed.: The Liturgies of S. Mark, S. James, S. Clement, S. Chrysostom, S. Basil, Lond. 1859, p. 26): "Ινα αὐτὰ ἁγιάσῃ καὶ τελειώσῃ . . . . καὶ ποιήσῃ τὸν μὲν ἄρτον σῶμα, to which the congregation answers: Ἀμήν.

† In the liturgy of St. James (in Neale, p. 64): "Ινα . . . ἁγιάσῃ καὶ ποιήσῃ τὸν μὲν ἄρτον τοῦτον σῶμα ἅγιον τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου, κ. τ. λ.

‡ The liturgy of St. Chrysostom (Neale, p. 137) uses the terms εὐλόγησον and ποίησον.

§ Hom. 24, in 1 Cor.

‖ De Spir. S. iii. 11: "Quam [carnem Christi] hodie in mysteriis adoramus, et quam apostoli in Domino Jesu adoraverunt."

of an adoration preceding the participation of the flesh of Christ.*

In all these passages we must, no doubt, take the term προσκυνεῖν and *adorare* in the wider sense, and distinguish the bowing of the knee, which was so frequent, especially in the East, as a mere mark of respect, from proper adoration. The old liturgies contain no direction for any such act of adoration as became prevalent in the Latin church, with the elevation of the host, after the triumph of the doctrine of transubstantiation in the twelfth century.†

II. *The Eucharist as a Sacrifice.*

The catholic church, both Greek and Latin, sees in the Eucharist not only a *sacramentum*, in which God communicates a grace to believers, but at the same time, and in fact mainly, a *sacrificium*, in which believers really offer to God that which is represented by the sensible elements. For this view also the church fathers laid the foundation, and it must be conceded they stand in general far more on the Greek and Roman Catholic than on the Protestant side of this question. The importance of the subject demands a preliminary explanation of the idea of sacrifice, and a clear discrimination of its original Christian form from its later perversion by tradition.

The idea of sacrifice is the centre of all ancient religions, both the heathen and the Jewish. In Christianity it is fulfilled. For by his one perfect sacrifice on the cross, Christ has

* In Psalm. 98, n. 9: "Ipsam carnem nobis manducandam ad salutem dedit; nemo autem illam carnem manducat *nisi prius adoraverit* . . . . et non modo non peccemus adorando, sed peccemus non adorando."

† So says also the Roman liturgist Muratori, De rebus liturgicis, c. xix. p. 227: "Uti omnes inter Catholicos eruditi fatentur, post *Berengarii hæresiam* ritus in Catholica Romana ecclesia invaluit, scilicet post consecrationem elevare hostiam et calicem, ut a populo adoretur corpus et sanguis Domini." Freeman, Principles of Div. Service, Introduction to Part ii. p. 169, asserts: "The church throughout the world, down to the period of the unhappy change of doctrine in the Western church in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, never worshipped either the consecrated elements on account of their being the body and blood of Christ, or the presence of that body and blood; nor again, either Christ himself as supernaturally present by consecration, or the presence of his divinity; neither have the churches of God to this hour, with the exception of those of the Roman obedience, any such custom."

entirely blotted out the guilt of man, and reconciled him with the righteous God. On the ground of this sacrifice of the eternal High Priest, believers have access to the throne of grace, and may expect their prayers and intercessions to be heard. With this perfect and eternally availing sacrifice the Eucharist stands in indissoluble connection. It is indeed originally a sacrament, and the main thing in it is that which we *receive* from God, not that which we *give* to God. The latter is only a consequence of the former; for we can give to God nothing which we have not first received from him. But the Eucharist is the *sacramentum* of a *sacrificium*, the thankful celebration of the sacrificial death of Christ on the cross, and the believing participation or the renewed appropriation of the fruits of this sacrifice. In other words, it is a feast on a sacrifice. "As oft as ye do eat this bread and drink this cup, ye do show the Lord's death till he come."

The Eucharist is moreover, as the name itself implies, on the part of the church a living and reasonable thank-offering, wherein she presents herself anew, in Christ, and on the ground of his sacrifice, to God, with prayers and intercessions. For only in Christ are our offerings acceptable to God, and only through the continual showing forth and presenting of his merit can we expect our prayers and intercessions to be heard.

In this view certainly, in a deep symbolical and ethical sense, Christ is offered to God the Father in every believing prayer, and above all in the holy Supper; *i. e.*, as the sole ground of our reconciliation and acceptance. This is the deep truth which lies at the bottom of the Catholic mass, and gives it still such power over the religious mind.

But this idea in process of time became adulterated with foreign elements, and transformed into the Græco-Roman doctrine of the *sacrifice of the mass*. According to this doctrine the Eucharist is an unbloody *repetition of the atoning sacrifice of Christ by the priesthood* for the salvation of the living and *the dead;* so that the body of Christ is truly and literally offered every day, and every hour, and upon innumerable altars at the same time. The term *mass*, which properly denoted the *dismissal* of the congregation (*missio*, *dismissio*) at the close of the general public worship, became, after the end

of the fourth century, the name for the worship of the faithful,* which consisted in the celebration of the eucharistic sacrifice and the communion. The corresponding terms of the Orientals are *λειτουργία*, *θυσία*, *προσφορά*.

In the sacrifice of the mass the whole mysterious fulness and glory of the Catholic worship is concentrated. Here the idea of the priesthood reaches its dizzy summit; and here the devotion and awe of the spectators rises to the highest pitch of adoration. For to the devout Catholic there can be nothing greater or more solemn than an act of worship, in which the eternal Son of God is veritably offered to God upon the altar by the visible hand of the priest for the sins of the world. But, though the Catholic worship here rises far above the vain sacrifices of heathendom and the merely typical sacrifices of Judaism, yet that old sacrificial service, which was interwoven with the whole popular life of the Jewish and Græco-Roman world, exerted a controling influence on the Roman Catholic service of the Eucharist, especially after the nominal conversion of the whole Roman heathendom, and obscured the original simplicity and purity of that service almost beyond recognition. The *sacramentum* became entirely eclipsed by the *sacrificium*, and the sacrificium became grossly materialized, and was exalted at the expense of the sacrifice on the cross. The endless succession of necessary repetitions detracts from the sacrifice of Christ.

The biblical support of the sacrifice of the mass is weak, and may be reduced to an unduly literal interpretation, or a downright perversion, of some such passages as Mal. i. 10 f.; 1 Cor. x. 21; Heb. v. 6; vii. 1 ff.; xiii. 10. The Epistle to the Hebrews especially is often misapplied, though it teaches with great emphasis the very opposite, viz., the abolition of the Old Testament sacrificial system by the Christian worship, the eternal validity of the sacrifice of our only High Priest on the right hand of the Father, and the impossibility of a repetition of it (comp. x. 14; vii. 23, 24).

We pass now to the more particular history. The ante-

* The *missa fidelium*, in distinction from the *missa catechumenorum*. Comp. Schaff, vol. i. § 101, p. 383 sqq.

Nicene fathers uniformly conceived the Eucharist as a thank-offering of the church; the congregation offering the consecrated elements of bread and wine, and in them itself, to God. This view is in itself perfectly innocent, but readily leads to the doctrine of the sacrifice of the mass, as soon as the elements become identified with the body and blood of Christ, and the presence of the body comes to be materialistically taken. The germs of the Roman doctrine appear in Cyprian about the middle of the third century, in connection with his high churchly doctrine of the clerical priesthood. *Sacerdotium* and *sacrificium* are with him correlative ideas, and a Judaizing conception of the former favoured a like Judaizing conception of the latter. The priest officiates in the Eucharist in the place of Christ,* and performs an actual sacrifice in the church.† Yet Cyprian does not distinctly say that Christ is the subject of the spiritual sacrifice; rather is the mystical body of Christ, the church, offered to God, and married with Christ.‡

The doctrine of the sacrifice of the mass is much further developed in the Nicene and post-Nicene fathers, though amidst many obscurities and rhetorical extravagances, and with much wavering between symbolical and grossly realistic conceptions, until in all essential points it is brought to its settlement by Gregory the Great at the close of the sixth century. These points are the following:

1. The eucharistic sacrifice is the most solemn mystery of the church, and fills the faithful with a holy awe. Hence the predicates, *θυσία φοβερά*, *φρικτή*, *ἀναίμακτος*, *sacrificium tremendum*, which are frequently applied to it, especially in the Oriental liturgies and homilies. Thus it is said in the liturgy of St. James: "We offer to Thee, O Lord, this awful and unbloody sacrifice." The more surprising is it that the people should have been indifferent to so solemn an act, and that

* "Vice Christi vere fungitur."

† "Sacrificium verum et plenum offert in ecclesia Patri."

‡ Epist. 63 ad Cæcil. c. 14. Augustine's view is similar: the church offering herself to God, in and with Christ as her head.

Chrysostom should lament: "In vain is the daily sacrifice, in vain stand we at the altar: there is no one to take part."*

2. It is not a new sacrifice added to that of the cross, but a daily, unbloody repetition, and perpetual application of that one only sacrifice. Augustine represents it, on the one hand, as a *sacramentum memoriæ*, a symbolical commemoration of the sacrificial death of Christ;—to which of course there is no objection.† But, on the other hand, he calls the celebration of the communion *verissimum sacrificium* of the body of Christ. The church, he says, offers (*immolat*) to God the sacrifice of thanks in the body of Christ, from the days of the apostles through the sure succession of the bishops down to our time. But the church at the same time offers, with Christ, herself, as the body of Christ, to God. As all are one body, so also all are together the same sacrifice.‡ According to Chrysostom, the same Christ, and the whole Christ, is everywhere offered. It is not a different sacrifice from that which the High Priest formerly offered, but we offer always the same sacrifice, or rather, we perform a memorial of this sacrifice.§ This last clause would decidedly favour a symbolical conception, if Chrysostom in other places had not used such strong expressions as this: "When thou seest the Lord slain, and lying there, and

* Hom. iii. in Ep. ad Ephes. (new Par. Bened. ed. tom. xi., p. 26): Εἰκῇ θυσία καθημερινή, εἰκῇ παριστήκαμεν τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ, οὐδεὶς ὁ μετέχων, *i. e.*, Frustra est quotidianum sacrificium, frustra adstamus altari: nemo est qui participet.

† Contr. Faust. Manich. l. xx. 18: "Unde jam Christiani, *peracti ejusdem sacrificii memoriam* celebrant, sacrosancta oblatione et participatione corporis et sanguinis Christi." Comp. l. xx. 21. This agrees with Augustine's symbolical conception of the consecrated elements as signa, imagines, similitudines corporis et sanguinis Christi. Steitz, l. c. p. 379, would make him altogether a symbolist, but does not succeed; comp. the preceding section, and Neander, Dogmengesch. i. p. 432.

‡ De civit. Dei, x. 20: "Per hoc [homo Jesus Christus] et sacerdos est ipse offerens, ipse et oblatio. Cujus rei sacramentum quotidianum esse voluit ecclesiæ sacrificium, quæ cum ipsius capitis corpus sit, se ipsam per ipsum offere discit." And the faithful in heaven form with us one sacrifice, since they with us are one civitas Dei.

§ Hom. xvii. in Ep. ad Hebr. tom. xii, p. 241 and 242:—Τοῦτο γὰρ ποιεῖτε, φησὶν, εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν. Οὐκ ἄλλην θυσίαν, καθάπερ ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς τότε, ἀλλὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ἀεὶ ποιοῦμεν· μᾶλλον δὲ ἀνάμνησιν ἐργαζόμεθα θυσίας.

the priest standing at the sacrifice," or: "Christ lies slain upon the altar."*

3. The sacrifice is the antitype of the Mosaic sacrifice, and is related to it as substance to typical shadows. It is also especially foreshadowed by Melchizedek's unbloody offering of bread and wine. The sacrifice of Melchizedek is therefore made of great account by Hilary, Jerome, Augustine, Chrysostom, and other church fathers, on the strength of the well-known parallel in the seventh chapter of the Epistle to the Hebrews.

4. The subject of the sacrifice is the body of Jesus Christ, which is as truly present on the altar of the church as it once was on the altar of the cross, and which now offers itself to God through his priest. Hence the frequent language of the liturgies: "Thou art he who offerest, and who art offered, O Christ, our God." Augustine, however, connects with this, as we have already said, the true and important moral idea of the self-sacrifice of the whole redeemed church to God. The prayers of the liturgies do the same.†

5. The offering of the sacrifice is the exclusive prerogative of the Christian priest. Later Roman divines take the words: "This *do* (ποιεῖτε) in remembrance of me," as equivalent to: "This *offer*," and limit this command to the apostles and their successors in office, whereas it is evidently an exhortation to all believers to the commemoration of the atoning death, the *communio sacramenti*, and not to the *immolatio sacrificii*.

6. The sacrifice is efficacious for the whole body of the

* De sacerd. iii., c. 4 (tom. i., 467): Ὅταν ἴδῃς τὸν Κύριον τεθυμένον καὶ κείμενον, καὶ τὸν ἱερέα ἐφεστῶτα τῷ θύματι, καὶ ἐπευχόμενον, κ. τ. λ. Homil. xv. ad Popul. Antioch. c. 5 (tom. ii. p. 187): Ἔνθα ὁ Χριστὸς κεῖται τεθυμένος. Comp. Hom. in tom. ii., p. 394, where it is said of the sacrifice of the Eucharist: Θυσία πρισέρχῃ φρικτὴ καὶ ἁγιά· ἐσφαγμένος πρόκειται ὁ Χριστός.

† Freeman regards this as the main thing in the old liturgies. "In all liturgies," says he, l. c. p. 190, "the church has manifestly two distinct though closely connected objects in view. The first is, *to offer herself in Christ to God;* or rather, in strictness and as the highest conception of her aim, to *procure that she may be offered by Christ himself, and as in Christ, to the Father.* And the second object, as the crowning and completing feature of the rite, and woven up with the other in one unbroken chain of service, is *to obtain communion through Christ with God;* or more precisely again, that *Christ may himself give her, through himself, such communion.*"

church, including its departed members, in procuring the gifts which are implored in the prayers of the service. All the old liturgies proceed under a conviction of the unbroken communion of saints, and contain commemorations and intercessions for the departed fathers and brethren, who are conceived to be, not in purgatory, but in communion with God, and in a condition of progressive holiness and blessedness, looking forward in pious longing to the great day of consummation. These prayers for an increase of bliss, which appeared afterwards very inappropriate, form the transition from the original simple commemoration of the departed saints, including the patriarchs, prophets, and apostles, to intercessions for the suffering souls in purgatory, as now used in the Roman church since the sixth century.*

In the Liturgy of Chrysostom, still in use in the Greek and Russian church, the commemoration of the departed reads: "And further we offer to Thee this reasonable service on behalf of those who have departed in the faith, our ancestors, Fathers, Patriarchs, Prophets, Apostles, Preachers, Evangelists, Martyrs, Confessors, Virgins, and every just spirit made perfect in the faith. . . . . Especially the most holy, undefiled, excellently laudable, glorious lady, the mother of God and ever Virgin Mary. . . . . The holy John the Prophet, Forerunner and Baptist, the holy, glorious, and all celebrated Apostles, and all Thy Saints, through whose prayers look upon us, O God. And remember all those that are departed in the hope of the resurrection to eternal life, and give them rest where the light of Thy countenance shines upon them."

Cyril of Jerusalem, in his fifth and last mystagogic Catechesis, which is devoted to the consideration of the eucharistic sacrifice and the liturgical service of God, gives the following description of the eucharistic intercessions for the departed:

* Neale has collected in an appendix to his English edition of the old liturgies (The Liturgies of S. Mark, S. James, etc. Lond. 1859, p. 216 sqq.) the finest liturgical prayers of the ancient church for the departed saints, and deduces from them the positions, (1) "that prayers for the dead, and more especially the oblation of the blessed Eucharist for them, have been from the beginning the practice of the universal church. (2) And this without any idea of a purgatory of pain, or of any state from which the departed soul has to be delivered as from one of misery." The second point needs qualification.

"When the spiritual sacrifice, the unbloody service of God, is performed, we pray to God over this atoning sacrifice for the universal peace of the church, for the welfare of the world, for the emperor, for soldiers and prisoners, for the sick and afflicted, for all the poor and needy. Then we commemorate also those who sleep, the patriarchs, prophets, apostles, martyrs, that God through their prayers and their intercessions may receive our prayer; and in general we pray for all who have gone from us, since we believe that it is of the greatest help to those souls for whom the prayer is offered, while the holy sacrifice, exciting a holy awe, lies before us.*

This is clearly an approach to the later idea of purgatory in the Latin church. Even St. Augustine, with Tertullian, teaches plainly. as an old tradition, that the eucharistic sacrifice, the intercessions or *suffragia* and alms of the living, are of benefit to the departed believers, so that the Lord deals more mercifully with them than their sins deserve.† His noble mother, Monica, when dying, told him he might bury her body where he pleased, and should give himself no concern for it, only she begged of him that he would remember her soul at the altar of the Lord.‡

With this is connected the idea of a repentance and purification in the intermediate state between death and the resurrection, which likewise Augustine derives from Matt. xii. 32, and 1 Cor. iii. 15, yet mainly as a mere opinion.§ From these and similar passages, and under the influence of previous

* Τῆς ἁγίας καὶ φρικωδεστάτης προκειμένης θυσίας, Catech. xxiii. 8.

† Serm. 172, 2 (Opp. tom. v. 1196): "Orationibus sanctæ ecclesiæ, et sacrificio salutari, et eleemosynis, quæ pro eorum spiritibus erogantur, non est dubitandum mortuos adjuvari, ut cum eis misericordius agatur a Domino." He expressly limits this effect, however, to those who have departed *in the faith.*

‡ Confess. l. ix. 27: "Tantum illud vos rogo, ut ad Domini altare memineritis mei, ubi fueritis." Tertullian considers it the duty of a devout widow to pray for the soul of her husband, and to offer a sacrifice on the anniversary of his death; De monogam. c. 10; comp. De corona, c. 2: "Oblationes pro defunctis pro natalitiis annua die facimus."

§ De civit. Dei, xxi. 24, and elsewhere. The passages of Augustine and the other fathers in favour of the doctrine of purgatory are collected in the much cited work of Berington and Kirk: The Faith of Catholics, etc., vol. iii. p. 140—207.

Jewish and heathen ideas and customs, arose, after Gregory the Great, the Roman doctrine of the purgatorial fire for imperfect believers who still need to be purified from the dross of their sins before they are fit for heaven, and the institution of special *masses for the dead*, in which the perversion of the thankful remembrance of the one eternally availing sacrifice of Christ reaches its height, and the idea of the communion utterly disappears. There are silent masses, *missæ solitariæ*, at which usually no one is present but the priest, with the attendant boys, who offers to God at a certain tariff the magically produced body of Christ for the deliverance of a soul from purgatory. This institution has also a heathen precedent in the old Roman custom of offering sacrifices to the Manes of beloved dead. On Gregory's doctrine of the mass, comp. the monograph of Lau, p. 484 sq. The horrible abuse of these masses for the dead, and their close connection with superstitious impostures of purgatory and of indulgence, explain the moral anger of the Reformers at the mass, and the strong declarations against it in several symbolical books, especially in the Smalcald articles of Luther and in the 80th question of the Heidelberg Catechism.

In general, in the celebration of the Lord's Supper, the sacrament continually retired behind the sacrifice. In the Roman churches in all countries one may see and hear splendid masses at the high altar, where the congregation of the faithful, instead of taking part in the communion, are mere spectators of the sacrificial act of the priest. The communion is frequently despatched at a side altar at an early hour in the morning.

III. *The Celebration of the Eucharist.*

The celebration of the eucharistic sacrifice and of the communion was the centre and summit of the public worship of the Lord's day, and all other parts of worship served as preparation and accompaniment. The old liturgics are essentially, and almost exclusively, eucharistic prayers and exercises; they contain nothing besides, except some baptismal formulas and prayers for the catechumens. The word liturgy (*λειτουργία*), which properly embraces all parts of the worship of God,

denotes in the narrower sense a celebration of the Eucharist or the mass.

Here lies a cardinal difference between the Catholic and Evangelical cultus: in the former the sacrifice of the mass, in the latter the sermon is the centre.

With all variations in particulars, especially in the introductory portions, the old Catholic liturgies agree in the essential points, particularly in the prayers which immediately precede and follow the consecration of the elements. They all (excepting some Syriac copies of certain Nestorian and Monophysite formularics) repeat the solemn Words of Institution from the Gospels, understanding them not merely in a declaratory, but in an operative sense; they all contain the acts of Consecration, Intercession, and Communion; all (except the Roman) invoke the Holy Ghost upon the elements to sanctify them, and make them actual vehicles of the body and blood of Christ; all conceive the Eucharist primarily as a sacrifice, and then, on the basis of the sacrifice, as a communion.

The eucharistic action in the narrower sense is called the *Anaphora*, or the *canon missæ*, and begins after the close of the service of the catechumens (which consisted principally of reading and preaching, and extended to the Offertory, *i. e.*, the preparation of the bread and wine, and the placing of it on the altar). It is introduced with the Ἄνω τὰς καρδίας, or *Sursum corda*, of the priest: the exhortation to the faithful to lift up their hearts in devotion, and take part in the prayers; to which the congregation answers: *Habemus ad Dominum*, "*We lift them up unto the Lord.*" Then follows the exhortation: "Let us give thanks to the Lord," with the response: "*It is meet and right.*"*

* Or, according to the Liturgia S. Jacobi: Ἄνω σχῶμεν τὸν νοῦν καὶ τὰς καρδίας, with the response: Ἄξιον καὶ δίκαιον. In the Lit. S. Clem.: *Priest:* Ἄνω τὸν νοῦν. *All* (πάντες): Ἔχομεν πρὸς τὸν Κύριον.—Εὐχαριστήσωμεν τῷ Κυρίῳ. Resp.: Ἄξιον καὶ δίκαιον. In the Lit. S. Chrys. (still in use in the orthodox Greek and Russian Church):

Ὁ ἱερεύς· Ἄνω σχῶμεν τὰς καρδίας.

Ὁ χορός· Ἔχομεν πρὸς τὸν Κύριον.

Ὁ ἱερεύς· Εὐχαριστήσωμεν τῷ Κυρίῳ.

Ὁ χορός· Ἄξιον καὶ δίκαιον ἐστὶ προσκυνεῖν Πατέρα, Υἱὸν, καὶ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα, Τριάδα ὁμοούσιον καὶ ἀχώριστον.

The first principal act of the Anaphora is the great *prayer of thanksgiving*, the εὐλογία or εὐχαριστία, after the example of the Saviour in the institution of the Supper. In this prayer the priest thanks God for all the gifts of creation and of redemption, and the choir generally concludes the thanksgiving with the so-called Trisagion or Seraphic Hymn (Isa. vi. 3), and the triumphal Hosanna (Matt. xxi. 9): "Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord of Sabaoth, heaven and earth are full of Thy glory. Hosanna in the highest: blessed is He that cometh in the name of the Lord: Hosanna in the highest."

Then follows the *consecration* and *oblation* of the elements, by the commemoration of the great facts in the life of Christ, by the rehearsing of the Words of Institution from the Gospels or from Paul, and by the invocation of the Holy Ghost, who brings to pass the mysterious change of the bread and wine into the sacramental body and blood of Christ.* This invocation of the Holy Ghost† appears in all the Oriental liturgies, but is wanting in the Latin church, which ascribes the consecration exclusively to the virtue of Christ's Words of Institution. The form of the Words of Institution is different in the different liturgies.‡ The elevation of the consecrated elements was introduced in the Latin church, though not till after the Berengarian controversies in the eleventh century, to give the people occasion to show, by the adoration of the host, their faith in the real presence of Christ in the sacrament.

