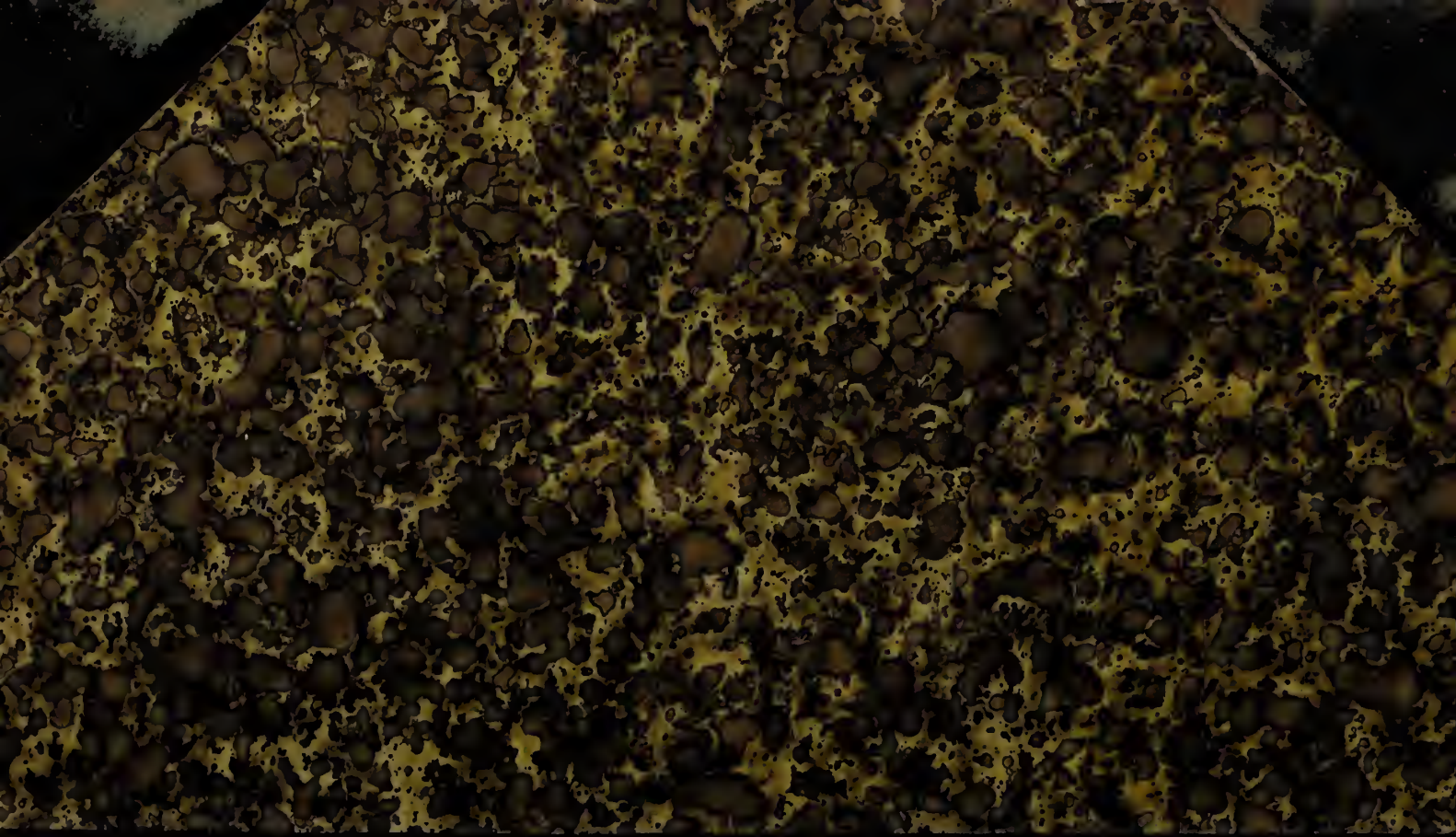

THE

PRINCETON REVIEW.

OCTOBER, 1866.

No. IV.

ART. I.—*Eloquence a Virtue; or, Outlines of a Systematic Rhetoric.* Translated from the German of Dr. FRANCIS THEREMIN, by WILLIAM G. T. SHEDD. With an Introductory Essay.