To add an example: The prayer of consecration and oblation in one of the oldest and most important of the liturgies, that of St. James, runs thus. After the Words of Institution, the priest proceeds:

"*Priest:* We sinners, remembering his life-giving passion, his saving cross, his death and his resurrection from the dead

* Hence it is said, for example, in the Syriac version of the Liturgy of St. James: "How dreadful is this hour, in which the Holy Ghost hastens to come down from the heights of heaven, and broods over the Eucharist, and sanctifies it. In holy silence and fear stand and pray."

† Ἐπίκλησις Πνεύματος ἁγίου, invocatio Spiritus Sancti.

‡ They are collected by Neale, in his English edition of the Primitive Liturgies, p. 175—215, from 67 ancient liturgies in alphabetical order. Freeman says, rather too strongly, l. c. p. 364: "No two churches in the world have even the same words of Institution."

on the third day, his ascension to heaven, and his sitting at the right-hand of Thee his God and Father, and his glorious and terrible second appearing, when he shall come in glory to judge the quick and the dead, and to render to every man according to his works,—offer to Thee, O Lord, this awful and unbloody sacrifice;* besecching Thee that Thou wouldst deal with us not after our sins nor reward us according to our iniquities, but according to Thy goodness and unspeakable love to men wouldst blot out the handwriting which is against us Thy suppliants, and wouldst vouchsafe to us Thy heavenly and eternal gifts, which eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither hath it entered into the heart of man what Thou, O God, hast prepared for them that love Thee. And reject not Thy people, O loving Lord, for my sake and on account of my sins.

He repeats thrice: For Thy people and Thy church prayeth to Thee.

People: Have mercy upon us, O Lord God, Almighty Father!

Priest: Have mercy upon us, Almighty God!

Have mercy upon us, O God, our Redeemer!

Have mercy upon us, O God, according to Thy great mercy, and send upon us, and upon these gifts here present, Thy most holy Spirit, Lord, Giver of life, who with Thee the God and Father, and with Thine only begotten Son, sitteth and reigneth upon one throne, and is of the same essence and co-eternal,† who spoke in the law and in the prophets, and in Thy new covenant, who descended in the form of a dove upon our Lord Jesus Christ in the river Jordan, and rested upon him, who came down upon Thy holy apostles in the form of tongues of fire in the upper room of Thy holy and glorious Zion on the day of Pentecost: Send down, O Lord, the same Holy Ghost upon us and upon these holy gifts here present, that with his holy and good and glorious

* Προσφέρομέν σοι, Δέσποτα, τὴν φοβερὰν ταύτην καὶ ἀναίμακτον θυσίαν. The term φοβερά denotes *holy* awe, and is previously applied also to the second coming of Christ: Τῆς δευτέρας ἐνδόξου καὶ φοβερᾶς αὐτοῦ παρουσίας, κ. τ. λ., μεμνημένοι. The Liturgy of St. Chrysostom has instead: Προσφέρομέν σοι τὴν λογικὴν ταύτην καὶ ἀναίμακτον λατρείαν (doubtless with reference to the λογικὴ λατρεία in Rom. xii. 1).

† Ἐξαπόστειλον ἐφ' ἡμᾶς καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ προκείμενα δῶρα ταῦτα τὸ Πνεῦμά σου τὸ πανάγιον, [εἶτα κλίνας τὸν αὐχένα λέγει·] τὸ κύριον καὶ ζωοποιόν, τὸ σύνθρονον σοὶ τῷ Θεῷ καὶ Πατρί, καὶ τῷ μονογενεῖ σου Υἱῷ, τὸ συμβασιλεῦον, τῷ ὁμοούσιον τε καὶ συναΐδιον. The ὁμοούσιον as well as the Nicene Creed in the preceding part of the Liturgy of St. James, indicates a post-Nicene origin.

presence He may sanctify this bread and make it the holy body of Thy Christ.*

People: Amen.

Priest: And this cup the dear blood of Thy Christ.

People: Amen.

Priest: (In a low voice): That they may avail to those who receive them, for the forgiveness of sins and for eternal life, for the sanctification of soul and body, for the bringing forth of good works, for the strengthening of Thy holy Catholic Church which Thou hast built upon the rock of faith, that the gates of hell may not prevail against her; delivering her from all error, and all scandal, and from the ungodly, and preserving her unto the consummation of all things."

After the act of consecration come the *intercessions*, sometimes very long, for the church, for all classes, for the living, and for the dead from righteous Abel to Mary, the apostles, the martyrs, and the saints in Paradise; and finally the Lord's Prayer. To the several intercesssions, and the Lord's Prayer, the people or the choir responds, *Amen.* With this closes the act of eucharistic sacrifice.

Now follows the *communion*, or the participation of the consecrated elements. It is introduced with the words: "Holy things for holy persons,"† and the *Kyrie eleison*, or (as in the Clementine liturgy) the *Gloria in Excelsis:* "Glory be to God on high, peace on earth, and good will to men.‡ Hosanna to the Son of David! Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord: God is the Lord, and he hath appeared among us." The bishop and the clergy communicate first, and then the people. The formula of distribution in the Clementine liturgy is simply: "The body of Christ;" "The blood of Christ, the cup of life,"§ to which the receiver answers "*Amen.*" In other liturgies it is longer.‖

* Ἵνα . . . . ἁγιάσῃ καὶ ποιήσῃ τὸν μὲν ἄρτον τοῦτον σῶμα ἅγιον τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου.

† Τὰ ἅγια τοῖς ἁγίοις, Sancta Sanctis. It is a warning to the unworthy not to approach the table of the Lord.

‡ According to the usual reading ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκία. But the older and better attested reading is ἐυδοκίας, which alters the sense and makes the angelic hymn bimembris: "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace among men of his good pleasure" (*i. e.*, the chosen people of God).

§ Σῶμα Χριστοῦ—Αἷμα Χριστου, ποτήριον ζωῆς.

‖ In the Liturgy of St. Mark: Σῶμα ἁγιου—Αἷμα τίμιον τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ Θεοῦ καὶ

The holy act closes with prayers of thanksgiving, psalms, and the benediction.

The Eucharist was celebrated daily, or at least every Sunday. The people were exhorted to frequent communion, especially on the high festivals. In North Africa some communed every day, others every Sunday, others still less frequently.* Augustine leaves this to the needs of every believer, but says in one place: "The Eucharist is our daily bread." The daily communion was connected with the current mystical interpretation of the fourth petition in the Lord's Prayer. Basil communed four times in the week. Gennadius of Massilia commands at least weekly communion. In the East it seems to have been the custom, after the fourth century, to commune only once a year, or on great occasions. Chrysostom often complains of the indifference of those who come to church only to hear the sermon, or who attend the eucharistic sacrifice, but do not commune. One of his allusions to this neglect we have already quoted. Some later councils threatened all laymen with excommunication, who did not commune at least on Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost.

In the Oriental and North African churches prevailed the incongruous custom of *infant* communion, which seemed to follow from infant baptism, and was advocated by Augustine and Innocent I., on the authority of John vi. 53. In the Greek church this custom continues to this day, but in the Latin, after the ninth century, it was disputed or forbidden, because the apostle (1 Cor. xi. 28, 29) requires self-examination as the condition of worthy participation.†

With this custom appear the first instances, and they ex-

Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν. In the Mozarabic Liturgy the communicating priest prays: "Corpus et sanguis Domini noster Jesu Christi custodiat corpus et animam meam in vitam æternam." Resp. "*Amen.*" So in the Roman Liturgy, from which it passed into the Anglican.

* Augustine, Epist. 118 ad Januar. c. 2: "Alii quotidie communicant corpori et sanguini Dominico; alii certis diebus accipiunt; alibi nullus dies intermittitur quo non offeratur; alii sabbato tantum et Dominico; alibi tantum Dominico."

† Comp. P. Zorn: Historia eucharistiæ infantium. Berol. 1736; and the article by Kling in Herzog's Encykl. vii. 549 sqq.

ceptional, of a communio sub *una* specie; after a little girl in Carthage in the time of Cyprian had been made drunk by receiving the wine. But the withholding of the cup from the laity, which transgresses the express command of the Lord, "Drink ye *all* of it," and is associated with a superstitious horror of profaning the blood of the Lord by spilling, and with the development of the power of the priesthood, dates only from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and was then justified by the scholastic doctrine of concomitance.

In the Greek church it was customary to dip the bread in the wine, and deliver both elements in a spoon.

The customs of house-communion and after-communion for the sick and for prisoners, of distributing the unconsecrated remainder of the bread among the non-communicants, and of sending the consecrated elements, or their substitutes,* to distant bishops or churches at Easter as a token of fellowship, are very old.

The Greek church used leaven bread, the Latin, unleavened. This difference ultimately led to intricate controversies.

The mixing of the wine with water was considered essential, and was explained in various mystical ways; chiefly by reference to the blood and water which flowed from the side of Jesus on the cross.

* These substitutes for the consecrated elements were called *ἀντίδωρα* (*i. e.*, *ἀντὶ τῶν δώρων εὐχαριστικῶν*), and *eulogiæ* (from the benediction at the close of the service).

ART. IV.—*The Life of Horace Mann.* By his Wife. Boston: Walker, Fuller & Co. 1865.

THE opinions of a public functionary are a legitimate subject of review, so far as they affect the interests of the community. The late HORACE MANN was, for about twelve years, actively engaged in behalf of the public schools of Massachusetts, and afterwards, for several years, he was President of Antioch College, at Yellow Springs, Ohio, and his fame and influence have extended to the borders of our land. The volume before us was written by his widow, and is a faithful and loving tribute of a warm-hearted woman, to the personal worth and life-long labours of her husband. Our purpose is to delineate the form and pressure of his peculiar views and measures *as an educator of the young.*

Mr. Mann was born in Franklin, Massachusetts, May 4, 1796, He was thirteen when he lost his father, and he lived with his mother till he was twenty. "All the family laboured together for the common support, and toil was considered honourable, although it was sometimes, of necessity, excessive." It shows the narrowness of their means, that the boy earned the money to buy his school books by braiding straw. By diligent application he was prepared to enter the Sophomore class of Brown University in 1816—graduated with honourable distinction—served his *alma mater* for a time, successfully, as tutor of Latin and Greek, was admitted to the bar at the close of 1823—elected to the State Legislature in 1827, and Secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Education in 1837—became a member of Congress in 1847, and President of Antioch College in 1853, which office he held at his death in 1859. This is the briefest outline of an uncommonly active, earnest, and, in many respects, useful life. Our filling up must necessarily be very scant.

Mr. Mann's childhood is represented as having been unhappy. "He retained only painful recollections" of it. "The poverty of my parents," he says, "subjected me to continued privations." "My teachers were very good people, but they

were very poor teachers." "Our eyes were never trained to distinguish forms and colours. Our ears were strangers to music." But "more than by toil or by the privation of any natural taste, was the inward joy of my youth blighted by theological inculcations."

What first led him to doubt the religious views in which he had been educated does not appear, though he is very explicit in condemning them as utterly unscriptural and injurious in their influence; and in assuming the office of Secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Education, he doubtless promised himself the enviable privilege of rescuing the minds and hearts of a generation of children and youth from the thraldom of bigotry and fanaticism. He conceived that a system of religious doctrines had been palmed upon the community that were at variance with all proper notions of the character and requirements of the Supreme Being. These false and mischievous opinions were too deeply imbedded in the adult mind of the country to be corrected or materially modified, but the throng of school children were still within reach. Their docile minds might be imbued with more rational and enlightened views, and with happier religious emotions. And as his own childhood and youth had been made inexpressibly gloomy and wretched by sundry dogmas, with which he tells us he was "familiar at ten years of age," his sympathies were naturally kindled in behalf of others who are victims of the same calamity.

Whether the doctrines which Mr. Mann specifies as having filled him with such horror were ever taught or held by any considerable body of people in their senses, it is not to our purpose to inquire. It is evident that in some way or other, (perhaps from a verse of one of good Dr. Watts's hymns, which we are told "cannot now be found,") he had been led to embrace a faith which "spread a pall of blackness over the whole heavens, shutting out every beautiful and glorious thing; while beyond that curtain of darkness, he could see the bottomless and seething lake, filled with torments, and hear the wailings of its victims." "Images of terror haunted his mind day and night."

A friend to whom he unbosomed himself, describes him as "well nigh to insanity." His darling brother, at twelve years

of age was drowned, and "his agonized heart stimulated his imagination to clothe a 'solitary soul' in hell with his brother's form and feature." "His whole being rose up against the idea of such a cruel Creator, and declared *hatred* to him." The effect of thus putting himself "at odds," with what he still thought infinite power, was fearful. "His imagination was possessed with the idea of a personal devil;" and "nature seemed to him but the specious veil in which demons clothed themselves. * * He expected the foul fiend to appear from behind every hedge and tree to carry him off." So intense was this nervous excitement by night, that "he saw fiends and other horrid shapes distinctly as with his bodily eyes, and was obliged to use the utmost force of his will to keep from screaming;" and not until twelve years of age was he relieved. His friend regards it as a marvel that "so sensitive a boy, absolutely banished from the bosom of a Heavenly Father, grew up so sweet, so truthful, so faithful to the unknown God whom he ignorantly worshipped, and who, unawares to himself, strengthened him for his protest against the popular theology." It does not seem to have been by any process through which common people can expect to pass, that he obtained relief, but as his friend tells us, "it was the exercise of his great intellectual faculties and of his pure and noble affections in philanthropy," that "gradually brought him into a healthier atmosphere of feeling and thought, and, at last, his happy marriage seemed to justify God's creation."

The release from the bondage of his religious education was not gradual however. He remembered the day, the hour, the place, the circumstances, when "in an agony of despair he broke the spell that bound him," but he does not record any of them. From what source the light came which now dawned upon him, is also a mystery, but by it he was enabled at once to "construct a theory of Christian ethics and doctrine respecting virtue and vice, rewards and penalties, time and eternity, God and his providence, out of which his life flowed," to which he steadfastly adhered, and which, as we shall see, constituted the basis of his theories and schemes of popular education. After the death of his wife (an event which nearly "deprived him of life and reason"), we are told that "happier

religious associations aided his own efforts to put himself in harmony with the universe, whose adaptations to the soul of man had again been lost sight of by his crushing sorrow." "Baptized in the divine flame, which sorrow lights in the soul, he was ready," when he returned to the world, "to do all he could to supply its needs."

It would be very difficult to make out from the volume before us, what form of doctrinal belief Mr. Mann substituted for that which he renounced, and yet one would think the chief work of his life (in his own esteem), was such as to make this a primary question. Education has certainly no less to do with the conscience and heart, than with the understanding. Most of our relations to our fellow-men, for which education is to prepare us, grow out of our relations to God. What those relations are and what duties they involve, is an inquiry of absorbing interest to every moral being. Whence shall we obtain this important knowledge? From the Holy Scriptures, would be the answer of most persons in Christian lands, but Mr. Mann would not echo that answer. In his view, "natural religion stands as preëminent over revealed religion as the deepest experience over the lightest hearsay." He held "that the power of natural religion has scarcely begun to be understood and appreciated," and he believed "the time is coming when the light of natural religion will be to that of revealed as the rising sun is to the day-star that preceded it." With this low estimate of the light by which the bulk of the people of Christendom must be content to walk, it is not so much a matter of surprise, perhaps, that he embraced with eagerness a system of "philosophical and moral doctrines," the prevalence of which would, in his view, "produce a new earth at least, if not a new heaven." This revelation he found in Combe's "*Constitution of Man*," a volume which he did not meet with till he was past forty, but just as he entered on his work as an educator he fell in with it, and ever after made it his text-book.

Before we attempt a sketch of Mr. Mann's labours, we must, in justice to him, present a little more in detail his conception of the work assigned him. He had conceived the idea, as we have seen, that the human mind is, to a large extent, in abject bondage to bigotry. He looked upon what is called the "evangelical faith"—that is the faith in the Gospels as inspired

of God, which seven-eighths of Protestant Christians embrace—with the greatest aversion. His strong feeling on this point is conspicuous throughout the volume. In a letter to his sister, written at the mature age of forty, in reply to one in which she had referred to some doctrinal opinions, the influence of which (as he thought), would be to render her unhappy, he says: "It is this knowledge of the inevitable effect of such a faith upon a nature like yours, that gives me pain. I claim no superior sensibility to the fate of others, over the mass of my fellow-men; but I know that, to my nature, there can be no compensation in the highest happiness and that of the longest duration, for the endless and remediless misery of a single *sentient* thing. No: though the whole offspring of the Creator, with the exception of one solitary being, were gathered into a heaven of unimaginable blessedness, while that one solitary being, wide apart in some region of immensity, however remote, were wedded to immortal pain, even then, just so soon as the holy principle of love sprung up in the hearts of that happy assembly, just so soon would they forget their joy, and forget their God, and the whole universe of them, as one spirit, gather round and weep over the sufferer." In the same letter he speaks of "months" in which he "daily and hourly yearned for death, as much as ever a famishing infant yearned for the breast of his mother," but "during all that time," he says, "I felt not a moment's remorse because I had not loved God more. I felt, indeed, that it was a great and irreparable misfortune, that I had not been taught the existence of a God worthy of being loved."

It is difficult to persuade ourselves that a mother with whom he lived till he was twenty, and whom he describes as "the purest, strongest, wisest"—who "invariably kept her eye fixed upon his highest welfare," and whose "wise and judicious counsels were sanctified and hallowed" while she was yet alive, should have failed to impress upon his mind just conceptions of the Divine Being; and especially that the eye of her fatherless son should never have been turned, under her influence, towards a merciful and loving Father in heaven.

Again he admonishes his sister that "what we learn from books—even what we think we are taught in the Bible—may

be mistaken or misapprehended, but the lessons we learn from our own consciousness are the very voice of the Being that created us; and about it can there be any mistake?"

He describes the transcendental philosopher, *Ralph Waldo Emerson*, as occupying "a central position in the spiritual world, which enables him to discover harmony and order where others can discern only confusion and irregularity."

These few paragraphs may serve to introduce us into the sphere in which Mr. Mann lived, moved, and had his being. He satisfied himself that a system of faith is widely adopted, that is derogatory to the character of God and dwarfing and enslaving to the mind of man, and he gave himself, with consuming zeal, to vindicate the former and emancipate the latter. Whether this condition of mind made him a fitting instrument for administering a grand educational system in old Massachusetts, we must be permitted to doubt.

The words "orthodox" and "ultra-orthodox," Calvinist and dogmatist, fanatics and bigots, stood for persons and things that were highly obnoxious to him, and to those who had his warmest sympathies; and his whole career as an educator was, in its spirit, (so far as the memoir reveals it), a crusade against the system of faith which had prevailed in New England from its beginning.

Without attempting to define that system fully or accurately, it may suffice to say that its chief points are, (1.) The existence of an eternal, unchangeable, and infinitely holy God, the creator and governor of all worlds; the sovereign disposer of all persons and events, and the only proper object of religious worship. (2.) The divine inspiration of the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, and their sufficiency and infallibility as a rule of faith. (3.) The sinfulness of man's nature in consequence of the apostacy of our first parents, and the necessity of supernatural power to restore him to the Divine favour. (4.) The grace of God revealed in the person and offices of the Lord Jesus Christ, who was incarnate by the Holy Ghost, and, after a life of unparalleled benevolence and humiliation, offered himself a sacrifice for sin, so that God might be just, and yet justify all who repent and believe his holy gospel. (5.) The law being thus honoured by the perfect obedience and atoning

sacrifice of the Son of God, who was also the Son of man, there is now no condemnation to such as believe on and obey him, while to those who refuse such faith and obedience, the penalty of the Divine law stands in full force and rigour. (6.) This penalty, by whatever term expressed, involves the irretrievable loss of God's favour, and everlasting banishment from his presence, and, of course, from all sources of peace and happiness.

We suppose it will be admitted that these views, in substance, have prevailed in the religious communities of New England from 1620 until now. They were inculcated in children's hymns, catechisms, and primers; they were taught by parents to their children, by teachers to their pupils, by pastors to their people, and by authors to their readers. It was not until a comparatively late period that such doctrines were condemned as "impediments to the progress of our race towards perfection, unworthy of God, and debasing to the minds and hearts of men." So firmly were these and the like doctrines (or dogmas) imbedded in the New England mind, that it required many years and powerful influences to wrench them out, and still more to gain a foothold for opposite or inconsistent views. Any one who reads the religious writings of the wisest, godliest, and most learned men of the first century and a half of New England history, will be abundantly satisfied that what Mr. Mann strove so rudely to thrust aside under the name of bigotry or fanaticism, was the system of faith uniformly received and adopted, through five, if not six or even seven successive generations of that people. A catalogue of the men and women who exemplified the power of this evangelical or orthodox faith in their lives, and who, in the strength of it, triumphed over sin, adversity and death, would embrace the noblest and most venerable names of New England and, indeed, of American genealogy. Nor was it a difficult matter under the old school-laws of that State, to train up a generation of children in the religious views which prevailed in the community around them. Each municipality had its schools under its own control. The choice of the teacher, the books to be used, the course of instruction, and the general influence of the school, were exclusively in the hands of the people of the

several towns. The legal voters in these little sovereignties having the direction of the discipline and instruction of their schools, it came to pass that the religious tone and sentiment of the people generally prevailed in the school, and it was moreover the province and practice of the public teachers of religion to summon the children together, at short intervals, and instruct them in doctrine and duty.

When the State, upon the adjustment of some war claims, received a large sum of money from the Federal Government, it was funded, and its income appropriated to the support of public schools. This measure, of itself, might have been harmless, but it led to the organization of a central power in the form of a Board of Education, and thus brought the whole system and all its machinery into the vortex of conflicting political and religious opinions.

If the successive steps to this new order of things could be laid bare, it would probably be found that most of its active promoters were persuaded that greater efficiency and thoroughness would thereby be secured, and a much higher grade of instruction be attained in the public schools; but there were others who saw in it an opportunity to "liberalize" the whole system of instruction, and make it subserve the views of a theological, psychological, or anthropological school, of which Mr. George Combe was a distinguished teacher, and Mr. Mann a most zealous and faithful disciple.

We will not attempt even a sketch of the peculiarities of this school. A few paragraphs from the chief text-book will sufficiently indicate its leanings.

"Before phrenology was known, the moral and intellectual condition of man was unascertained." Page 205.*

"Before the discovery of phrenology, the mental constitution of man was a matter of vain conjecture and endless debate, and the connection between his mental powers and his organized system was involved in the deepest obscurity." P. 293.

"The character of the Divine Being, under the natural system, will go on rising in exact proportion as his works shall be understood." P. 205.

* "Constitution of Man," Boston edition. 1824.

"Differences of religious opinions may be traced to ignorance of the primitive faculties and their relations." P. 281.

"The low and miserable conceptions of God, formed by the vulgar Greeks and Romans, were the reflections of their own ignorance of natural, moral, and political science." P. 205.

The cardinal doctrine of Mr. Combe's creed has been fully expressed by saying, that the highest happiness of which man is capable, is to be obtained by conforming to the laws of his being as they are revealed in his physical and moral nature. In other words, that he is a machine containing within itself all the powers requisite to the perfect accomplishment of its design.

To the like effect is the flippant saying of one of the same school; "Nature, as we have seen her, is no saint. Her darlings—the great, the strong, the beautiful—do not come out of the Sunday-school, nor weigh their food, nor punctually keep the commandments."

To show Mr. Mann's devotion to the propagation of these views, we might turn to the memoir almost at random, and especially to his letters to Mr. Combe during a period of nearly twenty years; but we have no space for extracts. Suffice it to say, that he mentions, with unbounded pleasure, a fact, "most cheering to those who wait for the coming of the intellectual Messiah"—that Mr. Combe's work on the "Constitution of Man," had so unprecedented a sale. "If once the doctrine of the natural laws can get possession of the minds of men," he continues, "then causality will become a mighty ally in the contest for their deliverance from sin as well as from error. As yet, in the history of man, causality has been almost a supernumerary faculty; the idea of special providences or interventions, the idea that all the events of life, whether of individuals or of nations, have been directly produced by an arbitrary, capricious, whimsical Deity, alternating between arrogant displays of superiority on the one hand, and a doting, foolish fondness on the other, has left no scope for the exercise of that noble faculty."*

* "The great problem of the present age is to preserve the religious spirit whilst getting rid of the superstition and absurdities that deform it, and which are alike opposed to science and common sense."—English translation of "Renan's Life of Jesus."

Mr. Mann felt that it was his mission to overcome the influence of the foul spirit of orthodoxy, which had so long possessed the New England mind, so far at least as it had worked its way into the public schools; and to introduce, in its place, a system of Christian ethics, that he constructed in his youth, when his own mind was just disenthralled from a belief which "never prompted him to a good action, nor deterred him from a bad one."

The two forms of religious belief before his mind were, the Bible interpreted by Calvin, and nature interpreted by phrenology. The former he regarded as the grand enemy and obstacle to human happiness and progress—the latter as the precursor and promoter of both. He believed "the common school to be the greatest discovery ever made by man. Other social organizations are curative and remedial; this is a preventive and an antidote. They come to heal diseases and wounds; this to make the physical and moral frame invulnerable to them. Let the common school be expanded to its capabilities, let it be worked with the efficiency of which it is susceptible, and nine-tenths of the crimes in the penal code would become obsolete—the long catalogue of human ills would be abridged—men would walk more safely by day—every pillow would be more invitable by night—property, life, and character, held by a stronger tenure; all rational hopes respecting the future brightened."

It is obvious that these glowing anticipations were born of something more, if not better, than reading, writing, and arithmetic. There must have been elements in his scheme of reformation much more subtle and active than a knowledge of geography and grammar, else we are at a loss to explain his emotions when a Legislative grant was made for the support of Normal schools. "Language cannot express the joy that pervades my soul at this vast accession of power to that machinery which is to carry the cause of education forward, not only more rapidly than it has ever moved, but to places which it has never reached. This will cause an ever-widening circle to spread amongst contemporaries, and will project influences into the future to distances which no calculations can follow. . . The

GREAT WORK IS DONE. We must now use the power wisely with which we have been entrusted."

The duties with which Mr. Mann was charged, as Secretary to the Board of Education, were "to collect information of the actual condition and efficiency of the common schools, and other means of popular education, and to diffuse, as widely as possible, information of the most approved and successful modes of instruction." How much higher and wider he regarded the nature and scope of the office, his faithful biographer informs us when she says: "He thought human nature needed educating, and had been much maligned, and that it was only where circumstances had cultivated the earthly side of it unduly, that the divine element was temporarily obscured. Education was in his view a word of much higher import than that popularly given to it. Its function is to call out from within all that was divinely placed there, in the proportions requisite to make a noble being."

It was one of his maxims, however, that "every human being should determine his religious belief for himself." "It seems to me," he says, "that a generation so trained would have an infinitely better chance of getting at the truth than the present generation has had." "He was so sure that terror must be the first emotion excited by the knowledge of God, that it was long before he would consent that his eldest child should know of the existence of a higher power."

It surprises us not a little that an intelligent observer of the ways of children should have failed to see how often they accept and rejoice in their relations to the Heavenly Father. Indeed, it would seem that the benevolence, not less than the wisdom, of the Infinite One, prompted the employment of the term which denotes so tender and intimate an earthly relation, for the very purpose of impressing upon the infant mind the loving, paternal character of the Creator. Who doubts that innumerable infant voices are heard in the streets of the Celestial City, singing the praises of God and the Lamb, who lisped, with a loving faith, while on earth, the divinely authorized address to the infinite and incomprehensible Jehovah,

Our FATHER, *which art in heaven.*

Not less true than beautiful is the description of the

power of the unseen over infant minds, which the poet gives us—

> "So 'tis with children—speak to them of God,
> Of power omnipotent, of another life,
> And mark how they will listen—opening wide
> Their little eyes in wonder, as some doubt—
> A passing shade is painted on their looks—
> And then, at last, with touching faith, accept
> For truth the things they may not comprehend."*

But Mr. Mann had "no respect for bigotry," and who has? "The bigot," says his biographer, "may truly be said to be the enemy that always baffled him. The influences of bigotry clouded his childhood, took the blue out of his sky in his early manhood, and haunted his imagination all his life. He encountered it in all his endeavours to promote the cause of education at the East as well as at the West. He hoped to drive it before him over the prairies, though he could not always hunt it out of its hiding places in more conservative communities. He would exorcise it from the young, but it had become a part of the vitality of the risen generation."

In this last paragraph, we apprehend, lies the secret spring of his exultation at the "vast accession of power" which the establishment of the Normal school brought to the "educational machinery" under his control. The barrier which "orthodoxy" presented to the introduction of his schemes of education, he compared to the Chinese wall. The establishment of a college at the West, free from the influence of "old school theology," he regarded as "breaking a hole in the wall and letting in the light of religious civilization where it never shone before." "Think of this great State," he exclaims, writing from Ohio, "with more than two millions of inhabitants, and only one Unitarian Society." Two years later, he says, "The great West has been conquered, religiously speaking, from Black Hawk to John Calvin. So far as the religious dogmas are concerned, I would rather it would be Black Hawk's again. . . . . In this great State of Ohio, with nearly three millions of people, there are but three

* King René's Daughter.

Unitarian societies, and these are small. All the colleges, of a first class character, have a strong impression of Calvinism mingled with their daily food." His predominant purpose and effort were to break down this barrier, and not only to emancipate the minds of the rising generation from the bondage to "orthodoxy," but to bring them into the light and life of religious liberty—a sphere known to him and a few favoured ones, but hidden from the rest of the world. "He fed his imagination with the conception of a practical religious life, to be inspired into or evolved out of the young, to which he thought the generous heart of youth would respond warmly, if it could be disconnected from a religionism whose features make the young turn away."

Mr. Mann had evidently the same sort and degree of reverence for the author of the "Constitution of Man," that some people have for the author of Calvin's Institutes, though they would by no means dare to ascribe to John Calvin what Mr. Mann ascribes to George Combe, who "seemed to him to understand far better than any other man he ever saw the principles on which the human race has been formed, and by following which their most sure and rapid advancement would be secured." In the next century, Mr. Mann had "no doubt he would be looked upon as the greatest man of the age. . . . . He had an extent of thought by which *the next age is now present to him*, and he sees that his persecuted and condemned views will then be triumphant."

Horace Mann was as true a convert to Mr. Combe's theory of human capability and progress, as the staunchest orthodox man in New England can be to that of Calvin's theory of human salvation. But it is not easy to see how he could consistently claim the right to foist Combe and his philosophy on the public schools of Massachusetts, or on the rising generation of the West, and at the same time denounce as fanatics and bigots those who were equally honest in adopting the philosophy of Christ's gospel, and in wishing it might be propagated through all grades of education. Why is he any more a bigot who cannot tolerate "heterodoxy," than he who cannot tolerate "orthodoxy?" The one strives to maintain what he believes to be true, and the other, with equal zeal, opposes it as

false. If one is a bigot, are not both bigots? It is difficult to reconcile the depth and virulence of Mr. Mann's hostility to "orthodoxy," as he calls it, with his professed devotion to liberty of conscience. A few brief passages from his own journal or letters will serve as specimens of this hostility.

To his friend Combe, he says, "The orthodox have hunted me this winter as though they were blood-hounds and I a poor rabbit. They feel they are losing strength, and the period even for regaining it is fast passing out of their hands. Hence they are making a desperate struggle. They feel in respect to a free education, that opens the mind, developes the conscience, and cultivates reverence for whatever is good, without the infusion of Calvinistic influence, as the old monks felt about printing—'If we do not put that down, it will put us down.' My office duties and labours stand in their way. Hence my immediate destruction is for the glory of God. . . . . There are two classes, the one who are orthodox only by association, education, or personal condition. These may be good people, though they always suffer under that limitation of the faculties which orthodoxy imposes. The second class are those who are born orthodox, who are naturally or indigenously so—who, if they had had wit enough, would have invented orthodoxy if Calvin had not. I never saw one of this class of men whom I could trust so long as a man can hold his breath. These are the men who are assaulting me."

These are singular words from a man who was chief administrator of a system of public instruction, and who was then holding his office and receiving his pay, in part at least, from the very men whom he thus holds up to distrust and contempt.

"Just as I was looking for a little relief from the pressure of my labours, a child of sin and Satan come out, with a furious orthodox attack upon the Board of Education and myself, which I felt moved to answer."

"I sent you copies of a controversy, which, in the way of by-play, I had with one of the wild beasts of Ephesus, and a more untameable hyena I do not believe St. Paul ever had to encounter. Once a preacher of the annihilation of the wicked, then a Universalist, and now a Calvinist of the Old Testament

stamp. In believing in total depravity he only generalizes his own consciousness."

He spoke of his official career as "a twelve years' struggle to imbue the public mind with an understanding, not merely of the law, but of the spirit of religious liberty." So intent was he on this, that "even the importance of education itself seemed for a moment to be eclipsed."

"We have no orthodox lecturers of any celebrity among us. Emerson, Whipple, Parker ('Theodore,') T. S. King, Sumner, Pierpont,* &c., are all heretics of a very malignant type, when tried by the orthodox standard. The truth is, the iron bars of orthodoxy do not allow man to expand into the qualities indispensable for teaching the common heart of man."

"I feel more and more deeply what an unspeakable calamity a Calvinistic education is—what a dreadful thing it was to me. If it did not succeed in making me that horrible thing—a Calvinist—it succeeded in depriving me of that filial love for God, that tenderness, that sweetness, that intimacy, that desiring, nestling love which, I say, it is natural a child should feel toward a Father who combines all excellence. I see him to be so logically, intellectually, demonstratively, but when I would embrace him, when I would rush into his arms and breathe out unspeakable love and adoration, then the grim old Calvinistic spectre thrusts itself before me. I am as a frightened child whose eye, knowledge, experience, and belief even, are not sufficient to obliterate the image which an early fright burnt in upon his soul."

We do not cite these few out of scores of like paragraphs, to criticise or controvert them, but simply to show the *animus* with which the executive officer of the Massachusetts Board of Education entered upon and prosecuted his important duties, and the strength of his aversion to what was unquestionably the religious sentiment of five-eighths of the religious people from whom he derived his official support, and whose children were to be schooled, and their teachers trained, under his superintendence.

How far the revolution which Mr. Mann hoped and en-

* Late President of a Convention of Spiritualists in Philadelphia.

deavoured so earnestly to bring about in the intellectual habits and training of the children and youth of Massachusetts, was accomplished by his twelve years' service, it is impossible to say. Who knows by what influence, or at what stage of its life, the flavour or colour of fruit is settled? His power was felt, of course, in every grade of schools for teachers and children, through public addresses, and by the press, and can scarcely fail to be perpetuated perhaps for many generations. It may be revealed in the facility with which the cavils and quiddities of some vain philosophy are accepted, or in the boldness with which the truths of divine revelation are rejected. The vagueness of religious opinions, so deeply deplored by thoughtful men, and the old Athenian passion for spending "their time in nothing else but either to tell or to hear some new thing," are the natural fruits of a system which recognizes no higher revelation of the Divine will than that of nature, or of human consciousness.

That Mr. Mann was disappointed in the measure of his success, and disheartened by the opposition and distrust which were manifested from time to time by those who could not adopt or countenance his theories, there is no doubt. But the cause assigned for resigning his office and accepting a seat in Congress, was his inability to sustain so great a burden upon his strength.

Passing over the interval of his two exciting terms in Congress,* we find him embarking with characteristic energy in that new and somewhat formidable enterprise—the establishment of a college at the West to be open to both sexes, and to be founded and conducted on the principles of his own philosophy. We do not use this expression derogately, but there is abundant evidence in the volume before us, and in the history

* It is to be regretted, we think, that evidence of *Mr. Mann's* bitter hostility to *Mr. Webster*, during his Congressional career, was not withheld. That eminent statesman, whatever his deficiencies, did good service for his country and for mankind; and we hardly know what apology can be framed for uttering over his grave such maledictions as this memoir records. "He consented to treachery, and to make his reward sure, proposed to do more villanies than were asked of him." "Webster is as corrupt a politician as ever lived." "He can do nothing but under the inspiration of brandy," "treacherous and perfidious, like Mr. Webster," &c.

of Antioch College to this day, to justify us in saying that the peculiar views of the school to which Mr. Mann belonged, were to predominate in the spirit, instruction, and discipline of the new institution.

It was his onerous task to take the enterprise *ab initio*, and to struggle, not only with the manifold difficulties that are expected in any such undertaking, but with those that grew out of its peculiar relations and circumstances. "The people of the West" he found to be "open, receptive, and mouldable," but "the ministers had a cast-iron epidermis so opaque and impervious that no sunlight can get into them—so absorbent that none is reflected from them, or all that strikes upon them is swallowed up and lost. The stronger minds which break away from orthodoxy, as the common rule, find no resting-place this side of general scepticism."

Mr. Mann went to the West in September, 1853, and for nearly five years gave himself with unremitting and exhausting fidelity to the interests he had espoused. During that time, he tells us, more than a thousand students were connected with some department of the college, and he adds that "among them all scarcely one who has been with us long enough to imbibe the spirit of the place, has left us a dogmatizer or a bigot." In other words, he had been, in a good degree, successful in sowing in the "open, receptive, and mouldable" minds of more than a thousand young men and maidens of the West, "a religionism from whose features the young would not turn away."

In the spring of 1858, the financial embarrassments which had before threatened to bring about the utter failure of the enterprise, ended in the advertisement of all the college property for sale at public auction. Mr. Mann felt that precious interests of "liberal religion" as well as of education, were in imminent peril. It would seem that some root of bitterness had already sprung up among those who had the government, or at least the purse-strings, in their hands. "Men who had pretended enthusiasm for him and for learning at first, fell away and became hostile when the failing fortunes of the college disappointed their desire to coin gold out of their unsold lands." Indeed, the picture which is given us of the state of

affairs at that juncture, would lead us to doubt whether the fruit of the new philosophy, though raised on that free virgin soil, was much to be preferred to that which is found in evangelical or "orthodox" enclosures. But its zealous cultivator was not to be deterred by difficulties, and with a fearless spirit he addressed himself to new efforts for averting the impending catastrophe. It was in vain, however. Difficulties arose in the college family, fomented, as we are told, by "outside women's-rights women." Heart-burnings were revealed in the Board of Directors. It was clear that the institution had been bankrupt from the outset, though the accounts were so kept as to conceal the fact. A new organization was attempted on a new basis and capital, "but under the same moral and religious auspices." It succeeded so far that temporary provision was made for current expenses, and a class graduated, receiving from Mr. Mann a baccalaureate address full of fervour and sympathy, but alas! for human nature, exceedingly "bigoted."* In this address to a company of young persons, just entering upon the stern realities of life, and needing the plainest and simplest rules of conduct, the distinguished educator, now past sixty years of age, presents the following picture:

"We are created with numerous appetences, all like so many eyes to desire, and like so many hands to seize their related objects in the external world. The external world superabounds with objects fitted to gratify and influence those internal appetences. And now these beings, fervid and aflame with these desires, are turned loose among these objects without any knowledge of what kind, in what quantity, at what time, they are to be taken and enjoyed, but with free agency to take what, when, and as much as they please. Bring these few elements into juxtaposition—the thousand objects around, the inward desire for them, the free will to take them, and complete ignorance of consequences, and how is it possible to avoid mistakes, injuries, errors, crimes?"

* Bigot, a man devoted unreasonably to a certain party, or prejudiced in favour of certain opinions.—*Johnson.*

"In philosophy and religion the *bigots* of all parties are generally the most positive."— *Watts.*

The apostasy of man, of which John Milton says,

> "Earth felt the wound; and Nature, from her seat
> Sighing through all her works, gave signs of woe,
> That all was lost—"

he describes to these young people as "what my very much respected but unfortunate great-grandparents, Adam and Eve did, in the garden of Eden at the time of the interview with a distinguished stranger in disguise."

He tells them that "the descendants of the Puritans" (that is a considerable proportion of the Christian people of New England) "are disposed to believe in the doctrine of vicarious atonement, because this getting everything and giving nothing is such a sharp bargain—very much the same plan on which the Puritan treated the Indians." And he sums up his instructions and exhortations by saying, "You have only to set your head right by knowledge, and your heart right by obedience, and forces, stronger than streams, or winds, or gravitation, will bear you up to celestial blessedness, Elijah-like, by means as visible and palpable as though they were horses of fire, and chariots of fire."

But our space is overrun. Mr. Mann's memory has many and warm eulogists. By those who adopt his theories he is regarded as the pioneer of a mighty moral revolution. "He was," in their view, "one of a body of far-seeing men who for nearly fifteen years have determined that there should be in the very heart of this country an institution which should not be second in ability to Harvard or to Yale,—and should, in the liberality of its system, and its freedom from sectional or sectarian restrictions, be able indeed to educate all comers. Biding their time in difficulties, working hard at the oar when the tide was in their favour, they have at last succeeded in obtaining a charter absolutely free from blemish, college buildings now ready for several hundred students, and a prestige of the first value through the whole western country,—and an endowment in real estate of $150,000, and in invested stocks a quarter of a million more."

The full direction of the college thus chartered and endowed

was recently offered to the present Governor of Massachusetts, whose distinguished public career, not less than his strong sympathy with Mr. Mann's views and projects, naturally suggested the selection. To induce him to accept the post his friends say—"they do not expect him to teach arithmetic to schoolboys, or to oversee the police of a boarding-school. They do expect him to appoint the fifteen or twenty professors whom the income of the college will at once sustain; to hold toward it the position which the vice-chancellor of an English university holds; to contrive the plans for its widest usefulness; to direct the efforts of the professors; to encourage and stimulate the pupils; and in general to advise the friends of the enterprise everywhere. They expect yet more,—that the energy of his character and the distinctness of his plans will make him one of the leaders of the education of the West; that not in that college only, but at every point where public opinion can be touched, his influence shall be found; and that this institution in its training of professional men, of men of active affairs, and of the teachers of the people, will introduce him to the large western world."*

This was the glowing picture which rivetted Mr. Mann's eyes, and to realize it he counted not even his life dear to him. Would that a spirit, alike brave, enduring and enthusiastic, animated the friends of a better and safer theory of educating the teeming millions of the West!

No one can read without deep emotion the few pages that record the giving way of his physical nature. However thorough our dissent from his opinions and plans, we cannot but admire his self-denial and public spirit, nor can we doubt the strength of his conviction that the system he so strenuously advocated had all the virtue he claimed for it. The failure of his imposing structure must be ascribed to the inherent weakness of the foundation. In dealing with the intellectual and moral nature of man it will not do to reject inspiration,† nor to

* *Boston Daily Advertiser*, September 28, 1865.

† "If inspiration be claimed for any one, was not Dr. Channing inspired?"—Mr. Mann's letter to Mr. Combe, April, 1849.

regard the great Teacher sent from God as only an "unspoiled human being."

We lay aside the volume with a mingled feeling of sorrow and surprise—sorrow that one capable of exerting so powerful an influence upon the interests of popular education, should have been led so far astray respecting its essential principles and ends—and with surprise, that the advocate and propagator of such radical errors in philosophy and religion should have received such unusual posthumous honours in the Old Bay State.

What more fitting inscription than the following could have been placed on the monument, erected, as it has been said, by the contributions of school children, and occupying a place in the State House enclosure, opposite a statue of the renowned *Webster*—

"HE DID WHAT HE COULD TO OBLITERATE FROM THE YOUTHFUL MIND THE NOTION OF THE PROVIDENTIAL GOVERNMENT OF THE WORLD, AND TO BRING INTO EXERCISE THE NOBLE BUT NEGLECTED FACULTY OF CAUSALITY!"

ART. V.—*Imperfect Rights and Obligations as related to Church Discipline.*

THE distinction of Perfect and Imperfect Rights and Obligations has long been recognized in jurisprudence and ethics. It is simply this. A Perfect Right is one which may be enforced, and which we may apply adequate power to enforce, either personal, legal, judicial, executive, as the case may require. An Imperfect Right is so named because it cannot be so enforced. In equity it may be as valid for the possessor, as binding upon others, as a Perfect Right—morally, *in foro conscientiæ et Dei*, it may be as complete and obligatory as any other. But if those from whom it is due to us, refuse or neglect to render it, there is no remedy. We cannot realize or enforce it. However great the wrong of being denied this right, there is no help for it, except to bear it patiently, and commit our cause to Him who judgeth righteously.

Perfect and Imperfect Obligations are the correlatives of Perfect and Imperfect Rights. The right to any benefit or privilege presupposes the obligation upon some party, individual or collective, to bestow it. If they can be compelled by the power of law to discharge this obligation, it is perfect. If they cannot, it is imperfect. The obligation of a parent to barely support his dependent minor children, if he have the means, is perfect. The obligation, if he be a man of large wealth, to expend it in giving a proportionate education, social position, and establishment in life, or to leave them a suitable inheritance, is imperfect. He cannot be compelled to discharge it unless he chooses.

Other examples of these respective kinds of Right and Obligation are such as the following. The right of the poor and helpless to the support which the State provides for paupers is perfect, for it can be, and is enforced. The obligation of the rich to contribute their portion of the taxes for this purpose is perfect, for it can be enforced. But the claim of the poor and distressed to the charitable assistance of the opulent, is an imperfect right. The duty of bestowing it is an imperfect obligation, for it cannot be enforced. A child has been adopted, and trained, and treated, by those who assume towards it the place of parents, in such a way as to create a reasonable expectation of being their heir, and a moral right to become so. But this right and the correspondent obligation are imperfect, because they cannot be enforced without positive testamentary provision on the part of these parents *quasi*. The man who fell among thieves had a right to the same kindness from the passing priest and Levite which he received from the good Samaritan. They too were under a like obligation to bestow it. But the right and the obligation respectively were alike imperfect. They could not be enforced. So the correlative right and obligation of gratitude from the beneficiary to the benefactor are imperfect. The right of the servant to the usual gratuities or perquisites of his situation, beyond the stipulated wages, for his faithful services, is in like manner imperfect, because the obligation to confer them is imperfect.