Demosthenes und Massillon, Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Beredsamkeit. Von Dr. FRANZ THEREMIN. Berlin, 1845.

Elements of the Art of Rhetoric. Adapted for use in Colleges and Academies, and for Private Study. By HENRY N. DAY.

THE design in placing the titles of these books at the head of our article is not to prepare the way for an elaborate critique of the volumes which bear them, but rather to call attention to them as containing in substance, and that in its best expression, what of value has been said in systematic form on the general subject of which they treat. They are plain books, and easily accessible, and we therefore cheerfully leave the vindication of this our statement regarding them, the thorough testing of which we bespeak, to a careful examination of the works themselves, by those interested in the increase and elevation of the oratorical power of the pulpit; merely premising that "Demosthenes und Massillon" is the presentation of the abstract principles of "Eloquence a Virtue" in concrete shape, or as

embodied in the orations of Demosthenes and the sermons of Massillon. We believe these volumes contain the great principles of rhetoric with which the clergy must be familiar in order best to fulfil their mission in reaching, winning, and saving men.

Passing on, and attempting to answer the question, What is the character of the preaching demanded by the times in which we live? the preliminary inquiry evidently is, What are the characteristics of the times? What special influences are at work in the world? What peculiarities mark this age? Clearly everything depends upon the answer to this. In the grand problem—How is the gospel to be brought home to men? we are to look upon "*the times*," as constituting the one variable quantity. *Man* remains essentially the same—spiritual, immortal, yet sinning, and perishing in his rebellion against God. The *gospel* remains essentially the same—the Son of God incarnate, obeying, suffering, dying as the sinner's substitute—freely offered of God to man's faith as the way of salvation. The *times*, with their influences and circumstances, change daily in slighter degree, and in the course of generations often, if not ordinarily, change essentially. While, therefore, acknowledging the sole efficiency of the Holy Spirit, it must yet be admitted, as in accordance with the Divine method, that a message to men, to be heard and heeded of men, must recognize their altered circumstances. What, then, are some of the characteristics of the present time?

A glance, even the most superficial, cannot fail to fix upon *the extraordinary activity of what may be called the scientific spirit*, as a marked feature of this age with its civilization. The work began more than a century ago, with the realm of physical nature. During all this period until the present day, the process of correcting and defining the ideas of men touching the outer world has gone on with accelerated speed, until, out of the once chaotic mass of fact and truth, order and system have everywhere been evoked, and the domain of science has been extended to the whole sphere of terrestrial existence, and to the material aspects of the starry heavens. From the ice rivers of Greenland to the fiery mountains of the Antarctic Continent—from the grain of sand at one's feet to the nebulæ

in the outer-deeps of space—from the fuchsia which blooms in the green-house of to-day to the tree ferns of the geologic periods of a thousand ages gone, Science has pushed her investigations, everywhere recording, arranging, classifying, systematizing, until, to the thinking, intelligent man, the world of nature is now a different world from what it was to the man of like mind of a century ago—different in its rocks and plants, in its clouds and lightnings, and tempests and rainbows—different, in short, in everything, from the mystic dance of the atoms to the sublimer dance of the stars. Nor has this scientific spirit of the age confined itself exclusively to the physical world; it has overleaped all such bounds, and pushed its inquiries into the regions bordering upon this, in which work the forces which have to do with the increase of wealth and the progress of nations, and on into the province of the more subtile spiritual forces which appear in the human soul and in human history, until, in the works of its masters, political economy has almost taken place among the exact sciences; until, in the hands of such men as Hamilton, and McCosh, the graver questions of metaphysics and logic, even where not answered, have become as clearly defined in statement as problems in geometry; and until, in the hands of those whose coming we wait, a philosophy of history will no longer be among the impossibilities. As this work of the century in its more palpable forms approached completion, the same processes began to be applied to literature and art. Criticism began striving to take on the scientific form. Men were no longer satisfied with a few empirical rules, reverenced and applied simply because an Aristotle or a Blair, some giant or some pigmy, had pronounced them truth. The power which had accomplished so much in behalf of order in other departments, led men, in its workings in this sphere, to conclude, by an iron logic, that every art must have its basis of principles, which may, at least in measure, be ascertained and scientifically arranged, and by which one can judge correctly of its products. As a result, we have had a new class of writings, which the seventeenth century, or even the eighteenth, could not have produced; comprising, in the field of general literature, the works of such men as Gœthe and Schiller, Hazlitt

and Coleridge, and the whole line of modern British essayists, and, in the field of special art, such elaborate criticisms as that of Dr. Hermann Ulrici on the plays of Shakespeare, and the "Modern Painters," and kindred works of John Ruskin.