It must not, however, be understood that such obligations are of course morally imperfect, because they are legally so, or in-

capable of human enforcement. In the eye of conscience and of God, they may be absolute and perfect. The obligation to fulfil lawful promises implied or express, to minister according to our ability to the helpless and suffering, to cherish gratitude to benefactors, in every way to do justice and love mercy, is complete in itself and before God. It is only imperfect with respect to the power of human enforcement. But it is perfect, in that it can and will be perfectly enforced, either at the hands of the obligee or his Surety, at His tribunal, who will lay justice to the line and righteousness to the plummet; who will judge every idle word and the secrets of the heart; who will cause all to appear before the judgment-seat of Christ, to receive according to the things done in the body, whether they be good or bad. The priest and the Levite might not answer before human tribunals for their wicked and heartless neglect of the helpless victim of violence and robbery, whom they passed on the other side; but they assuredly are held to account for it at the bar of God.

It should be observed, however, that many of these imperfect obligations are such, because of their indeterminateness, which renders it difficult to see precisely where obligation begins and ends, and thus proportionably abates the guilt of error and consequent delinquency in the premises. The nature and scope of these indeterminate duties we shall soon see cause to develope at greater length. We now only call attention to them provisionally, for the purpose of pointing out, that they give rise to degrees of the stringency, and, in this sense, of the perfection of obligations, in certain cases, even in the eye of conscience and of God. Thus the precise amount which one ought to give in charity, as well as the objects on which it ought to be bestowed, may be involved in considerable obscurity and uncertainty. To err, or to come short of the full measure of duty here, is obviously a very different thing from the commission of theft or blasphemy. The obligation is, in a sense, less stringent or perfect in the one case than the other; and the failure to discharge it duly, involves proportionally less guilt.

Corresponding to the foregoing distinctions, is that between the adjective and substantive *right*. To bestow charity upon

the needy may be very right on the part of the thrifty or the wealthy. But the former have no right to it, in the sense of a perfect, legal, or demandable right. If they have a moral right, still they cannot realize it, unless it please those from whom it is morally due, to discharge their obligation. It is right for parents, not only to feed and clothe, but to be kind, tender, and affectionate to their children, to train and furnish them, according to their circumstances and social position. But it is not a right which children can enforce.

It is obvious that this distinction of perfect and imperfect rights and obligations has a wide application to virtues, sins, and delinquencies of "professing Christians," and the power of the church to enforce the one and prevent the other, on pain of excommunication. In short, it is implicated with the whole subject of conditions of church-membership, terms of communion, and the grounds, kinds, and degrees of discipline. That is to say, there are many Christian traits and deeds which are truly obligatory in the sight of God, that cannot be enforced; and many faults which incur Divine condemnation, but cannot be prevented by church censures or exclusion from communion. It is the right of the church, and the obligation of its members, that they all be real believers and saints. But this right and obligation are imperfect so far as regards the possibility of enforcing and realizing them, through any church courts, or any human power whatever, ecclesiastical or civil. It is also obligatory upon all church members, and the church has a right to claim, that they shall be not merely Christians, but exemplary, blameless, zealous, humble, active, devoted Christians; full of mercy and good fruits, without partiality and without hypocrisy. But how many church members are sadly deficient in these traits, who cannot, nevertheless, be compelled to manifest them by any ecclesiastical discipline or peril of excommunication? Nay, who could not be excommunicated by any process which would not expose genuine and even excellent Christians, whom Christ has received, to a like penalty; or incite divisions and contentions that would jeopardize the very existence of the church.

Hence it follows, that there are sins and faults in Christians which cannot be made a ground of exclusion from the com-

munion, whatever other agencies or forms of discipline may be applied to check or repress them. Indeed, to say otherwise, would be to say that Christians, in this life, may attain sinless perfection. If it is true, that they who say they have no sin deceive themselves, and the truth is not in them, it is also true that, if there be a church, it must be composed of those who are deformed with sins which are no bar to communion. The church has a right to claim of its members that they be holy, harmless, undefiled; without spot or wrinkle or any such thing. But it is not a perfect right. There are spots and wrinkles which it is no function of compulsory church discipline to remove. There are others which come within its scope to purge away. There are sins, the right to exclude which from the church, is perfect; others, respecting which the right is imperfect. This distinction, whether clearly seen or not, is at all times acted on by every church which pretends to maintain discipline at all. Indeed, no church could live which wholly set it at naught. It would be utterly extirpated, or convulsed and shivered to atoms. Yet, we apprehend that a due understanding, appreciation, and application of this distinction, would be of inestimable benefit in showing more clearly where attempts at church discipline, tending or amounting to exclusion from the communion, ought to begin and end, and in preventing those unwarranted attempts at it, which so often prove abortive, or worse still, disastrous and ruinous; which, so far from promoting the vigour and efficiency of church discipline, tend to bring it into disrepute and impotence, even within its legitimate sphere.

All this is beautifully signified in the parable of the tares and the wheat. The tares are to remain, "lest while ye gather up the tares, ye root up the wheat also. Let both grow together until the harvest; and in the time of harvest I will say to the reapers, gather ye together first the tares, and bind them in bundles to burn them; but gather the wheat into my barn." Matt. xiv. 28. To the same effect, our Book of Discipline, chap. iii. 3, "An offence gross in itself, and known to several, may be so circumstanced, that it plainly cannot be prosecuted to conviction. In such cases, however grievous it may be to the pious, to see an unworthy member in the church,

it is proper to wait until God, in his righteous providence, shall give further light; as few things tend more to weaken the authority of discipline, and to multiply offences, than to commence process without sufficient proof."

The principle involved in the foregoing quotations from Scripture, and from our own Book, is essentially the same in each. It is simply this: Ecclesiastical discipline is to be kept within limits, and prosecuted upon principles, which do not expose true Christians to the danger of loss of church standing, or exclusion from the communion. Such tares are to be allowed to grow together with the wheat, as cannot be rooted out without "rooting up the wheat also." So the charge not to institute process, even against the gravest offenders, "without sufficient proof," is imperative, because such discipline exposes the innocent, the true followers of Christ, to excommunication. Here we reach the limit of offenders and offences, amenable to extreme ecclesiastical discipline; and of the kinds of judicial procedure which can be brought to bear against them. We may not shut out, or adopt any principles or modes of procedure which shut out from the church and table of the Lord those whom he has received. We have no option in this matter. Besides the monstrous absurdity and awful assumption of poor mortals attempting to "fence" out from the Lord's table those whom he has received to himself, he, who alone is Head of the church and Lord of the conscience, has bound us by his explicit command—"Him that is weak in the faith receive ye, but not unto doubtful disputations." It is given as the sufficient reason why we should shun all uncharitable judgments in regard to any one, "that God hath received him." (Rom. xiv. 1—4). "Receive ye one another as Christ also received us." (Rom. xv. 7). Indeed, the fact that throughout the New Testament, faith in the Lord Jesus Christ is exhibited as the only and the sufficient condition of admission to the sacraments, precludes the need of further argument.

Not less decisive to this effect are our standards.

The only requisites which the Directory for Worship permits us to demand evidence of, in candidates for the sacraments, are "knowledge and piety." And the knowledge required is simply that which is "sufficient to discern the Lord's body," to

know the meaning of the sacraments, and to ensure more than a blind faith. (Chap. ix. 1—3.) Ministers are required to "invite to this holy table, such as, sensible of their lost and helpless state by sin, depend upon the atonement of Christ for pardon and acceptance with God; such as, being instructed in the gospel doctrine, have a competent knowledge to discern the Lord's body, and such as desire to renounce their sins, and are determined to lead a holy and godly life." (Chap. viii. 4.)

Nor does the statement in the Book of Discipline, (Chap. i. 2, 3,) that the "end of discipline is the removal of offences;" and that an "offence is anything in the principles or practices of a church member, which is contrary to the word of God; or which, if it be not in its own nature sinful, may tempt others to sin, or mar their spiritual edification," militate against this view. For first, discipline is not limited to judicial processes and penalties culminating in excommunication. There are many modes of discipline in which the authority of the session is brought to bear for the removal of offences, such as solemn warning, expostulation, entreaty. (*Id.* chap. i. 5.) "It becomes the rulers of the church, therefore, to take into view all the circumstances which may give a different character to conduct, and render it more or less offensive; and which may, of course, *require a very different mode of proceeding in similar cases, at different times, for the attainment of the same end.*" Secondly, while this definition of offence is made so broad as to prevent any evasion of ecclesiastical responsibility by those guilty of scandal or heresy, on the ground of mere technicality, yet it is to be interpreted consistently with the whole requirements of our standards in the premises. But interpreted in connection with the section following, which is stated as an inference from it, it is to be understood, rather negatively than positively, as designing to exclude every other ground of church discipline, than asserting that every thing, whether directly or indirectly, nearly or remotely, contrary to the word of God, or tending to lead others to sin, is an offence that should bar from communion. Section iii. is: "Nothing, therefore, ought to be considered by any judicatory as an offence, or admitted as a matter of accusation, which cannot be proved to be such from Scripture, or from the regulations and practice

of the church, founded on Scripture; *and which does not involve those evils which discipline is intended to prevent.*" Besides, according to other portions, whatever offences may be subject to discipline in other forms, it is very clear that none are to operate as a bar to communion but those sins, which, if unrepented of, are counted incompatible with Christian character, viz., scandals. The only class of professors desiring to come to the Lord's Supper, who "ought to be kept from that sacrament by the power which Christ hath left in his church," are the "ignorant or scandalous;" and these only "until they receive instruction or manifest their reformation." (*Larger Cat.* 173.) Baptized persons trained to a pious life, "when they come to years of discretion, if they be free from scandal, appear sober and steady, and have sufficient knowledge to discern the Lord's body, ought to be informed that it is their duty and privilege to come to the Lord's Supper." (*Dir. for Worship* ix. 1.) By "scandal" is to be understood immoral and unchristian conduct, so flagrant that persistence in it is incompatible with Christian character, or a credible profession of piety. Thirdly, the evidence already given that our standards require us to receive to communion with ourselves and the Lord, at his table, all whom he has received to communion with himself, prove the same thing. It proves that the definition of "offence" and the methods of discipline to remove it, must be understood in harmony with this great principle.

Such has been the actual historic attitude of our church on this subject. So have its courts expounded the Scriptures and our standards, and administered its discipline. In 1729, the General Synod avowed the principle of "admitting to fellowship in sacred ordinances all such as we have grounds to believe Christ will at last admit to the kingdom of heaven."

Recently the General Assembly declared, "we have ever admitted to our communion all those, who, in the judgment of charity, were the sincere disciples of the Lord Jesus Christ. If, in some instances, stricter terms have been insisted on—if candidates for sealing ordinances have been required to sign pledges, to make profession of any thing more than faith, love, and obedience to Jesus Christ—these instances have been few

and unauthorized, and, therefore, do not affect the general character of the church."

All these proofs of the doctrine of Scripture and our church concur to one issue. The church has a right to piety in her members. She has a right to claim of them an exemplary deportment, abstinence from all evil and appearance of evil; and those fruits of holiness which adorn the doctrine of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. They are under obligation thus to honour Christ in all things. But the right and the obligation are imperfect, in the sense already explained, when we pass beyond certain limits, viz., the limits within which discipline can be prosecuted to excommunication, without excluding true Christians from the household of faith and table of the Lord.

The cases in which offences, sins, or faults of professing Christians cannot be made a bar to communion are two-fold.

I. Where the offence itself, if duly proved, and unrepented of, is a righteous ground of excommunication; but it cannot be proved, except by methods which would expose to conviction those innocent of the offence charged. Direct violations of the fundamental principles of religion and morality—enunciated in the decalogue—of course, if proved, debar from communion till renounced. Such also are denials of the fundamentals of Christian doctrine, or violations of Christian duty which plainly subvert the profession of Christianity. "But now I have written unto you not to keep company, if any man that is called a brother be a fornicator, or covetous, or an idolater, or a railer, or a drunkard, or an extortioner; with such an one, no not to eat." (1 Cor. v. 11.) "Be not deceived; neither fornicators, nor idolaters, nor adulterers, nor effeminate, nor abusers of themselves with mankind, nor thieves, nor covetous, nor drunkards, nor revilers, nor extortioners, shall inherit the kingdom of God." (1 Cor. vi. 9–10.) So we are commanded to "mark them that cause divisions and offences among you contrary to the doctrine ye have learned, and avoid them." (Rom. xvi. 17.) "A man that is an heretic, after the first and second admonition, reject." (Titus iii. 10.) These are samples of sins that sever from Christian and church communion. Yet these must be proved by evidence and modes of procedure that would not ex-

pose the innocent. And, in regard to some of these sins, how exceedingly difficult, often impossible, is this? Take the various forms of licentiousness for example. How rarely can they be detected? And, if sins that make themselves known, how often is it impossible *judicially* to ascertain them? There is covetousness. How often is it palpable and undeniable, and yet incapable of being judicially proved in ways which would not convict the innocent? Nay, is not this so difficult, if not impossible, that in practice it is never, or almost never, attempted? When the Apostle John says: "Whoso hath this world's good, and seeth his brother have need, and shutteth up his bowels of compassion from him, how dwelleth the love of God in him?" he gives a test of piety. Yet it is such that the lack of it cannot be judicially ascertained, in any ordinary case, on any principles that would not expose persons of true piety to excision from the church. Where these and like offences can be proved on sound principles of evidence, of course, they are incompatible with Christian character and a bar to communion.

II. The second great class of duties of imperfect obligation, inasmuch as the church cannot enforce them, are those which are requisite to the symmetry and beauty, but not to the being, of Christian character. Their absence, or the presence of the contrary sins, is not, therefore, decisive evidence of the want of piety, or of disqualification for communion. Such sins may be great deformities. But inasmuch, even if proved, they do not disprove the existence of a sincere love of the Lord Jesus Christ, they are no evidence that He has not received those defiled with them, or that we should not receive them. In this class are, of course, included all those infirmities which still cleave to good men, and deform the excellent of the earth—defilements and delinquencies which they, most of all, bewail. Their coldness, negligence, unbelief, worldliness, indeed their defects of inward love and outward service, are often most all known and felt by themselves. But aside from these (with reference to church discipline) vague generalities, there are several classes of faults, which, though, as far as they go, unchristian, are not evidence of the want of piety. They may proceed from the absence of religion. And they may exist, in spite of its presence. Therefore they cannot be made tests of Christian cha-

racter, or of a right to the communion. To this class belong violations of indeterminate duties—which thence become themselves indeterminate transgressions, impossible strictly to mark out or enforce. Into this category fall,

1. Duties of kindness, charity, liberality. Men may sin as really and fatally, to their own eternal undoing, by the neglect of these virtues, as in any other way. A man of ample means or great affluence, is bound to give largely in charity, and may lose his soul if he do not. Yet who can prescribe how largely? Who knows all the private claims upon him? Who knows how much he does in private? Who knows that he may not be husbanding his resources in order to establish some great charitable foundation, which otherwise would fail? Who knows enough, in short, to prove that he may not be a follower of Christ, notwithstanding? In all this, to his own Master he stands or falls, not to any church court. There is the charge to lay by in store, on the first day of the week, as God hath prospered us, for purposes of religion and charity. But who can determine how far God has prospered any one, and how much he should lay aside, but his own conscience? The same reasoning applies to the amount contributed by different men to the support of religion. How many refuse to pay for this purpose at all in proportion to their means, *i. e.*, simply their just dues, who cannot be constrained by any pressure of ecclesiastical discipline? How rarely can a petulant, irascible, vindictive, unforgiving temper, thoroughly unchristian as it is, be reached by judicial process? How many professors, even among those who make great pretensions, and have high public standing for piety, fall into such sins, which no ecclesiastical penalties can prevent, without shattering the church to atoms?

Want of Christian activity, zeal, and decision, is a grave sin. Yet, how impossible in any ecclesiastical process, to draw the line between the utter absence, and that low state, of these virtues, which is compatible with, at least, a feeble state of piety in the soul. Indeed, sins of omission, as a class, are less within the reach of church discipline than sins of commission. Imperfect obligations lie especially in this region. The sin of the priest and Levite, of unkindness, ingratitude, want of liberality, all shortcomings whatever, are sins of omission. How important

a place they occupy may be seen in the fruitless fig-tree, the lamp without oil, the man who lacked one thing yet, the slothful and unprofitable servant, the doom of those who have not the love of God in them, and who profess not Christ before men, the final consignment to everlasting punishment of men for what they have *not* done unto Christ in the persons of the least of his brethren. And let it be observed, how difficult it is to convict men, at any human tribunal, of that omission of those ministries to the cause or people of Christ, which will consign them to everlasting fire? Or if they are convicted of the omission of them in some measure, that it should be demonstrated to be of that degree which proves absence of piety and debars from communion? To deal decisively with this class of cases is seldom within the competency of man who looketh on the outward appearance. It is mostly, if not entirely, the exclusive prerogative of God, who looketh on the heart; and alone knows what omissions of this kind proceed from, and prove, that carnal mind which is enmity with God.

2. Another class of sins or errors, which neither prove nor disprove piety in the soul, consists of mistaken applications of right principles. It is a duty to obey the powers that be. This may be accepted and acted on, in all good faith, by those who err as to what is the real government in authority over them. To have been a tory in the Revolution, or a rebel in our late rebellion, was no proof of the possession or want of piety, because it was perfectly compatible with fealty to what they honestly conceived to be the legitimate government. Men may agree that it is their duty to provide for their own, so far as in their power, according to their situation and prospects in life. But they may, as honestly, differ widely as to the manner of carrying out these principles, and what constitutes a suitable provision and allotment for them. There are many cases of mixed morality in which the same act may have proceeded from a good or a bad motive, according to the light in which it was viewed by the actor; and, therefore, *per se*, neither evinces the presence nor absence of piety. This is very largely true of acts in themselves indifferent. Gifts may be bestowed upon the poor, from the purest Christian charity, or for the sake of mere popularity; or in order to purchase their votes; or where it is

known that the gift will be spent upon the means of intoxication; or for a deadly weapon to be thrust at an enemy. Intoxicating liquors may be taken for the sake of inebriating excitement, or because they are supposed to be, within the limits of temperance, conducive to health and vigour.

3. This brings us into the region of sins of ignorance. In regard to these, much confusion and perplexity prevail. All feel that it is no excuse for profaneness or blasphemy, to be ignorant that they are wicked. Such ignorance only evinces depth of depravity. So in a large measure of all the duties of the decalogue, and of the fundamentals of Christian doctrine, faith, and life. Here the principle applies, in its utmost fulness, "Woe to them that call good evil and evil good; that put light for darkness and darkness for light." Here it is principles and duties, in themselves moral and religious, that are concerned. Ignorance is no excuse for the contrary sins, because it is itself inexcusable. Yet, even here, sins committed ignorantly are less flagrant, and closer to the Divine mercy and forgiveness, than those deliberately committed against light and knowledge. This is the teaching of the human conscience, and of Him too who is "Lord of the conscience." Did not he pray for his crucifiers, "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do?" And did not Paul say of himself, "who was before a blasphemer, and a persecutor, and injurious; but I obtained mercy, because I did it ignorantly, and in unbelief." (1 Timothy i. 13.)

But there is a clear distinction between these cases, in which the ignorance or error respects the principle, and those in which they relate to matters of fact. A strong illustration of this would be the case of killing another through mistake, by one who abhorred the crime of murder; or that of our soldiers in the war shooting down each other, as sometimes happened, mistaking them for the enemy. The reader may also recur to the numerous illustrations of this kind which we have just presented.

This distinction between error or ignorance, as to moral principles and facts governing the application of those principles, and as to the guilt respectively of the two, has not been overlooked by ethical writers. Ignorance as to facts may be culpa-

ble in proportion as it is wilful, or might have been overcome by due diligence. Says Whewell, "Hence, as a general distinction, Moralists pronounce *Errors of Fact*, when not accompanied with negligence, *to be exculpations* of the actions which they occasion; but *Errors of Principle, not to be exculpations.* And in this distinction they agree with the Jurists: who lay down these two cardinal maxims: *Ignorantia facti excusat: Ignorantia juris non excusat.* Ignorance of the fact is an excuse; ignorance of the law is no excuse. A man is not criminal for not directing his actions by a fact, which he did not know from observation or testimony; and which he could not know any other way. On the other hand, ignorance of the law cannot be accepted by the law as an excuse."

4. Here, too, we find the clew to the solution of the question, how far the moral quality of an action is determined by the intention of the doer. 1. A bad intention, or want of good intention, necessarily vitiates all actions prompted by it, be they good, bad, or indifferent, in themselves. A man who means wrong, or does not intend to do right, of course, sins. And hence, whether known to man or not, there is an inherent vitiosity in all acts not animated by faith and love. 2. An act in itself morally evil, cannot be cured, or made right and innocent, by any good intention in doing it. Men are not excused for blaspheming, lying, stealing, denying the faith, because they mean well, or think it right, or that good may come of it. They have no commission to do evil that good may come. Nor can they make evil good by thinking or calling it so. 3. In regard to actions indifferent, *in themselves* neither good nor evil, their moral quality is determined almost wholly by the intention with which they are done. The extent, however, to which this is true, depends upon the closeness of their implications with things moral or immoral, and the facilities for knowing this relation. Thus it is, in itself, a thing indifferent whether one spends two or ten thousand dollars per year. But if the effect of spending the latter sum would be obviously to disable from paying one's just debts, or to enervate and corrupt a family of children, then it is culpable to be ignorant, and to act in ignorance of this, just in proportion to its palpableness. But ordinarily, such consequences are not obvious, and the intention

in doing acts indifferent, determines their moral quality. If a man fixes his residence in a city, thinking thus to give his children greater advantages for education, business, and usefulness, and they resort only to its theatres, saloons, and dens of vice, thus plunging themselves down to ruin, the character of his choice is determined by his intentions, not by its consequences. This is clearly the apostle's teaching in regard to things indifferent. The moral quality of the action depends on the intention of the doer. "I know, and am persuaded of the Lord Jesus, that there is nothing unclean in itself; but to him that esteemeth anything to be unclean it is unclean. . . . . Happy is he that condemneth not himself in that which he alloweth. And he that doubteth is damned if he eat, because he eateth not of faith; for whatsoever is not of faith is sin." (Rom. xiv. 22—23.) Though "an idol is nothing," yet to eat "with conscience of the idol," and "as a thing offered to an idol," defiles the conscience. (1 Cor. viii. 7.) But how seldom, if ever, are such sins of ignorance or intention within the scope of church discipline?

5. Thus we come into the sphere of expediency, so prolific of indeterminate duties and imperfect obligations. Expediency applies not to actions, *per se*, good or evil, but to those which are, *per se*, indifferent. There are countless actions, not in themselves good or evil, which we ought to do or to shun, as they appear likely to promote or hinder what is in itself morally good or evil. These are the things which we ought to do or avoid, on the ground of expediency. When the apostle says, "all things are lawful unto me, but all things are not expedient," the "lawful" things here specified, are things indifferent. To things intrinsically good or evil, expediency is irrelevant. It would be absurd to speak of its being expedient or inexpedient to love and obey God, to speak the truth, to do justice, love mercy, to profess Christ, &c., &c. These things are intrinsically and for ever binding, independently of all expediency. Not even an angel from heaven could set them aside. But the amount which one spends in comforts and luxuries is a thing indifferent. Moral obligation in the premises varies with circumstances. He who spends in unnecessary indulgences what ought to be reserved for charity, or to avoid

bankruptcy, or to provide for the necessary support of his family, present and prospective, does what is indeed "lawful (in itself, aside of its consequences,) but not expedient." But what man or church can prescribe to him how he shall spend his money, or inflict penalties upon him, if he spends it unwisely or improvidently? Who shall determine what is expedient for him? If this prerogative were transferred to others, it would be an intolerable infringement of that liberty, in the use of our own, which gives it its chief attraction, and constitutes the great incentive to its acquisition. In like manner, who shall determine the style and equipage, and general modes of living, which are right, proper, or expedient for other people? Sumptuary laws are proverbially impracticable by civil government. Their execution involves an espionage and petty despotism that are intolerable and fatal. They are still more impracticable in the church. And yet, what prodigious violations of Christian duty, what depravation of morals, and injury to religion, result from improvident and extravagant expenditure? Again, no church court can pronounce any particular style, gorgeousness, or cost of dress, incompatible with Christian character, or a bar to communion. And yet, it is undeniable that the present enormous extravagance of female dress, often aggravated by a corresponding general extravagance or costliness of living, especially in our great cities, tends to sap the very foundations of social life, and of morality and religion, as implicated therewith. Considerate young men cannot, and dare not, enter the married state, without generous, and even princely incomes, such as few can obtain. Hence the vast and increasing numbers who live in perpetual celibacy, with the inevitable consequences of such a state of society. Who can doubt that there is great sin in these things, yet of such a kind that it cannot be extirpated or even reached by church discipline? These are things, in which, whatever may be true in the general, it is impossible to fix the charge of scandal, or of being incompatible with piety, in particular cases. Here we may not judge another man's servant; to his own master he stands or falls.

6. One topic under this head has greatly exercised different branches of the church for the last quarter of a century, viz.,

The relation of the manufacture, sale, and temperate use of intoxicating drinks to church standing and discipline. It is agreed, on all hands, that drunkenness or intemperance is, *per se*, a sin, which, unrepented of, should debar from the communion. It is agreed also, that the mere manufacture, sale, or sparing use of drink, that, used in excess, may intoxicate, is not, in itself, a sin. But it is argued that such making, selling, and using of these drinks, as a beverage, is the occasion of all the drunkenness that exists, without any countervailing benefit to justify it; that it gives rise to all the immense evils, physical, moral, and religious, of the intemperance that desolates the country, while it does no good. Hence, if not sinful in itself, it is the occasion of others sinning, and that to their eternal undoing. To do that which leads to such results, is alleged to be inconsistent with Christian character, and a proper ground of exclusion from the church. It is alleged that, when any "so sin against the brethren, they sin against Christ," (1 Cor. viii. 12,) and, therefore, ought to be debarred from communion.

Such is the substance of the argument which has had extensive currency among Christian people, and been endorsed by some ecclesiastical bodies in this country.

Our first remark upon this is, that while the apostle (Rom. xiv. and 1 Cor. viii.) charges us to use our Christian liberty, with regard to things indifferent, in a spirit of charity, and for the edification of the brethren, he, none the less, invests us with this liberty, and requires others to respect it. If the strong are not to be regardless of, or uncharitable towards the weak, neither are they to be judged or condemned by them. It is true, on the one hand, that "it is good neither to eat flesh, nor to drink wine, nor anything whereby thy brother stumbleth, or is offended, or is made weak." But what is the power which the apostle would enlist to ensure this generous self-sacrifice for the good of others? Is it church discipline, and the terror of excommunication? or the impulses of Christian love? These questions answer themselves. Suppose any "eat flesh," when, in the judgment of others, Christian charity should lead them to abstain from it. What then? Let the apostle answer. "One believeth that he may eat all things; another, who is weak, eateth herbs. Let not him that eateth despise him that

eateth not; and let not him which eateth not judge him that eateth: for God hath received him. Who art thou that judgest another man's servant? to his own master he standeth or falleth; yea, he shall be holden up: for God is able to make him stand. One man esteemeth one day above another; another esteemeth every day alike. Let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind. He that regardeth the day, regardeth it unto the Lord; and he that regardeth not the day, to the Lord he doth not regard it. He that eateth, eateth to the Lord, for he giveth God thanks; and he that eateth not, to the Lord he eateth not, and giveth God thanks." (Rom. xiv. 2—6.) This, beyond all question, is decisive, that while we ought to use our Christian liberty, in things indifferent, aright, yet we are bound not to surrender, but to preserve that liberty. Its highest and best Christian use is a duty of imperfect obligation, with respect to enforcement by human tribunals. It is God's prerogative to enforce it, and not for us herein to judge another man's servant. "Why should our liberty be judged of other men's consciences?" (1 Cor. x. 29.) Indeed, it may become a duty for Christians sometimes to assert their liberty, in these matters, by a practical exercise of it which would otherwise be unnecessary, in order to counteract misguided efforts to bring them under a yoke of bondage. It may be even necessary to do it, at the risk of calumnious misconstructions and imputations. There are limits to the checks upon our liberty which may be imposed by the duty of conciliating, or not scandalizing, weak Christians. If they attempt to forge unscriptural fetters and bonds for the conscience, which interfere with our freedom in serving God, and holy living, it is our duty to refuse them. A higher than we incurred the groundless opprobrium of being a "wine-bibber and gluttonous, a friend of publicans and sinners. But wisdom is justified of her children." This suggests a second unanswerable reply to the argument in question, viz., that if all making of intoxicating liquor to be used as a beverage is a sin, then our Saviour committed a sin in his first miracle; and if any, even the least use of such drinks, as a beverage, be a sin and a bar to communion, then the drinking of the wine made by him to be so used, was a sin and bar to communion. Further, while the Scripture repro-

bates drunkenness, and makes it a bar to communion, it will hardly be claimed that it puts all use of "wine which maketh glad the heart of man" in this category. There must be some mistake about arguments and principles that involve such consequences. The case is plain. Intoxication is a sin—which, persisted in or unrepented of, should exclude from communion. So he who knowingly supplies liquor to be used for purposes of intoxication, or keeps a haunt of drunkenness, is a partaker of the sin. But even this is more difficult to be dealt with than intoxication itself. And so the further we get to the more remote agents in producing it, the more difficult it is to establish a sinful participation in it. Those who manufacture, and sell it, may claim that they do so to supply it for lawful and not for illegitimate purposes; to be used, not abused; that there are manifold purposes, medical and hygienic, as well as in the arts, besides its moderate use as a beverage, that are lawful, for which it is required to be made and sold. Then again, many excellent and judicious people suppose that the free and ordinary use of native fermented liquors, wine and cider, would banish or greatly lessen the use of the more fiery and acrid beverages, which are so prolific of drunkenness, and thus indirectly promote temperance. These opinions may be wrong. We stand in doubt of them. But, right or wrong, they relate to matters in which a difference of opinion is no legitimate test of Christian character. We do not believe that excommunication on such issues is the Lord's way of preventing intemperance, or that it will have such a tendency—quite the reverse. For ourselves we have long felt called upon to abstain and, as far as possible, to induce others to abstain from the ordinary use of intoxicating liquors as a beverage. We devoutly wish that the use of them as a common beverage might be banished from society. We cordially adopt the Assembly's deliverance—"Especially should there be the frequent warning to the young and inconsiderate," touch not, taste not, handle not, "accompanied by a corresponding example." But we believe that these results are to be reached by persuasive appeals to the conscience, and the constraining power of Christian love, and not by making a new, unauthorized, and divisive term of communion. It is quite time it were understood that there are

manifold evils, sins, and shortcomings, which it is entirely beyond the power or province of church discipline to eradicate. So far as things indifferent are concerned, we "are called unto liberty, only we must not use our liberty as an occasion to the flesh; but by love serve one another." (Gal. v. 13.) It is our duty to use our liberty for the edification of ourselves and others on the one hand; and on the other, to vindicate and maintain that liberty against the efforts of those who would turn it into a yoke of bondage. Suppose a large party should arise, who should maintain that it is a sin for Christians to spend more than a certain moderate sum annually for clothing, while the demands of Christian charity are so imperative. Suppose they should procure votes to this effect to be passed by ecclesiastical bodies; and, in fact, so far as we can see, such a curtailment of expenses, in order to give what is thus saved to the cause of Christ, would be productive of great good. But suppose any think and act otherwise. What then? Is it to be, or can it be, enforced by church discipline?

In the same manner we believe, that, if the great body of the people, especially of Christian and moral people, would abstain from the use and sale of intoxicating drinks, great good and no evil would result therefrom. But what if many, including some of the most eminent, devoted, liberal, and exemplary members of our own and other churches think and act otherwise? If they judge it proper, and not unchristian, to drink a glass of wine, cider, porter, occasionally, or even daily? We may regret it. But can we make it a test of Christian character or term of communion, or enforce compliance with our views in that way? By no manner of means.

The same principle applies to the manufacture, sale, and use of tobacco. The writer of this is of that class who believes that the prevalent use of tobacco is productive of great evils, physical and moral; that it has a great influence in developing an appetite for strong drink, and thus promoting intemperance, with other evils; and that it would be an unspeakable blessing to the church, the nation, and the world, if we could bring about its universal disuse. Multitudes of good men are of the same opinion, and have succeeded in procuring the utterance and endorsement of this opinion by some ecclesiastical bodies.

But multitudes of others are quite otherwise in theory and practice. Would it not be quite absurd and monstrous to try to reach or extirpate this evil by ecclesiastical discipline? Could it be done without "rooting up the wheat also," and extirpating the church itself?

More than a quarter of a century ago, a case came before the Consociation of Fairfield West, in Connecticut, on appeal from the action of a church which had sustained a complaint against one of its members for "selling distilled spirits as a drink for persons in ordinary health." On the question whether such a charge was a ground of ecclesiastical action, that body unanimously adopted the following minute, framed by the Hon. Roger M. Sherman, who was a member of the body, and one of the first Christian jurists which this country has ever produced, withal an earnest advocate of total abstinence. This they did after saying: "they do earnestly beseech and solemnly charge all members of churches who so make, vend, or use distilled spirits, to desist from a practice thus injurious to society and perilous to themselves."

"The act charged is 'solely the practice of selling distilled spirits as a drink for persons in ordinary health.' It is not charged that he has so sold distilled spirits as to produce intoxication, or has sold it to drunkards. The rights of a church like those of a civil government, are of two classes, viz., perfect and imperfect. Perfect rights are such as can be enforced by adequate penalties; such as the right of requiring members to abstain from theft, lying, &c. These can be enforced by the heaviest censures of the church. Imperfect rights are such as can be asserted, but not enforced by penalty if not yielded; such as bountifulness, attending social meetings, avoiding frivolity and evil communications, &c. Of this latter sort, we deem the acts under consideration to be, in the present state of things, in many of our churches."

This principle might be elucidated through various lines of illustration, at much greater length. But if we have thus far succeeded in making ourselves understood, our main object has been accomplished. It has been shown that there is a wide range of Christian virtues which, while they are the proper outworkings of Christian principle and love, cannot be enforced

by the exactions of church discipline; of sins and evils which cannot be purged out by ecclesiastical censures or excommunication. To say that a given course of conduct is sinful, is not, as some suppose, proof that it exposes to excommunication, or can be thus extirpated from the church, without "rooting up the wheat also," and rending the church into fragments. Evils, faults, sins, must be borne with, which can only be extirpated by procedures that would expel the true members of Christ from communion with him and his people, at his table.

It does not follow that the church and ministry are not to bring their appropriate powers to bear for the removal of sins and faults which are beyond the province of the last penalties of church discipline. By argument, persuasion, expostulation, entreaty, example, a living ministry and church, will, by the power of the Holy Ghost, make continual and mighty progress in elevating the tone of piety, benevolence, liberality, self-denial, zeal, and activity on the one hand; and in rooting out sins, errors, and unchristian practices and fashions on the other. How much, for example, has been done in this way to raise the standard of Christian liberality, and to abate even the temperate use of intoxicating drinks? How much remains to be done in these respects, and also to exorcise the covetousness, worldliness, selfishness, and voluptuousness which still infest the church?

Church censures culminating in excommunication have one aim; to remove from the church those offences which, being capable of judicial ascertainment, are clearly inconsistent with a credible profession of piety; and to exclude from the communion those whose conduct is not only unchristian, but unchristian in such a sense, as, if persisted in, to certainly evince the absence of piety. Carried beyond this sphere, instead of subserving, it defeats its proper end of purifying the church, and invigorating religion. It is itself thus greatly weakened and brought into disrepute. It divides, debilitates, and destroys. It roots up the wheat not less than the tares, and, from being a power for edification, becomes a power for destruction. The clear apprehension of the distinction between perfect and imperfect rights and obligations, we think will assist not a little in enabling us to define the proper sphere of ecclesiastical dis-

cipline; and to avoid those misapplications of it, which have so often brought it into disrepute, neutralized its efficacy, distracted the church, and, instead of promoting religion, inaugurated the reign of envying and strife, confusion and every evil work.

ART. VI.—*Strauss and Schleiermacher, in their biographies of Jesus compared.* By P. HOFSTEDE DE GROOT, D. D., Prof. of Theology in the University of Groningen. Translated from the Dutch.

CARL SCHWARTZ, in his ingenious work, *History of Modern Theology*, where he treats of Schleiermacher, relates that Strauss, tutor at Tubingen, once more visited the university of Berlin, mainly because he desired to attend the celebrated lectures of Schleiermacher on the life of Jesus; and he adds that these lectures, full of disorganizing scepticism in analyzing and of sagacity in combining, gave the principal impulse to the destructive work of Strauss. This account of Schwartz is in some respects modified, but on the whole confirmed by what Strauss himself, recently in an essay, and now in his *Leben Jesu für das deutsche Volk bearbeitet*, communicates. He did not indeed, he tells us, in the winter of 1831, 1832, which he spent in Berlin, himself hear Schleiermacher deliver these lectures; but yet he made from two copies a copious extract. From his account of these lectures given in his last *Life of Jesus*, we receive moreover the impression that they both stand on one foundation; yet with this difference, that Schleiermacher moves cautiously and reluctantly, like one walking on a yet untrodden glacier, whilst Strauss sets his foot firmly and courageously, like one passing over ground with which he is familiar. Strauss remarks concerning them: "Schleiermacher's lectures on the life of Jesus have not, like his other lectures, yet been given to the public. They gave so little encouragement to the conservatism which has ever prevailed in the school of Schleiermacher; they were especially against the

urgency of the mythical view of the evangelical history a bulwark so untenable; they were by the white metallic image of Schleiermacher's theology so greatly feet of clay, that it was deemed advisable to conceal them. These lectures had also done their work, as a numerous audience at the master's feet had imbibed the views which lie at their foundation, and spread them abroad in their writings. In nearly all the elaborations of the evangelical history, even to the most recent time, we are at each step reminded of Schleiermacher's Life of Jesus. He passed also in this respect for an oracle, for which, by the ambiguity of his whole being, truly an enigma, he was eminently fitted."

With still greater asperity he expresses himself respecting Schleiermacher in the essay, in which he treats of the resurrection of Jesus according to that thinker. According to the extract which he there gives of Schleiermacher's lectures, we should, could we confide in our informant, be obliged to regard the great theologian as very small, yea, as very contemptible, as then his reflection must have been very limited, his scepticism unbridled, his courage very faint, and his deceitfulness outrageous.

Concisely and clearly does Strauss express his judgment of the man, when he begins the section on Schleiermacher thus: "Neither Herder nor Paulus had more clearly and definitely comprehended the impossibility of a miracle, the inviolability of the order of nature, than Schleiermacher."

The impossibility of a miracle, the inviolability of the order of nature—these are the watchwords of Strauss. Does Schleiermacher herein agree with Strauss—then, indeed, do they stand on one foundation. In the fundamental principle there must then be perfect unity between them; only will the timid master have applied the principle less consistently, less like himself, than the pupil who has much more courage to come out undisguisedly for his opinion.

So will any one be obliged to judge, whose acquaintance with both scholars, in their elaboration of the life of Jesus and in their whole mode of thought, is derived from Strauss alone. But, whatever assurance Strauss may give, if we have sought to know Schleiermacher himself from his own works, we cannot

believe that the report by Strauss touching his *Life of Jesus* is accurate and just. Were it so, then the great thinker and upright Christian must in these Lectures have apostatized from himself: and this no one acquainted with him will credit, save on incontestable evidence. Such to him is not the assurance of Strauss.

A happy turn has been given to this matter. When Strauss wrote that Schleiermacher's pupils had deemed it advisable to conceal these lectures, one of their number had already been three years engaged in preparing them for the press, so that they might be given to the public shortly after the appearance of Strauss; whilst it appears that the delay of their publication was to be ascribed, not to the apprehension of the pupils for the good name of their master, but to the want of good manuscripts. Now we can judge of Schleiermacher in these lectures from his own words, and we no longer depend on Strauss's report respecting him.

But there is more reason to rejoice in the publication of this work. In some respects it appears to be the most important of Schleiermacher's writings. By this is not meant that these lectures greatly advance our scientific contemplations of Jesus' life; time has advanced much, and also from Schleiermacher so much has been drawn, that it would indeed be a marvel should a new light on the life of Jesus arise to us from these lectures. Every one who has taken them in hand with such an expectation will have laid them aside, on the whole dissatisfied. But they powerfully assist us to better understand Schleiermacher himself. What he has in his *Dogmatics* and elsewhere given more abstractly, appears here in vivid visibility; certainly elsewhere the notion, here the history is dominant, but both serve as forms to place in the clearest light the one vital principle of his whole theology, Jesus Christ. The shady sides too of his mental character strongly appear, especially needless scepticism and inability to transport himself into the spirit of the lower classes. But be this so: hereby too is this book a much shorter and safer way to attain to a full understanding of Schleiermacher than we have thus far possessed; let every one who would learn to understand him, begin here his study. Here all is simplicity, clearness, depth. Here, in accordance with

the remark of the editor, "Schleiermacher appears *entire* according to all sides of his knowledge from the depth and fulness of the faith revealed to him, of which neither the right nor the left side of his opponents seems to have a suspicion. His views are at the same time expressed with so much frankness, that he is throughout liable to be variously misapprehended, and thus lays himself open to hostile attacks."

On this account chiefly is the work of Schleiermacher of sufficient importance to be made in some measure known to our readers, especially in contrast with Strauss and with the judgment of Strauss respecting it. We proceed therefore to offer some observations on *Strauss and Schleiermacher, in their biographies of Jesus compared.*

We direct attention *first* to both biographies in general, in order *afterward* to make these generalities visible in certain particulars, and *in conclusion* to point out the great difference between them.

The philosophical principle of Strauss is, that the miraculous or the supernatural is impossible. To prove this he does not deem necessary. Our age, the civilization of our time, science, he says, is convinced of this. Only in section 24, entitled, *The Notion of a Miracle*, he seeks to adduce a proof for his assertion. It amounts to this, as the caption of this section intimates, that no satisfactory *idea* of a miracle is to be obtained; from which it must appear, that there is no *miracle*. This he does not say in so many words; unconsciously he confounds the apprehension of the thing with the thing itself. He is now so deeply engrossed in thinking, in willing to understand and comprehend, that whatever lies beyond that, for him has no existence. This is both here and everywhere the philosophical foundation of theology and of all science, as with Hegel, so also with Strauss: all must be capable of being comprehended or conceived; what cannot be comprehended or conceived, does not exist. Our reason is the limitation of being. He says expressly in that section, *Der Wunderbegriff*, in demonstration of the impossibility of a miracle, first: page 147, "It is the task of historical investigation, not barely to ascertain *what* has happened, but also *how* things have proceeded one from another. But it must abdicate the last, noblest part of its task, as soon as it grants

any place to a miracle, as just this interrupts the procession of one thing from another." Let us now apply this philosophy respecting history to the origin of the human race and of the earth in its present state. Historical investigation will then be *obliged* to ascertain how these have arisen without a miracle; but as it *cannot* do this, it must deny that origin itself; for that origin cannot without a miracle be acknowledged; but to a miracle no place can be granted; there is, therefore, no origin of the human race and of this earth in its present state. This philosophy then gives thereof no explanation whatever.

After this Strauss endeavours in that section to show, that the notion of a miracle suits no philosophical system whatever, not even the theistic, from which he omits the government of the world. But suppose that it has never been thus far able to find a place in any system of philosophers: it is not on that account to be banished, unless we may presume that the insight of philosophers into the nature of things is the limit of their existence.

Similar utterances everywhere abound in the book of Strauss. We cite but one more. On page 38 he declares that he will then first acknowledge the superhuman greatness of our Lord Jesus Christ, when it is made *comprehensible* to him, *why* in the domain of religion alone there can be such an only person. The historical fact he will therefore acknowledge as true, if philosophy can construe it as necessary.

The historical principle, or rather the unhistorical supposition, wherewith Strauss would prepare us to believe that there are in the Gospels many fables, is this, that at the time of decaying heathenism, of self-reforming Judaism, and of formative Christianity, thus in the age of Jesus and the apostles, in the circles influenced by religion no correct view existed of what history is, but a dominion of the imagination was universal, so that we are by no means as certain respecting the life of Jesus as about that of Socrates, yea, not more certain than about that of Pythagoras, who lived six centuries before Jesus. Just the reverse is true, there never was earlier or later a more historical time among Greeks, Romans, and Jews, than the first century of our era.

The conclusion of the philosophical principle and of the un-

historical supposition, applied to the life of Jesus, is with Strauss, that the Gospels, being full of miraculous accounts, abound in myths or popular tales, though some history, that of the wise and virtuous rabbi Jesus of Nazareth, lies at their foundation.

What are now the principles of Schleiermacher?

His philosophical point of departure is this, that the supernatural or the miraculous, as commencement of a new order of things, is necessary; but in the progress of that order gradually becomes natural. The first of our race were miraculously created by God, he says; but their children and remoter descendants are born in a natural way. So also the second Adam, Jesus Christ, has by a miracle of God arisen without error or sin in the human race; but the miraculous acts of such a person and the establishing of the Christian church by such a founder are the natural effects of a supernatural cause. This is his principle, in his *Dogmatics* and elsewhere constantly expressed; and now also again in his *Leben Jesu*, so that it is a perfect untruth, what Strauss says of him, that Schleiermacher maintained the impossibility of a miracle; he maintained its necessity. Thus he is far also from making the ability to comprehend, the standard of truth. Much that is incomprehensible is admitted by him as true. The limits of thought he by no means holds with Strauss for the limits of being. There is much, much even in the Gospels related according to truth, to which we by our thinking cannot attain.

The historical principle of Schleiermacher is equally the reverse of that of Strauss. The time of Jesus and the apostles is to him a perfectly certain historical time. There are indeed in the first three Gospels popular tales or myths, especially about what happened at the birth of Jesus; but this is owing to the fact, that (according to him) these writings in their present form are of later origin. But their chief contents are perfectly certain; for the Gospel of John is from Jesus' bosom-friend and in the relation of Jesus' acts and communication of Jesus' discourses wholly credible.

The sum of these two principles, applied to Jesus' life, is with Schleiermacher this, that we, though there are in the first three Gospels embellishments and additions, have yet a perfectly cer-

tain knowledge of the chief matters of Jesus' life, especially from the pen of the accurate John.

Do we yet ask in general, if there is not then a great correspondence of the two scholars in their biographies of our Lord: then the answer is, that there certainly is, and that in the free historical criticism, belonging in equal measure to both. We are acquainted with it in Strauss: in Schleiermacher we find it equally strong; he expresses it just as undisguisedly, that we have in the Gospels writings of men, to be subjected to the same free criticism as all other books. Yea, both have done so much to the criticism on the accounts of the Evangelists respecting Jesus' life, that they have not yet arrived at a proper life of Jesus. As to Schleiermacher, criticism is with him not only profound, free, fearless, all-sided; it is also, often audacious and exaggerated; it often sees difficulties where they are not. Schleiermacher is frequently unable to transport himself out of his own spirit and mind into the world as it now is. His clear intellect, his firm will, his likeness to himself, he not unfrequently supposes, though unconsciously, in all men, so that he cannot admit folly and inconsistency when narrated of others.

But if there arises from this a great correspondence between him and Strauss, this does not prevent them from being in general antipodes. With the one the supernatural is impossible, with the other, necessary; with the one the pith and principal matter of the evangelical history is invented, with the other true.

From what is general we pass to some particulars. When we see the accounts of the birth of our Lord criticised by Strauss and Schleiermacher, we find here a great correspondence. With Strauss nearly all is legendary, with Schleiermacher equally so. He, too, has all manner of difficulties respecting these accounts. They consist, according to him, of two series of narratives (by Matthew and Luke), which are not to be reconciled. Jesus must not, indeed, yet *can* have had a human father, *can* have been Joseph's son. He even declares himself to be sceptical, where no original reports seem to him to exist. But if Schleiermacher goes thus far hand in hand with Strauss, he yet maintains, and here is a very great difference, that by one or other positive act of God care has been

taken, that in the arising of Jesus' life nothing sinful should find place in him; and that in a specially ordained, marvellous manner, the conviction that Jesus should be the Messiah, was spread and confirmed before, at, and after his birth. Both points, it is known, are assailed by Strauss.

The account of Jesus in the temple, at the age of twelve years, is with Strauss an unchristian invention, as he infers especially from the legends relating to the childhood of Augustus, Cyrus, Moses, and Samuel. With Schleiermacher it is beyond all doubt a true report, to the contemplation of which he devotes sixty pages, more than one-tenth part of his whole work. He certainly finds this account wholly in harmony with Jesus' personality, as that is later manifested; he here reads in Jesus' mind and spirit, when he began to develope; he sees here the whole of Christianity already as in its germ presented to our view. Then already, he says, Jesus apprehended that he stood in a wholly peculiar, to other men strange relation to God. For he calls God *his Father* in a wholly peculiar sense. Before Him we do not find God thus exhibited in the Old Testament, and if Jesus speaks afterwards of God as the Father of all men, God is so according to Jesus only through Him, so that even the apostles have not God as their Father in the same sense as He. There is a difference between Jesus and all other men, and this not only in degree, but also in kind. In Christ the divine spirit is something original, in Christians something communicated. Christ, and Christ alone, is, and always was from childhood, sinless and infallible. He is, therefore, himself foundation and centre of the gospel, and not the faith *of* Jesus, but faith *in* Jesus is the principal thing for us.

All this Schleiermacher discusses in connection with the account of Jesus, at the age of twelve, which opens to him a view into the inmost of this wholly peculiar man, when he as a boy began to be conscious who he was, and his divine greatness began to send forth its first rays.

This greatness manifests itself afterwards much more strongly in the public life of our Lord, and is most conspicuous in his miracles. With Strauss, Schleiermacher agrees, that no acts contrary to nature were performed towards or by Jesus. He,

too, is zealous against the violation of the order of nature; but when he finds occurrences, perfectly well established by eye-witnesses, related, which do not harmonize with the order of nature known to him, he does not reject the credibility of the narratives; no, this stands fast: but he confesses his ignorance how to understand them, and thus makes history not dependent on his knowledge of nature or philosophy, as Strauss does. Miracles of every kind, even the most assailed, such as that at Cana and the raising of Lazarus, he maintains as facts, which to us are miracles. Does he endeavour as far as possible to find a correspondence between the works of Jesus and of ordinary men; does he seek to penetrate the operation of Jesus' divine power in human forms, he is never on that account willing, which Strauss always is, to set aside the supernatural. "Never have I supposed," he declares, "that the proper worth and nature of Christ could be reduced to the ordinary domain of nature." He refuses to explain the miracles as wholly natural occurrences; although it is natural or comprehensible that they are so, when we have regard to the higher nature of Christ. His contemplation of Jesus' miraculous works closes with these words: "It has become clear to us, that from such an existence, as we acknowledged that of Christ to be, operations in the domain of human existence are possible, which are not possible of another man."

As to the doctrines of Jesus, we only point to that respecting his own person. Schleiermacher is of opinion with Strauss, that He ascribes to himself no preëxistence. He does not indeed think, that in the Gospel of John the utterances of Jesus respecting it are adulterated, but he supposes that they must be exegetically apprehended otherwise than of a preëxistence. Beyond this the two German scholars stand diametrically opposite to each other in their apprehension of Jesus' person. Is He with Strauss only an excellent man, who in the domain of religion signifies about as much as Socrates in that of philosophy, Aristotle in that of science, a man with predecessors and successors, who in some respects surpass Him, not an Only One, not a person specifically distinguished from all other men: with Schleiermacher He is an altogether only person, without his like before or after Him, who drew his

knowledge of divine things not from the prophets, but from himself, and in his fulness possessed all that which the apostles have developed, without being able to surpass, or reach, or even comprehend Him, so that they have nothing save out of the fulness of Jesus, and this they have been very far from exhausting. Yea, for all mankind He, He alone is the source, even yet, of the holy, wise, loving life of God, which exists incipiently in his church. So Jesus exhibits himself, and rightly so; for Jesus Christ was what he professed himself to be.

To three more particulars we must direct attention, to Jesus' death, resurrection, and ascension. Strauss thinks, as is known, that Jesus died, but did not rise again, nor ascend to heaven. But it is not unimportant to compare Schleiermacher's own words with what Strauss tells us of his contemplations on these topics.

Strauss presumes to write of his teacher: "In the history of the resurrection he agrees in all points with the natural explication of Paulus (of Heidelberg). Jesus was not entirely dead, and by special divine disposal, that is, by perfect accident, without human intervention, restored to life; moreover, by just such an accident was the stone removed from the sepulchre by men who knew not that Jesus was in it, and thus He came out of it." Thus speaks Strauss respecting Schleiermacher. And, how did Schleiermacher himself speak in the very year 1832, at the commencement of which Strauss was in Berlin? "Whether the body of Jesus after his death underwent dissolution, is uncertain. But the wound inflicted by the spear is a proof that Jesus was really dead, so that hastening of his death by breaking of the legs was in his case unnecessary. It was in no case a sham death."

And what does Schleiermacher say of the resurrection? The accounts respecting it by John are those of an eye-witness. Moreover, the account of Paul is perfectly credible. 1 Cor. xv. Further: "All our accounts necessarily suppose the resurrection of Jesus, so that we must accept as a fact, what in general is not to be doubted." After having spoken of the appearances of Jesus, which he regards as short visits of Jesus living on earth, but no longer having daily intercourse with his friends, he continues: "Thus nothing incomprehensible remains, save

the resurrection itself of Jesus. But so it is with the whole appearance of Christ on earth; the commencement was a miraculous act, but the continuance something entirely natural." "Christ, therefore, by his resurrection returned to a real human life. The appearance of the contrary is explained by the perfectly explicable resolve, to mingle no more with the world, but to remain with his disciples alone." "The truth of the second life of Christ we allow, as a fact established by all reports, to pass for a real life."

We have here a strong proof, that the communications of Strauss are not to be received on his word as true. What copies must he have had to make Schleiermacher say something wholly different from what he actually said? Reluctantly we impute it to bad faith: but can we here do otherwise?

With respect to the ascension of Jesus, Schleiermacher has indeed given occasion—yet no just cause—for a sentence of disapprobation. He certainly has multiform and strange ideas of it, mostly derived from this, that it is expressly related only in the Acts. The Lord was indeed exalted to heaven, but whether in order to this any removal of his body from this earth took place, appears to him doubtful. A second death would not have been impossible, but, not being related, is not to be received. What took place he does not pretend to say. Here the great man is weak or even lame. Yet Strauss has no right first to make this idea of Schleiermacher still more sceptical, and then to say: "In this lameness issues the representation of Jesus' life by Schleiermacher. It has failed of the object at which it aimed, viz., to give equal satisfaction to faith and science." This is unjust, for Schleiermacher closes with these words: "For him, who does not accept the altogether only in the appearance of Christ, remains this one and always the same task: to point out in all miracles how they are to be explained by natural laws, and by these also to explain his last life. The issue is always the same: bungling: whereby in the fashion of making suppositions an absolute lack of criticism prevails. Just this is a proof for the higher in the appearing of Christ, for the certainty that He is a higher being, an *ens sui generis*, that all attempts to place him on a lower grade completely fail. There exists meanwhile (for us all) a task, which (by me) has not been

finished, and to whose completion we can only approximate: this, that we acknowledge this (only, higher), but so treat all particulars, that it can be seen, how it *resting* on a supernatural foundation has yet *become* perfectly natural."

This is Schleiermacher's profound conclusion, of whose significance the one-sided Strauss has no appreciation.

Having thus placed Strauss and Schleiermacher in their biographies of Jesus, as well in general as in certain particulars beside each other, we desire in conclusion to point out in certain traits the great difference, yea, the perfect conflict between them.

Strauss is evidently a pantheist, and Schleiermacher, however pantheistic (in his philosophy) he may often be, is in heart a believing Christian; so that the one as negative intellect-man denies everything that he does not comprehend; the other as positive soul-man acknowledges also that which urges itself upon him as positive, though he does not comprehend it. This contrast we have already noticed.

Both set out from a previously fixed position: Strauss from this, that a miracle is impossible; Schleiermacher from this, that we believe in Jesus Christ; Strauss, therefore, from a subjective philosophical system, Schleiermacher from objective Christianity.

Strauss, moreover, draws a boundary line between the natural and the supernatural, which with him is equivalent to counter-natural or unnatural, and this last is with him all that we, according to the natural forces known to us and working before our eyes, cannot comprehend. Schleiermacher asserts, that the supernatural is not counter-natural or unnatural, but the natural thus far remaining unknown to us; so that the boundary-line cannot be drawn between natural and supernatural. He will not on that account, however, deny the facts that present themselves as supernatural, but acknowledge them as soon as they are communicated by competent witnesses, and seek in some measure to comprehend them, and, in so far as this does not succeed, respect them as thus far incomprehensible facts.

On the soul of Strauss is written: "Comprehend all, believe nothing; what Christians only believe and do not comprehend

is error, mistake, or deceit." Dogmatics must thus, as he in his work, *Die christliche Glaubenslehre*, attempted to do, serve for the solution or removal of all Christian doctrines. In Schleiermacher's soul was deeply engraven what he placed as motto for his work, *Der christliche Glaube:* "Non intelligere, ut credam, sed credere, ut intelligam." And his faith rests on an immoveable fact: the existence of the Christian church and its institution by Jesus Christ. Thus he did not place science foremost, as something on which faith depends, as if there existed a possibility that this faith should succumb to science. No, with him faith stood, as the respiration of the soul, as immoveably foremost, as with the naturalist our corporeal breathing through the lungs. Neither of these two respirations begins or ends with our knowledge of it. But yet it is our duty as far as possible to know or comprehend them. If, however, faith and science seemed to conflict, then with Schleiermacher the latter yielded, not the former. Faith was to him a beacon on the coast, according to which he must direct the course of his ship, even should he be unable to make it correspond with *his* calculation of longitude and latitude.

As to the person of Jesus Christ: He is with Strauss a branch proceeding from the tree of humanity: *merely human*, not divine, not supernatural, but a production of nature. Jesus is with him the product of his time, of his nation, of circumstances, of the movement in the spiritual domain in that age; just as, for instance, the principal personages in the French Revolution were products of that revolution, which they have indeed directed, but only as exponents, not as creators of the public sentiment. Jesus is thus a creature, not creator; effect, not cause of the Christian church. Strauss adds various remarks on the philosophical, moral, and religious condition of Jews and heathen in Jesus' time, which are well adapted to make us see, that that age was susceptible of the gospel, and thus explain its diffusion, but accomplish absolutely nothing towards explaining its origin, or even that of its doctrines. With Schleiermacher Jesus is a new scion, grafted by God in the tree of humanity; thus indeed *purely human*, but not merely human as Strauss maintains; purely human in consequence of the operation of the divine or supernatural principle

in Him. He is not the product, but the producer of a new time, the founder of a new institution, the source of a new intellectual and spiritual life, that still constantly flows forth from Him to the increasing blessing of the world.

The necessary effect of the views of Strauss is, that with them the church falls. In the closing lecture of his earlier *Life of Jesus* he acknowledges the conflict between his views and the existence of the church, and in his *Dogmatics* he proclaims aloud, that the church must disappear before the state. What will then become of religion, does not appear. Perhaps it will then become a recreation for those who still set a value on it, as is poetry now in our community. In any case there is no more place for theologians. This book of Strauss is also not written for them. They are treated with great asperity; he turns to the people; refuted by the theologians, he knows not where to find any remedy save among the masses, who are now to decide on these questions of philosophy, history, and criticism! "Flectere si nequeo Superos, Acheronta movebo." The effect of Schleiermacher's theology is just the opposite, viz., the upbuilding of the church. In his *Encyclopædia* he reduces all education of the theologian to this aim, viz., that of being qualified to serve and preside over the church. Also in his *Life of Jesus* he gives to this end rich and profound hints; what he adduces on the training of the apostles and the *gemeinschaftstiftende Thätigkeit* of Jesus, is most important, but we do not touch upon it now. On the whole, this is a side of Schleiermacher's theology which is still very rarely adverted to by Protestant divines, that he always sets out from the *existence* of an institution, which must have had a founder—from the existence of the Christian church, which demands a Christ. What is in this church, is *from* its founder, and thus *in* its founder. Ullmann has excellently developed this fundamental thought of Schleiermacher's system in his beautiful treatise, *What does the founding of the Christian Church by the Crucified presuppose?* But Strauss takes no notice that this is a fundamental idea with Schleiermacher, although this idea is most important. No serious endeavour on his part is to be found to explain the existence of the Christian church. He has no conception that we cannot account for the *deed*, the *fact*

of Christianity from *ideas* of thinkers, that Plato's *speculation* on a state has not yet been able to effect the *founding* of a state. Properly he knows no church. Paul, he says, deified Jesus and this was continued in the Epistle to the Hebrews and in the fourth Gospel. Paul did so, as he allowed himself to be borne upward in the air without ballast in a balloon filled with fancy. We are unable to conceive who could seriously find in the clear and dialectic Paul a fantast, and still less to comprehend how by a voyage in a "*phantasie-gefullte Ballon in die Lüfte*" an edifice could have been erected, such as the Christian church, which has for centuries stood on immoveable base and foundation.

In spite of all this, Strauss makes it appear as if Schleiermacher was fundamentally in agreement with his main principle. He assures us, when he begins to speak of his teacher: "More clearly and definitely had neither Herder nor Paulus comprehended the impossibility of a miracle than Schleiermacher." Designedly untrue Strauss is not, but he absolutely does not comprehend Schleiermacher. It is with him as with one who has blue, red, or yellow glasses before his eyes and now sees every thing red, yellow, or blue. As long as he has no suspicion that those spectacles colour every thing, and so does not lay them aside, he must indeed see as they neeessitate him. The glasses of Strauss are the understanding; not the intellectual power in general, but the lower faculty of knowing, in contrast with reason and mind. Taking understanding in this sense, we see in Strauss an intellective man, a one-sided intellective man only, reasoning on every thing. Certainly with him all begins, all proceeds, and all ends with reasoning, comprehending, thinking. It profits him nothing for understanding the things of God's kingdom, that he is an acute thinker, eminent stylist, and great scholar. A capitalist, who is rich and knows how to augment his treasures, derives from this ability no advantage whatever, to acquire also taste for and appreciation of the fine arts, to comprehend generosity and self-sacrifice, and to conceive of patriotism. To him Apollo Belvedere is a piece of stone, Mary's act of love a waste.

Schleiermacher and Strauss stand externally very near each other, and, what is still more, the latter thinks he understands

the former. Yet he does not. Such a thing has often happened. Aristotle did not understand the ideal of his master Plato, Flacius Illyricus did not understand the freedom of Luther. Wolff meant to arrange the ideas of Leibnitz, and he petrified the ingenious thoughts of his master into lifeless dogmas. Fichte imagined that he was following Kant, and became, nevertheless, the opposite of that critic, a dogmatist. Just so Strauss comprehends nothing of Schleiermacher's life of faith, and his criticism therefore on the New Testament seems to him lame, his person an enigma.

On the whole Schleiermacher is not easy to comprehend; he certainly is absolutely unintelligible to a wholly dissimilar nature. Moreover, great defects are always very easily pointed out in him. In this *Life of Jesus* two things are especially embarrassing. First, an often unnecessary scepticism. But this harmonizes with his whole manner of viewing every matter. He is always critical, views things from all sides, has much to say for and against. He is a genuine dialectician in the sense of Plato. And this gives with many a difficulty also very great advantages. Secondly, a frequently recurring complaint of the incompleteness and the difference between the Evangelists, so that we do not know much, or are even uncertain respecting many circumstances of Jesus' life. That that incompleteness and that difference exist, is perfectly true, but is this a sufficient ground of complaint? of complaint so excessive that what we know well and certainly, may, therefore, as is the case with Schleiermacher, be in good part overlooked. He laments that we do not know more about Jesus' birth, education, maintenance, daily labour, appearances after his resurrection, and similar matters, and in connection with these things he overlooks much that is important and well known; for instance, Jesus' mode of instruction, his use of similitudes, the education of his apostles according to their character in general and of each in particular, and much more of that nature. But on taking notice of all that we do not know, he thus not seldom overlooks the principal things which we know well. It is as if an astronomer complains that we cannot visit a single heavenly body beyond the earth, not even our own moon, and neglects, as we cannot know this, that, and the other thing, to reduce to

a whole what we know well. It is as if a connoisseur constantly complains of the painter, because he has given dark colours to various parts, is bent on knowing what those dark corners contain, and then does not attend to all the light parts, which the painter intended to bring out. Respecting these things he may not murmur. The great artist had his reasons, which we must respect, whilst we thankfully receive from his hand what he gives, and study and seek to understand this. The Evangelists are not indeed such artists; they have often given concisely what happened to Jesus. But above them stands Divine Providence, that has given us through them so much respecting Jesus as we need to know in order to find in Him the Saviour of the world. What is not related, was certainly less necessary or unnecessary, would perhaps with many have drawn away their attention from the necessary. Let us then not complain of the dark with the light, of the unknowable with the clear in the portraiture of Jesus' life.

Yet Schleiermacher even in this book abounds in profound and sublime thoughts, by which the shrewdest and most upright are impressed, and from which they derive refreshment of mind and heart, and whereby they are stimulated to wholly new investigations. He very often appears like an eagle, that flies high above forests and fields of snow, and surveys the earth in its parts and its connection. Who can follow his flight?

But every one can follow and understand Strauss. His wisdom is the everyday understanding and the audacious denial of nearly every thing that is elevated above the virtue of the saloon and the wisdom of the street. And since this understanding is introduced and commended by singular shrewdness and very comprehensive learning, he makes impression on many, all whose bloom and fruit fall off, when touched by his icy breath. With this remark we close: *if Strauss does not understand his countryman whom he personally knew and had as his instructor*, how easily may he then err, when he must comprehend a Luke or John, or, indeed, Jesus himself.

For this he wholly lacks the spiritual organ.

ART. VII.—*Observations on the difference between Renan, Strauss, and Schleiermacher's Life of Jesus.* By P. HOFSTEDE DE GROOT, Professor of Theology in the University of Groningen. Translated from the Dutch.

THE *Life of Jesus* by Renan, published in the summer of 1863, was succeeded a half year later by one elaborated by Strauss, and this was a few months after followed by one from Schleiermacher. Thus in one year three biographies of our Lord from three celebrated men. They were not, however, composed at the same time. The work of Schleiermacher might have been published thirty-two years ago. There is, however, an adequate reason why it was not. The subject therein contained was treated by him in his lectures. From his hand were found after his death only short notes. What his hearers had recorded was often imperfect, and indistinctly written, so that his friends, the editors of his posthumous works, for a long time were unable from different copies to compose a whole. Finally they obtained a complete and distinct manuscript which, after comparison with what had already been collected, is now published by K. A. Rütenik.

It is important to compare these three works with each other. It would be so on account of their authors, if they had written the life of some other person, for instance of Pythagoras or Socrates, of Luther or Napoleon; how much more now that the life of Jesus is their subject!

Let the question first be answered: What is the general view taken by each of *Jesus' person?*

Renan is an admirer of the French Revolution of 1789. Every great movement in the history of the world, thus also the reformation of the church in the sixteenth century and the founding of Christianity itself, he compares, consciously or unconsciously, sometimes expressly and often tacitly, with the French Revolution.

As this revolution was not the work of a single man, but proceeded from a concurrence of circumstances, from the whole range of thought and from the passions of France in the former

century, which conducted the spirit of the French nation to that revolution: so must Christianity, according to him, also be the result of a general fermentation in the thoughts and opinions of the nations, especially of the Jewish nation in that age, which was full of Messianic expectations. Jesus may thus, in Renan's spirit, be compared to a Mirabeau or Sieyès, who, in 1789 and later, were the best exponents of what was passing in the spirit and mind of the French people in general. As they did not, however, bring the revolution to an end, Renan seeks another example with which to compare Jesus, in order to understand Him, and finds it in Mohammed, as he acknowledges himself towards the close of his *Introduction.* Just as it was with him, so he ascribes to Jesus also different periods, first of amiability, afterward of violence; first of fanaticism, then of hypocrisy. Therefore after the manner of Mohammed Jesus also effected a religious revolution. Thus we obtain a portraiture of Jesus' life, but one that is in conflict with itself, an absurd mixture of truth and falsehood.

With such a view Strauss cannot agree. The external manner in which Christianity first appeared, its world-conquering power, makes not on him such an impression as on the much more vivacious Frenchman, who is politician and man of the world. Strauss is a German, is a close student, is a thinker. In contemplating Jesus his attention is not so much attracted by the revolution in the history of the world effected by Jesus, as by what Jesus *thought.* Jesus is to him with respect to religion, what Socrates was in the philosophic, Aristotle in the scientific domain. He borrows this comparison from Renan; but Renan did not remain true to it. And Renan's comparison of Jesus with Mohammed, Strauss does not accept. Now Socrates and Aristotle were with Strauss above all thinkers. The moral-religious ideas of Jesus are thus to him the principal thing.

Again, it is wholly otherwise with Schleiermacher. He is also thinker, but finer, deeper, and many more-sided. He lived in a greatly excited age, in the midst of society; he was moreover a religious man, chiefly by virtue of his education among the Moravians. Was he by natural talent a thinker, and did he find time and opportunity to develope that talent as pro-

fessor in a university: he was also practical man as preacher and minister of church and school affairs. It is not strange, therefore, that with him the ideas of Jesus are not the principal thing, but that he chiefly attends to Jesus' *work*, the founding of the church, whose power and influence on his mind he had moreover experienced among the Moravians. He sees in Jesus' birth a new creative act of God, in Jesus himself a second Adam, the progenitor of a renovated humanity. Although he speaks on his doctrine, yet the doctrine is to him subordinate to the instruction, his *Lehre* to his *Lehrthätigkeit*, and this *Lehrthätigkeit* is to him this, that Jesus himself communicates his divine perfection to others, which communication at the same time, as real aim of his mission, is comprised in his work of founding his society. Not the faith *of Jesus*, but faith *in Jesus*, is therefore the principal thing, for which we must strive.

To combine all: To Renan Jesus is a half-fanatical, half-deceiving revolutionist.

To Strauss he is a virtuous man and clear thinker, who among the many promoters of the ideal of humanity stands on the highest grade perfection, although not without narrowness, faults, and errors.

To Schleiermacher he is a being of a peculiar kind, infallible and sinless by virtue of the divine power belonging to him, and thereby renovator of humanity.

Secondly: If these three scholars take a different view of Jesus' person, no less do they of the *sources* whence our knowledge of Him must be derived.

Renan says that Palestine has become to him a fifth Gospel, which in general completely establishes the credibility of the four which we have. The whole country with its relics of earlier ages, with its climate and soil, with the mode of life of its inhabitants, in one word, all that he found there, has confirmed in him the conviction, that the four Gospels are in the main credible writings, descended to us from the first century. They cannot be of later date, nor composed elsewhere than in Palestine.

These, then, are to him the sources. But yet a miracle is regarded by him as impossible. The miraculous accounts must therefore be explained by accepting a so-called pious fraud.

He moreover uses those sources so arbitrarily, so through one another, without attending to any order of time, that his *Life of Jesus*, which professes to be drawn from them, is purely the work of his fancy. Even Colani, in many respects of kindred spirit with Renan, testifies in the name of science, history, and criticism, that no discussion is possible in reference to so arbitrary a product of fancy.

Discussion is indeed possible with Strauss: with him all is reasoning. He denies that the Gospels are credible. Every thing swarmed in that age with fables and inventions. Fancy has without design as of itself embellished history. What we have therefore in the Gospels, is not history of Jesus, but representation of that history, as it had become among the primitive Christians seventy or a hundred years after Jesus Christ. The proper ground for this view of the Gospels is the hypothesis: miracles are impossible.

Schleiermacher thinks that the first three Gospels are later reproductions of an older source, but that they are nevertheless in the principal matter true. For this is confirmed by John, who passes with Schleiermacher for an eye-witness. As much as possible he endeavours to comprehend them, but often he cannot, and he relinquishes the attempt. But this does not prevent him from accepting them as true, since he regards miracles not only as possible but as natural. Just as the first man had a supernatural origin, so also the first born of the new creation. And is He himself the miracle of miracles, then are the miracles, the miraculous acts of Him and facts with Him, inseparable from Him, and with Him natural. The sum is: With Renan disregard of criticism prevails; Strauss uses criticism, but as an auxiliary to establish his philosophical hypothesis; Schleiermacher also avails himself of criticism, but in order to understand as far as possible the history of Jesus and to purify the accounts we have of it.

We make now only these two observations, and in this order, because the second depends on the first. Apparently, indeed, is their opinion of the sources the principal matter; but it is in reality governed by their representation of Jesus' person. But now one question more: Whence that difference between their views of the sources and of Jesus himself?

It proceeds from the different personality of the writers. No one views history without previously adopting and adhering to presuppositions; and these are regulated by what a man is. Renan is admirer of the French Revolution, Strauss a Hegelian philosopher, Schleiermacher pupil of the United Brethren. Hence great difference. And so will by all, and also by us, as well the person of Jesus, as the sources whence we derive our knowledge of Him, be differently viewed, in proportion as we ourselves are differently educated and differently disposed persons; whence among other things it follows, that we have not yet done with the history of Jesus, and that the right view of it depends on much besides our learning.

The difference between Renan, Strauss, and Schleiermacher, has a deep soil. The vivacious Frenchman comprehends that *life* has gone out from Jesus, but superficial he sees life only with Jesus in so far as a popular movement was occasioned by him, so as to give rise to adherence and opposition. The German philosopher has no conception of life, only of *idea;* he does not suspect that there is necessity in the mind for deliverance from the guilt and dominion of sin, and that this necessity demands satisfaction by deed and work, whilst the reflection upon and comprehension of it come afterward. That necessity was deeply engraven on Schleiermacher's mind, and was therefore distinctly before his spirit. He comprehended that *life* had gone out from Jesus, a moral, religious life, a renovation of humanity. Briefly: Renan is admirer of revolution, Strauss is thinker, Schleiermacher is man of conscience, formed by his education among the Moravians: Schleiermacher is at the same time believing Christian. Herein he stands opposite to both the others, that he believed in Jesus as the Christ. And this had great influence on his *Life of Jesus;* for the manner in which we view the life of Jesus depends on the relation of our mind to his person. The greater or less vital communion with the Lord determines also in great measure our mode of viewing the person, work, and fate of Jesus.

It is alleged in opposition to these remarks on Jesus, that, if the character of Jesus according to Renan be half-fanatic, half-deceiver, this would make such a strange whole of fanaticism, deceit or error, that no place would remain in it for the truth.

In this case Renan could not have so much respect for Jesus, as he in reality manifests.

Against this it may be said, that the representation of Jesus by Renan is indeed an absurdity, and so is not the true, but still it is Renan's; and we may not make Renan speak differently from what he has himself spoken. He is absurd; of this we may not deprive him. The sentence passed by Colani on him, as cited above, is therefore just.

Is respect for Jesus irreconcilable therewith, be it so; this shows indeed the absurdity and falsity of Renan's views, but not that our representation of those views is unjust or untrue. There are other men who firmly embrace absurdities, and yet have respect for characters that do not deserve it. But it is not asserted that Renan perceives nothing good or true in Jesus: this he does continually: it is only asserted, that Jesus is with him on the whole a good-natured, often sublime fanatic, and at the same time a deceiver, who adopts the maxim, that the world will and so also must be deceived. This is most clearly to be seen in Renan's representation of the raising of Lazarus.

It cannot be conceded by some, that there is a real and characteristic difference between the historical criticism of Strauss and Schleiermacher. Does the former employ criticism to become as accurately as possible acquainted with the history of Jesus, is not that, it is asked, also the case with the other? Is there a difference in their criticism in kind, or only in degree? Is Strauss under the influence of a philosophical view of the world, Schleiermacher is equally so. Strauss does indeed deny the supernatural, but though Schleiermacher speaks of supernatural, yet whenever he attempts to explain it, the supernatural becomes natural. Is Strauss Hegelian, of Schleiermacher it may be said, he is Spinozist.

We cannot admit that the historical criticism of Strauss and Schleiermacher is homogeneous. Strauss does indeed speak now with more copiousness and esteem of Jesus' person than he did thirty years ago; then all was analysis and destruction, now there is also synthesis and upbuilding. He acknowledges in Jesus a noble personality, and places Jesus in so far even above a Paul, Augustine, and Luther, that there was not with

Him as with these a conflict, nor was a violent overturning of the spiritual life necessary. But yet Strauss says, expressly, that Jesus is not an Only One, and adopts Renan's view, that He is only a leader in religion, as Socrates and Aristotle were in philosophy and science. And Strauss never will, and never can, concede that Jesus is an Only One, as long as he holds that such an exception could not have been made in the domain of religion, since nothing similar is found in any other domain. Schleiermacher on the contrary says, at the close of his *Leben Jesu*, as sum of all, that if we will not concede that Jesus is an Only person of a wholly peculiar sort, it is impossible to write a history of Jesus, as then from natural causes must arbitrarily and uncritically be explained, what is therefrom never to be explained. Strauss and Schleiermacher stand diametrically opposed to each other in the main thing on which all depends. Therefore Strauss says himself, that they to whom the supernatural is intolerable, who cannot acknowledge Jesus as God-man, have in historical criticism an auxiliary to justify their views. Does criticism thus serve Schleiermacher, to become as far as possible acquainted with the person of Jesus as history exhibits Him, it serves Strauss to support his philosophical hypotheses and to annihilate Jesus' personality, as it is presented in the Gospels. And does Schleiermacher desire by his criticism to form unprejudiced preachers of the gospel for the upbuilding of the church: Strauss desires by his, to expel the priests from the church and therewith let the church itself fall to pieces.

The propriety is also questioned of bringing purely historico-critical questions into connection with the state of one's mind: criticism and heart have, it is thought, nothing to do with each other.

This cannot be admitted. Man is one whole; has his intellect influence on his heart, no less has the state of his heart on the views of his intellect. Of the woman Schiller says:

> Des Weibes Urtheil ist seine Liebe. Wo es nicht liebt,
> Hat schon gerichtet das Weib.

But this holds, though most strongly, not only of the woman. Predilection or antipathy has also on the man great influence

and excites in him prejudices, fits or unfits him to comprehend men and things, and to judge of them according to truth. To both Renan and Strauss applies, what Colani and a very liberal English writer say of Renan in relation to Jesus more or less in these words: "Jesus was a man of sublime ideas and plans, so that he desired to reform the world; but this is in the eyes of Renan, who is contented with the present, the greatest error of his life. Renan has style and taste; but these do not preserve him from commonplaceness in the contemplation of the moral world. He possesses imagination to soar to a higher world; but his faith sets its foot on the ground beneath us, and acknowledges no power save that of the blended motives which govern a weak and self-deceiving humanity."

Truly, Renan and Strauss belong to another world than Jesus. They are not homogeneous with him: how should they be able to understand him? Schleiermacher stands indeed far beneath his Master, but is his pupil, sitting at his feet, desiring to imbibe and actually imbibing his spirit.

Renan and Strauss can absolutely not understand the Lord, Schleiermacher can in some measure.

SHORT NOTICES.

Life of Robert Owen. Philadelphia: Ashmead & Evans, No. 724 Chestnut street. 1866. Pp. 254.

Robert Owen was a remarkable man. His father having lost his property in a lawsuit, the son had in early life to contend with all the disadvantages of poverty, which by his talents and energy he soon overcame. It is said that at three years of age he read Rapin's History of England; when seven years old he was usher in a school; before thirteen he was clerk in a large mercantile establishment; and before he came of age "he was put in sole charge of the first mill for the manufacture of fine cotton yarn that was ever built." Here he had five hundred operatives under him, whose labours he had to direct; he was called to superintend the working of complicated machinery of which at first he knew little about, to buy the raw material, manufacture it into yarn, secure a market for it, keep the accounts, and pay the hands. All this he did and made the business a success. After a few years, having occasion to visit Scotland, he formed the acquaintance of a wealthy merchant and manufacturer, Mr. Dale, (whose daughter he subsequently married,) and contracted with him for the purchase of his mills at New Lanark for three hundred thousand dollars. He soon found himself here with full control of a large establishment, which afforded a field for carrying out his peculiar view of the method of reforming and elevating the operative classes. In a business point of view the enterprise was eminently successful. Mr. Owen evinced not only great sagacity, energy, and skill, in all these operations, but showed that he had the power of securing the respect and affection of all classes of men. From an early period he formed the purpose of reforming society. For the work of a reformer he possessed great advantages. He had great talents, great industry, great versatility, indomitable courage and perseverance, and great kindness and generosity. He was moreover sure of success. Regarding himself as infallible in judgment, believing that he, and he only, progressed to the true theory of society, that to him had been assigned the mission of banishing ignorance, vice, and misery from the world,

he was not to be daunted by any amount of opposition, nor by any number of failures. He remained at eighty-seven as confident in himself and in his theories, as he was in the days of his youth. All opposition to his measures or dissent from his principles was attributed to ignorance, malice, or bigotry. He came at last almost to look upon mankind, as has been said of another man, as little more than a greater anti-Owen society. His grand difficulty was that he attempted to solve a problem leaving out its two principal factors. He ignored the depravity of man, and the providence and grace of God. Before he had entered on his teens he had arrived at the conclusion, after, as he supposed, thorough investigation, that all religions are false. To this conclusion he adhered through life. His doctrine was that human character is formed by circumstances. A man is what he is simply because of his surroundings. He can infallibly be made good or bad by changing the external circumstances of his being. So that there are no good or bad men, but only good or bad cultivators. No man is responsible for his character or conduct. For conduct is determined by character, and character depends as absolutely on circumstances as health on climate and diet. To secure favourable circumstances, he proposed to form into societies, either on the coöperative or communistic principle. All preferences for one's own interest, offspring, or country, were to be renounced. Communities were to be formed, occupying each its own district, having the products of labour in common, all eating together as one family, all dressing alike, and the children all educated alike. Any man, however sceptical as to religion, could foresee that all such schemes were as preposterous as an attempt to make trees and flowers of the same size and colour. Of course Owen's schemes failed. During the later period of his life he became a spiritualist, affording another illustration of the truth that our only choice is between religion and superstition. If we reject the one, we embrace the other. The volume before us is elegantly printed. It is written by a Christian, who, while he gives the subject of the memoir full credit for all his excellencies, and for all the good he incidentally accomplished, does not fail to exhibit his gross errors of principle, and mistakes in practice. The work is instructive and interesting.

Meditations in Advent, on Creation, and on Providence. By Henry Alford, D. D., Dean of Canterbury. Alexander Strahan, Publisher, 148 Strand, London; and 178 Grand street, New York. 1865. Pp. 240.

Dean Alford is best known in this country as the author of a critical commentary on the New Testament, a work evincing

ripe scholarship. He is also a poet, and the writer of a popular book of travels, and of other works in general literature. The title of the present volume will probably create a misapprehension of its character. By "meditations," when written, we generally mean the expression of devout feelings awakened by religious truth. Dean Alford uses the word in its wider sense, for thoughts, or studies. He proposes to exhibit the great doctrines of the Advent, Creation, and Providence, free from the technicalities of theology. Nevertheless the work is didactic. It is addressed more immediately to the intelligence than to the feelings. As a commentator Dr. Alford is somewhat latitudinarian, he often expresses himself in ways which cannot be reconciled with any very strict views of the inspiration of the Scriptures. In this volume he seems to receive the most difficult doctrines of revelation with a submissive faith. Whatever he may be as a theologian, as an instructor of the people he is an Augustinian. He says things which would satisfy the most orthodox Calvinist. This, good men, who speak out of their own experience, and from the conviction derived immediately from the Bible, can hardly avoid doing. The great difficulties connected with the doctrine of Providence, the foreknowledge and foreordination of God, and his absolute control over all events, whether great or small, whether necessary or free, are stated and admitted. Both classes of truth, those concerning the government and sovereignty of God, and the free agency and responsibility of man, are fully recognized. Their reconciliation is not attempted, and is pronounced impossible for man with his limited powers in the present state of his existence. Yet the denial of either, it is shown, works fatal evil. To the intelligent Christian this will prove a useful book. To the sceptic or the philosopher it will not present such great attractions.

Hope for the Hopeless. An Autobiography of John Vine Hall, author of "The Sinner's Friend." Edited by Rev. Newman Hall, LL.B. of Surrey Chapel, London. Abridged with the author's consent. American Tract Society. Pp. 264.

In his youth Mr. Hall was a gay, worldly man, and became addicted to intemperance. Redeemed from this degradation, after many struggles and much suffering, he became an eminent Christian and a zealous advocate of total abstinence from intoxicating drinks. His tract, or little book, has had an extraordinary circulation, over one million five hundred thousand copies of it having been distributed.

Miscellanies from the Writings of Edward Irving. Alexander Strahan & Co., Publishers, 148 Strand, London, and 178 Grand street, New York. 1865. Pp. 487.

Edward Irving was a man of so much genius and power, and the promise of his early life was so encouraging, that the friends of religion in Great Britain have not yet ceased to regret that he should have been turned aside from the paths of usefulness into those of innovation. Apart from his eccentricities and errors, there is much profound thought, and much of devout sentiment to be found in his writings. The extracts contained in this volume are arranged under the heads, Ethical, Doctrinal, Practical, &c. In the second of these classes are brought to light most of the author's peculiar views on the Trinity, Incarnation, Person and work of Christ, &c. Besides the inherent value of much that is embraced in this collection, it has the advantage of presenting in few words and under distinct heads, the opinions of a man whose influence is still felt in England and America.

The Elements of Moral Science. By Francis Wayland, D. D., LL.D., late President of Brown University, and Professor of Moral Philosophy. Revised and Improved Edition. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. New York: Sheldon & Co. Cincinnati: J. S. Blanchard & Co. 1865. Pp. 396.

The first edition of this popular work was published in 1835. Its final revision and correction was one of the last efforts of its lamented author. Dr. Wayland as a fluent and pleasing writer, as a sound theologian, and teacher of a system of morals in all its essential elements in accordance with the truth, has a reputation so extensive and so well established, that this improved edition of the work by which he is most favourably known needs no further recommendation to the public.

A History of the Intellectual Development of Europe. By John William Draper, M. D., LL.D., Professor of Chemistry and Physiology in the University of New York. Second Edition. New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers. 1864.

Thoughts on the Future Civil Policy of America. By John William Draper, M. D., LL.D., Professor, &c. New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers. 1865.

Professor Draper has long been known, not only as an eminent chemist and physiologist, but generally as a physicist, having a somewhat encyclopediac view of the whole field of physical science. The titles of his later works show that he is stretching, beyond this great domain, into the realms of the non-physical, the phenomena of our intellectual and moral nature. His main scope in these works, however, is to survey all subjects of the latter class from the stand-point of physical science, and

according to its methods and laws. His "History of the Intellectual Development of Europe" is really a history of the progress of scientific discovery, with certain inferences and applications, designed to support his own theories in regard to psychology, ethics, religion, sociology. As these constitute the peculiarities, so they constitute the debateable element, in these treatises. To these we will shortly recur.

Meanwhile, we observe that so far as these books consist of delineations of the progress of science, they evince great power. They show a large knowledge of scientific discovery in its various departments, and a remarkable faculty for vivid and graphic delineation. His style is always fresh and animated, seldom feeble or common-place. He rarely writes long on any subject, without waxing eloquent. So far as the annals and achievements of physical science are concerned, the reader will find much in these, and in all the author's works, to instruct and entertain. But it is not the mere annals of science that constitute the moment of these books. It is his philosophy of these facts; his reasonings and deductions from them in reference to some of the great problems of society, of morals, and religion, pertaining to God, the soul, immortality. We now ask attention to the author's distinctive positions on these subjects. We will premise, however, that, in various places, he "asserts a personal God," and "Sovereign Constructor of the Universe;" how far consistently with other deliverances, we will not now determine. The subjects on which he gives utterances that demand notice are,

I. The Eternity and Indestructibility of Matter and Force.

"Material particles are thus the vehicles of force. They undergo no destruction. Chemically speaking, they are eternal. And so, likewise, force never deteriorates or becomes lessened. It may assume new phases, but it is always intrinsically unimpaired. The sum total of matter in the universe is invariable; so likewise is the sum total of force." (*History of Europe*, pp. 601—2.) "Extensive and imposing as is the structure of chemistry, it is very far from its completion. . . . . *It has, however, disposed of the idea of the destruction and creation of matter.* It accepts without hesitation the doctrine of the imperishability of substance." (*Id.* p. 602). It is only an inference from all this, to say of the past history of our earth, "its moments look as if they were eternities," and that, "with the abandonment of the geocentric theory, and of the doctrine of the human destiny of the universe, have vanished the unworthy

hypotheses of the recent date of creation and approaching end of all things." In their stead are substituted more noble ideas. The multiplicity of worlds in infinite space leads to the conception of a succession of worlds in infinite time. This existing universe, with all its splendours, had a beginning, and will have an end; it had its predecessors, and will have its successors; but its march through all its transformations is under the control of laws as unchangeable as destiny." (*Id.* pp. 572—3.)

We think that these passages teach unambiguously that matter is uncreated, indestructible, and eternal. It, indeed, undergoes transmutations. Worlds may and must disappear and be transformed into other worlds. But this is by "laws as unchangeable as destiny," and, of course, uncontrollable by the will of God. If this does not furnish us the primordial elements of Fatalism and Materialism, what can? But this will appear still further, as we come to other points, of which the next is:

II. Psychology and Metaphysics.

Says Dr. Draper: "So far from philosophy being a forbidden domain to the physiologist, it may be asserted that the time has now come when no one is entitled to express an opinion in philosophy except he has first studied physiology. It has hitherto been to the detriment of truth that these processes of positive investigation have been repudiated. If from the construction of the human brain we may demonstrate the existence of a soul, is not that a gain? for there are many who are open to arguments of this class, on whom speculative reasoning or a mere dictum fall without any weight. Why should we cast aside the solid facts presented to us by material objects? In his communications throughout the universe with us, God ever materializes. He equally speaks to us through the thousand graceful organic forms scattered in profusion over the surface of the earth, and through the motions and appearances presented by the celestial orbs. Our noblest and clearest conceptions of his attributes have been obtained from these material things. I am persuaded that the only possible route to truth in mental philosophy is through the nervous mechanism. The experience of 2500 years, and the writings of the great metaphysical intellects attest, with a melancholy emphasis, the vanity of all other means.

"Whatever may be said by speculative philosophers to the contrary, the advancement of metaphysics is through the study of physiology. They have given us imposing doctrines of the nature and attributes of the mind in absolute ignorance of its material substratum. . . . In voluntarily isolating themselves

from every solid fact which might serve to be a landmark to them, they may truly be said to have sailed upon a shoreless sea from which the fog never lifts. The only fact which they teach with certainty, is that they know nothing with certainty. . . . *What is not founded on a material substratum, is necessarily a castle in the air.*" (*Id.* pp. 579—80.)

Is then the truth that God is a pure spirit "without body, parts, or passions," a "castle in the air"? And is his nature rooted in "a material substratum"? Are our "noblest and clearest conceptions of his attributes," of holiness, justice, wisdom, truth, mercy, and love, "obtained from material things, or from the phenomena of our own souls, and the revelations of his word? But then these souls, it is insisted, are founded on a "material substratum." Otherwise they are "castles in the air." It is of no use to study them except "through the study of physiology." If we would inspect the mind, we must inspect the brain. "That wonderful organ is the basis of all their (psychologist's) speculations." So reasons our author. But it would be hard to ignore and deny more completely the most rudimental facts in mental philosophy. For how are these, or any facts pertaining to the mind, known? By the examination of brain, nerves, skull, or by any external observation whatever? Never. Not the first fact or truth regarding the mind ever was or ever can be so discovered. Truths in mental science can only be learned by the study of consciousness, for they are phenomena of consciousness, and can only be learned therefrom. How dare this author tell us that nothing certain is known in metaphysics but its own uncertainty? Does not every page he writes imply, that we are certain that we know, think, reason, feel, desire, and will? And how do we know this? By an examination of the brain, or of consciousness? This attempt to materialize the mind, by identifying it with its material organs, and to degrade the study of mind into a mere branch of anatomy and physiology, needs only to be stated to be refuted. Out upon such bold and unblushing materialism! A like spirit is manifested again,

III. In the Denial of Supernatural Agency.

"It might be consistent with the weakness and ignorance of man to be reduced to the necessity of personal intervention for the accomplishment of his plans, but would not that be the very result of such ignorance? Does not absolute knowledge actually imply procedure by preconceived and unvarying law? Is not momentary intervention altogether derogatory to the thorough and absolute sovereignty of God? The astronomical

calculation of events, as well as the prediction of those to come, is essentially founded on the principle, that there was not in the times under consideration, and that there will never be in future, any exercise of an arbitrary or over-riding will. The corner-stone of astronomy is this, that the solar system—nay, the universe, is ruled by necessity. . . . A system which works of itself without need of intermeddling." (*Id.* p. 557.)

This makes the universe wholly independent of the sustentation, guidance, and control of Him, who is not only the Creator, but the Upholder and Disposer of all things; who upholds all things by the word of His Power; and does all things according to the counsel of His own will: who can create and destroy at pleasure: who can stop the sun in its course, seal the skies that they pour down no rain for years; or, anon, overflow the world with water, or make the heavens to pass away with a great noise, and the elements to melt with fervent heat, and the earth and all that is therein to be burned up: who has done, and will do, these and other things the like, when requisite for the completion of the great plans of his wisdom and grace. The laws of nature are doubtless uniform, in ordinary circumstances. But to hold that he may not arrest, suspend, or counteract them, at his sovereign pleasure, or that they can operate independently of him, is simply a dogma of infidelity and atheism. It is just now the fashionable form of scientific scepticism. But it is among the tokens of the inspiration of the Scriptures, that they so clearly predict and reprobate it. They tell us of the scoffers who shall come in the last days and ask, "where is the promise of his coming? For since the fathers fell asleep, all things continue as they were from the beginning of creation." (2 Peter iii. 3, 4.) What is this but that unchangeableness of nature's law, claimed by modern scepticism, which rules out all supernatural intervention, whether of miracle or grace?

It is in keeping with this, that Dr. Draper should assure us that "the process of attaining correct views of nature has been marked by a continual decline of the mysterious and supernatural," and that "meteorology, less advanced than many of the other sciences, has not freed itself completely from the supernatural. . . . Men have not yet clearly learned that the course of nature will never be changed at their entreaty; they do not understand that their business is, by exercising the reason that has been given them, to attain foreknowledge of coming events, and arrange their affairs accordingly." (*Thoughts on the Future, &c.*, pp. 213—16, 17.) And in the other volume (p. 538), speaking of man as under the influence of various

illusions and dreams, he asks if it is "surprising, that under such influences, he becomes superstitious?" . . . "Open to such influences himself. Why should he not believe in the efficacy of prayer?" Do we need more evidence of the impious character of this system?

4. It is of a piece with the foregoing, that we should find the development and "transmutation of species," by the mere force of natural causes, advocated, thus eliminating all divine creative agency in the production of new species, (*Hist., &c.*, p. 566, *et seq.*) "Man is the last term of an innumerable series of organisms, which, under the denomination of law, has, in the lapse of time, been evolving." (*Id.* p. 590.) On this we have no room to enlarge.

5. And we have barely time to note the great practical consequence to which all his array of facts and arguments is made tributary. It is that the attempt to elevate man by improving his moral and religious character is a failure, and must be abandoned. It must give way to intellectual development as the true and only regenerator of the race. He tells us "the aim of nature is not at moral, but intellectual development." (*Id.* p. 591.) "The moral method fails to yield the results popularly imputed to it." (*Thoughts, &c.*, p. 282.) "The improvement of society can only be accomplished through the intellect. The moral is, in its very nature, stationary." (*Id.* p. 291.) But we must stop. The sceptical and destructive principles advocated have been made sufficiently and painfully evident. We deeply deplore, while we protest and stand amazed at the one-sided perversion of the sublime truths which Dr. Draper so eloquently expounds, and yet so blindly hurls against those great principles of morality and religion which are sublimer still; which ennoble and purify our higher nature; with which man becomes allied to angels, a child and heir of God; without which he is only highest among the brutes that perish. We by no means undervalue scientific discovery, with its vast train of inventions for the relief and comfort of mankind. We thank God for all the achievements of steam and electricity, in abridging time, and distance, and toil. But we tell the whole tribe of positivists, and those who are more or less their imitators or echoes, that there is more power to regenerate and uplift our race, in the simple words of the Son of God, "Come unto me, all ye that are weary and heavy laden, and I will give you rest," than in all the discoveries of science and philosophy which ignore them. We confess, that simply as a manifestation of intellectual power, we have no respect for this one-eyed insight. What is there in the knowledge of the

natural to disprove the supernatural? Nothing. "Why should it be thought a thing incredible that God should raise the dead?" Why? And echo answers, why? To recite, as Professor Draper and other writers of this school do, the exaggerations, corruptions, and superstitions that have obtained credence, through the misleading and perversion of man's moral and religious nature, for the purpose of bringing all belief in religion and supernatural agencies into discredit, is just about as reasonable as to parade the scientific vagaries, the geocentric theories, the elixirs, philosopher stones, and universal solvents of the old alchemists, for the purpose of disparaging science. Both processes are alike unworthy of profound and comprehensive thinkers.

Proceedings and Addresses at the Celebration of the One Hundredth Anniversary of the Founding of the Cliosophic Society of the College of New Jersey, Princeton, New Jersey, June 27th, 1865. Princeton: William W. Smith. 1865. Pp. 188. Price, $1.00.

The contents of this publication are, 1. History of the Cliosophic Society from 1765 to 1865, prepared for and read at the Centennial Celebration, June 27th, 1865, by Professor G. Musgrave Giger, D. D. 2. Memoir of the Hon. William Paterson, LL.D., one of the founders of the Society, by William Paterson, Esq., of Perth Amboy, N. J. 3. Oration before the Cliosophic Society at the Centennial Celebration, by Rev. Edward N. Kirk, D. D. 4. Arrangements for the Centennial Celebration, and Proceedings at the Collation, including speeches by Chancellors Green and Halsted, Hon. William C. Alexander, Professor Henry, Drs. Edwards, Atwater, Macdonald, Kirk, Stephen Alexander, Hon. Robert McKnight, and A. O. Zabriskie, LL.D. These contents of this volume sufficiently vouch for their interest and value. The extended biographical sketches and historical facts in Dr. Giger's narrative will preserve from oblivion much that was nearly lost, while they give a deserved tribute to some of the most illustrious names on the roll of Nassau Hall, and of the country. Dr. Kirk's address is rich in judicious and earnest counsels, which it would be of the highest benefit to the students of our country to read and heed.

The utility of the great literary societies of our colleges in promoting rhetorical culture and familiarity with the methods of deliberative bodies is understood by all acquainted with them. And it is every way salutary to connect with important dates or events in their history those great commemorative festivals, in which not only their own members, but the lovers of high education and elegant letters delight to participate.

This volume has at once a melancholy and pleasing interest as being the last labour of the late Dr. Giger. His historical narrative forms the larger part of it. The delivery of it at the Centennial Celebration was his last public effort. The preparation and superintendence of its publication was the last work of his life. And it was ready for delivery on the day of his death. He fell in his prime. His devotion to the Society and the College, which mourn his loss, was ardent and enthusiastic. No memento of him could be more suitable than this contribution to the history of both.

Address on the Duty of Congregationalism to Itself, at the meeting of the Massachusetts General Conference. By Professor Egbert C. Smyth, of Andover.

The recent formation of this General Conference of Congregationalists in Massachusetts is one of the many outgrowths of the present tendencies in that denomination towards a fuller realization of the unity of the church and the communion of saints. The address of Professor Smyth before this body is also a token for good in the same direction. He strenuously maintains a type of Congregationalism which repudiates Independency—which not only recognizes the duty of fellowship, but provides "appropriate agencies and organs of fellowship," whereby, "whenever common interests of ecclesiastical order are involved," not "mere advice," but "a decision may be obtained." He says:

"These two features of Congregationalism—its recognition of the obligation of fellowship on the part of the churches of Christ—and its provision, as an integral part of the system, of the agencies requisite to *decide* questions of fellowship, and to enable the churches to coöperate in Christian labour, are the most marked signs which distinguish it from Independency."

And we will add, they comprise the more important principles which underlie Presbyterianism, the difference between it and the Congregationalism of Professor Smyth lying more in the kind of "agencies" or "organs" provided for carrying out these principles than the principles themselves. As to the comparative merits of these two kinds of organs, we do not deem it necessary to discuss them here. Professor Smyth well says: "There are various reasons which make it important that Congregationalists should emphasize, at the present time, the chief peculiarity of their system of polity." There is a tone of candour, good sense, and charity about this address which are its own best commendation; while they are a fit rebuke to that

censorious denunciation whereby some of the more radical advocates of Congregationalism, whose zeal outruns their discretion, have lately attempted to put a stigma upon such of their brethren as have seen fit to enter the Presbyterian church, or its institutions of learning and ministerial education. The following passage is quite in point, and needs no comment:

"It is an impossibility that any ecclesiastical system can obtain here an ascendancy at all commensurate with our nation's greatness, in which the centrifugal forces are stronger than the centripetal. Resolve Congregationalism into Independency; teach that the latter is substantially the same with the former; and Episcopalianism, or Presbyterianism, or some system which can embrace the ideas of unity and fellowship in unity, will have supreme sway, or else there will be a chaos.

"We hear much of severe censure bestowed upon Congregationalists, New England men, who are serving as teachers and pastors in the Presbyterian denomination. The increase and power of the latter system is ascribed, in no small measure, to the alleged infidelity of Congregationalists to their principles. Let all 'faded Yankees' be scourged as they deserve. I have no apology to offer for men who are ashamed of New England. But I deem it a perilous method of reasoning, to affirm that a denomination, which is nobly serving Christ in this land, and whose history has been one of honourable and successful evangelical labour, has been built up by accessions of men unfaithful to principle. Men of common sense do not accept railing accusations, even when designed to promote a good cause. No. Presbyterianism has been served because of higher motives than any known to men who can desert a principle. I will not undertake to designate these motives. Yet there is one noteworthy instance, so far removed in the past that I may allude to it without misapprehension. 'I have long been perfectly out of conceit,' once wrote the man whom of all others our New England churches most delight to honour, the elder Edwards—'I have long been perfectly out of conceit of our unsettled, *independent*, confused way of church government.' We may be sure of this, that the more that Congregationalism is pressed out of its true line of movement, the more it is assimilated to an independency in which the centre and circumference are one—the more will men be out of conceit with it."

We hail this address as one token of promise that the chief rivalry between Congregationalists and Presbyterians in the future will be, as to how they can most "provoke one another to love and good works."

Dissertations and Discussions, Political, Philosophical, and Historical. By John Stuart Mill. In Three Volumes. Boston: William V. Spencer. 1864.

This is a collection of the author's publications in periodicals, "selected from a much greater number, and includes all his miscellaneous productions which he deems it in any way desirable to preserve." Our readers will gather from our repeated notices of his books, that we deem him a lucid and profound writer, who almost invariably sheds light on whatever subjects he touches, except at their points of contact with morals and religion, when he only becomes *lux a non lucendo*. With a strong taint of Positivism, he has more breadth than most writers of that school. Still, he betrays their antichristian virus. On his own plane, of the earthly, material, and temporal, few men see farther or more clearly. In regard to the spiritual, heavenly, and divine, he wants the telescope of Faith, and is as much at fault as the astronomer without his glass. It behooves all this increasing swarm of materializing writers to remember Coleridge's remark, that even charts of earth cannot be scientifically constructed without celestial observations.

Effie Morrison: or the Family of Redbraes. A Narrative of Truth. By the author of "Allan Cameron," "Ilverton Rectory," "Evelyn Percival," &c.

A Father's Letters to his Daughter. By Robert A. West, A. M.

Our Sympathizing High-Priest: Meditations on the Daily Sorrows of our Saviour. By A. L. O. E.

Lullabies, Ditties, and Poetic Tales for Children.

The foregoing are recent publications of the American Tract Society, furnishing excellent reading for the young, and material for Sabbath-school libraries.

Life and Character of J. H. Van Der Palm, D. D., Professor of Oriental Languages and Antiquities; also of Sacred Poetry and Eloquence in the University of Leyden. Sketched by Nicolas Beets, D. D. Also ten of his Sermons. Translated from the Dutch by J. P. Westervelt. New York: Hurd & Houghton.

This volume is one of the beautiful productions of the Riverside press. It is gratifying to every lover of books to observe the improvement in typography which has taken place in our country of late years, and to which the tasteful workmanship of Houghton & Company have contributed so much.

Nor is the substance of the volume unworthy of the attire in which it appears. The literary and Christian world owe a debt of gratitude to Mr. Westervelt for opening to them the gates of Dutch literature, so long unaccountably shut to all except the

few who are conversant with the Dutch language. A literature so rich in the products of learning, of eloquence, and of piety, accumulated by the unceasing labour of more than two hundred years, ought not to have been sealed so long from the English-speaking public, with which its ethnic and religious affinities are so near and congenial. It is somewhat remarkable that while the Dutch church occupies a place among the most intelligent bodies in our land, the works of the greatest preacher of Holland are still strangers to the English tongue, and his very name strange to our ears.

Although the volume before us gives only a few of his sermons—specimens from the great treasury of his works—we welcome it as the first nugget from a newly-opened vein of precious ore.

The life of Van Der Palm, which occupies about half the volume, is a valuable piece of literary biography, and appropriate in its place, introducing its illustrious subject to the reader.

The style of the translation is clear, unambitious, and graceful. We sincerely hope that Mr. Westervelt may meet with such favour in this effort as to encourage him to come before the public again with more selections from the same quarter.

The Vicarious Sacrifice: Grounded in Principles of Universal Obligation. By Horace Bushnell. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1866.

This book has reached us just as our last sheets go to the press. We have, therefore, been able to examine only an occasional chapter of it. We hope after a more thorough examination, to present a full review of it in another number. Meanwhile, what we have seen already, is sufficient to call for a solemn protest against the leading principles of the work.

Some dozen years ago, Dr. Bushnell shocked the Christian world by publications teaching, in reference to the vicarious sacrifice of Christ, that, if God could accept the sufferings of innocence in place of the sufferings of guilt, it would involve in Him "the loss or confusion of all moral distinctions," and amount to "the simplest form of absurdity;" while yet it was necessary for the soul to present Christ's work to itself under the altar-form of being an objective sacrifice and righteousness for us, in order to work itself in devotional exercises and Christian culture. In other words, the soul must make use of a conception of God in Christ, which it knows to be an absurdity and an abomination, in order to promote pious affection and holy living. So we were brought to the *ne plus ultra* of pious frauds, the furtherance of pious feeling by an im-

posture; and the central, life-giving truth of our religion was analyzed into a contradiction and a sham. The Christian church stood aghast at such a horrible presentation of Christ and Him crucified; and have ever since been perplexed to determine whether its author's escape from ecclesiastical censure was due to the inherent impotence of the Congregational polity to purge out heresy, or to a predominant sympathy with it among the ministers of Connecticut.

We had hoped that the lapse of time, the cessation of controversy and ecclesiastical agitation on the subject, the teachings of manifold experience, along with thorough study, had delivered Dr. Bushnell from his bondage to these monstrous dogmas. It was with such hope, strengthened by its title, that we hailed the appearance of this new treatise—the calmly elaborated expression of his ripened convictions—a hope which the bare survey of the table of contents is quite enough to extinguish.

The title suggested, 1. That he was about to maintain the vicarious sacrifice of Christ. 2. That the necessity for it, in order to the forgiveness of sinners, is grounded in the moral perfections, the justice and holiness of God, and so "in principles of universal obligation." But no. The "vicarious sacrifice" of Christ, in the room of sinners, as that has been ever understood by Christians, and their adversaries as well, is utterly denied and scouted in this volume. The "vicarious sacrifice" admitted and defended by Dr. Bushnell, is of the same kind as love in all good beings bears for its objects; and is common alike to God, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, to holy angels, and redeemed men. So "vicarious sacrifice is grounded in principles of universal obligation," as all love, and its appropriate sacrifices for its objects, are of universal obligation!

The Holy Spirit, says Dr. Bushnell, "works in love as Christ did, and suffers all the incidents of love. . . . Taking men upon him to bear them and their sins, precisely as Christ himself did in his sacrifice." (P. 74.) He had previously affirmed the same of God the Father. He proceeds to assert the same of the good angels, and then tells us, "In what is called his vicarious sacrifice, Christ, as we have seen, simply fulfils what belongs universally to love, doing neither more nor less than what the common standard of holiness and right requires. . . . Vicarious sacrifice then will not be a point where he is distinguished from his followers, but the very life to which he restores them, in restoring them to love. What we call his redemption of mankind must bring them to the common standard. Executed by vicarious sacrifice in himself, it must be issued in vicarious

sacrifice in them. . . . There can be no greater mistake, in this view, than to imagine that Christ has the matter of vicarious sacrifice wholly to himself, because he suffers officially, or as having undertaken it for his office to supply so much suffering. He suffered simply what was incidental to his love, and the works to which his love prompted, just as any missionary suffers what belongs to the work of love he is in. It was vicarious suffering in no way peculiar to him, save in degree." Pp. 105—7.

Yet, in the closing chapter, he insists on the necessity of the altar-form in order to culture the soul in piety. "Oppressed with guilt, we should turn ourselves joyfully to Christ as the propitiation for our sins, Christ who hath borne the curse for us, Christ who knew no sin, made sin for us, that we might be made the righteousness of God in him." (P. 537.) And yet, as in his previous works, he inveighs against the doctrine of the direct substitution of Christ's sufferings for the sinner's punishment by all manner of special pleading, caricature, and invective, as revolting to all reason and refined moral sensibility. His doctrine of atonement is sheer, bald Socinianism.

And, indeed, he too often outrages our most sacred feelings by his flippant and contemptuous caricatures of truths dear to the whole church. He assures us, "God himself is not any better than he ought to be." The doctrine that the Holy Spirit is "sent by a kind of immediate or efficient agency to renew the soul," exhibits its work as done, "much as by some unseen hydrostatic pressure, or some silent gun-shot stroke of Omnipotence." Pp. 87—8.

But we must stop here for the present. Dr. Bushnell in this volume is the Dr. Bushnell of old. Not only in his doctrine, but his traits as a writer. He is master of a quaint, brilliant, and vigorous style. He is quite a poet; much of an orator; an indifferent scholar; a wayward thinker; a theologian only in name. His armour defensive is still mysticism and the disparagement of logic. His offensive weapons are still logic whenever it will avail him, both sound and unsound, and his own distortions of Christian doctrine.

Reminiscences, Historical and Biographical, of Sixty-four years in the Ministry. By Rev. Henry Boehm, Bishop Asbury's Travelling Companion and Executor of his last Will and Testament. Edited by Rev. Joseph B. Wakeley. New York: Published by Carlton & Porter. 1865.

Or otherwise, by the *Methodist Book Concern*, whose initials, M. B. C., are stamped on the cover, and which, for some reason, chooses to publish many, if not all of its works, under the name of Carlton & Porter. The volume before us consists of

the reminiscences of a devout, zealous, and devoted minister, a pioneer of American Methodism, which, in addition to their intrinsic value and interest, shed great light on the origin and growth of the great Methodist body in the United States. Rev. Mr. Boehm is a lineal descendant of the celebrated pietist Jacob Boehm.

Social Influence, or Take care of the Boys. By Zell. Author of "Aunt Betsy's Rule." Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication.

This is a good addition to the excellent "Series for Youth," now in course of publication by our Board. It is especially fitted to make boys realize the importance of being select in their associations.

The History of Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy. By John Foster Kirk. Two volumes. 8vo. Philadelphia: Lippincott & Co.

This is a history of the Prescott stamp, and pertaining to that connection of public events to which Mr. Prescott confined himself. It is not, however, an imitation. The author has a style of his own: and that a free and manly one. If in recording political affairs of the fifteenth century, an historian had much range of choice in respect to the moral character of his principal personages, we should say that Mr. Kirk was unfortunate in his hero. For a less attractive one than Charles is not easily found in eminent place out of his own century. But when a man would present the events in which Charles figured, whom shall he set in the foreground? Shall it be his cousin and rival, Louis XI? Perhaps that would be quite as true to the actual relations of things; but it would exhibit a figure less attractive still—with vices more repulsive than those of Charles, and singularly free from virtues to counterbalance them. Walter Scott did not venture to depict Louis in all his meanness and villany, lest he should violate the probabilities of romance. Charles was headstrong, rapacious, unjust, and gratuitously cruel; but he was, at least, open, valorous, and could not wait for the arts of duplicity.

The brief career of independent Burgundy was connected with an important crisis in the history of Europe. France was passing from the state of bondage to a number of feudal princes into the hands of one irresponsible monarch; a process accelerated by her disasters in war with England, which, by breaking down the feudal leaders, opened the way for the reviving monarchy to gather their honours, authorities, and lands, into itself.

It was in that process of aggrandizement that the dukes of Burgundy, for a time, vied with, and almost excelled, the princes of the royal line. Theirs was, however, but a brief

history. When King John of France, taken prisoner at Poictiers, was carried to England, his third son Philip accompanied him to share and console his captivity. The grateful father testified his sense of that filial affection by constituting the lands of Burgundy into a dukedom for him, with the rank of first peer of the kingdom. Four dukes successively reigned in that right, from 1364 A. D. until the death of Charles the Bold in 1477, covering a period of over one hundred years.

In the English politics in France the dukes of Burgundy took a leading part. Philip the Good, father of Charles, actually governed France for many years. It was also the heir of Burgundy who commanded the army sent out to the East to defend Hungary against the Turkish sultan Bajazet, and which met with such discomfiture under the walls of Nicopolis. At home fortune so favoured that ducal house that, when Charles came into possession, it was actually wealthier than any royal family in Christendom. To the lands proper of Burgundy had been added Alsace, Luxemburg, the Netherlands, both north and south; that is, both Holland and Belgium, and many other inferior places, including the most opulent seats of manufactures and commerce. And with less than the wisdom of his father, Charles might have put his own coronet above the crown of Louis. His rapacity and rashness risked all, and lost it with his life. His only heir was a daughter, whom Louis soon plundered of Burgundy. Her son Philip, heir of the Netherlands and what else remained of her hereditary estates, married the daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, and became Philip I. of Spain, and father of the Emperor Charles V. And thus the work of Mr. Kirk, when complete, will constitute a valuable preliminary to those of Prescott.

The volumes now published bring the narrative down to the declaration of war between Charles and the Swiss—just the eve of the most stirring events of his troublous reign. The spirited manner in which it has been handled, so far, prepare us to greet with much interest the appearance of the succeeding part.

Winifred Bertram and the World she lived In. By the author of "The Schönberg-Cotta Family," &c. New York: M. W. Dodd, 506 Broadway. 1866. Pp. 479.

No modern writer for the religious public has attained a higher position than that which justly belongs to the author of this series of works. Their spirit is purely evangelical; their whole tendency is to promote true Christianity. They evince extraordinary historical knowledge, a remarkable talent for the portraiture of character, and an ability to transfer herself into

the age to which her story pertains. The members of the Cotta family think, feel, and act, as devout Romanists of the time of Luther, and not as the people of our generation. The number of the volumes flowing from the same facile pen may create misgiving lest the fountain should become exhausted, or its streams less clear and refreshing. We think, however, that our readers will not find in the present volume evidence of such exhaustion.

Songs Without Words. Leaves from a Very Old Book. Dedicated to Children by the author of "The Schönberg-Cotta Family," &c. New York: M. W. Dodd, 506 Broadway. Pp. 137.

A pretty book for children, designed to elicit instruction from the natural objects with which they are familiar. The language and style assume a degree of culture in juvenile readers rarely to be found, but the songs nevertheless are rendered intelligible, and they are full of meaning and beauty.

The Annals of Iowa. A Quarterly Publication of the State Historical Society at Iowa City. Numbers for January, April, July, and October, 1865. Edited by Theodore S. Parvin, Corresponding Secretary, Iowa City. Iowa: N. E. Brainerd.

We are glad to see this young and mighty state, amid other signs of intelligence and greatness, thus early taking measures to rescue from oblivion the facts connected with its original planting and settlement. Few of our states have enjoyed any such organ as a regular quarterly devoted to this special purpose. The enterprise and industry displayed in this periodical have supplied it with interesting matter, and will make it a repository of historical treasures for the benefit of coming generations.

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