To the man of intelligence and thought, the world of art is not the same as it was to one of like power of a century ago. Not that great art is at all different now from what it was then; not that we can teach a man now by rule to write a great poem, or paint a great picture, or improvise a sublime song, or extemporize a masterly oration, any more than we can teach a lark to flap its wings by instruction out of Whewell, or a nightingale to sing according to the musical grammar of Calcott; not, above everything else, that any other than God can make the great artist, and not that any other than a great artist can produce a grand poem, or painting, or song, or oration; but that, given the great artist, made of God, and clothed of him with his mission, we have all this knowledge to aid him in his work, and, given the man of common sense and culture with the discerning eye, he has all this knowledge at his command to enable him to study, and understand, and give intelligent judgment concerning the artist's great productions. The two men, of the past and of the present, brought side by side, look upon essentially the same thing, but he of the present with different and vastly clearer vision. This restless scientific activity thus reaches and employs itself in every department of thought. The educated, thinking men in every community are under its dominant influence, and though not with the masses the chief moulding force, it yet exerts more or less power of restraint and control far down among them. There is, consequently, everywhere a demand, within certain limits, for the philosophic and the artistic in the method and form of whatever aspires to be considered a literary production before it can gain the attention of men.

As a second feature of the times, one cannot but note *the rage for novelty* which so possesses the masses. As a fact, the world, in so far as our knowledge of its occurrences is concerned, is another world from what it was a century since. Then the news came from a region comparatively narrow, travelling at the slow pace of the stage-coach, the mounted

post, or the sailing vessel, and was narrowly diffused by a few weekly journals. It furnished but little of the novel to excite men. The progress of science and art has latterly brought the world in its vast regions into intimate communion and union of parts. With steam and electricity at his service, the professional man, the merchant or the mechanic, has for years been able to read in his daily paper, before breakfast, of the chief events of the past night over a region inhabited by fifty millions of people, while the recent successful completion of the Atlantic Telegraph now brings within the range of this, his morning glance, every startling event of the last evening occurring in christendom. Circumstances seem thus providentially arranged, if not to develop, at least to meet, the craving for the new and exciting. But however developed, the fact of such a tendency is beyond dispute. It is very marked in the reading of the masses of the present day. This may well be styled *the era of novels*, and of base and worthless novels at that. Solid literature does not furnish enough of excitement. All through the range of reading, in papers, magazines, and books, to meet the demands of multitudinous readers, we have the descending scale all the way to the bottom, from the weekly sheet of sensation tales, which, after its brazen manner, insists on pressing its way up into good society, to the despicable page which knows its friends too well to think of any such aim; from the pretentious magazine, which, while seeking to exalt itself to the chief literary seat, scarcely dares to tell the truth lest it should not be new, to the yellow-covered pamphlet, which is so irredeemably base as never to attempt anything better than a bald lie; from the portly volume which aspires to a place in the church library, to the unbound, ten cent sheet, which never comes to the light of day, and upon which the eyes of the man of virtue never fall. Public lectures and amusements have moved in the same direction, until in their downward reach there is scarcely anything, however offensive to sound sense, cultivated taste, correct morals, and right religious feeling, that fails to find a place to exhibit itself and an audience to witness the exhibition, provided only that it be novel. Nor has this tendency left the *religion* of the day untouched and uninfluenced. No thinking man has failed

to mark its presence in the work of the Sabbath-school; in changing the character of the instruction, until we hear too little of the solid portions of the Scripture, while pointless stories are often substituted for God's truth; in transforming the addresses, until, in some regions, one who is not equal to Gough as a mimic, to Blondin as a rope-walker, and to Punch as a punster, is hardly thought to be fitted to speak to an audience of children; in metamorphosing the library, until in many cases there is little left to be read but vapid, so-called religious novels, which, in spite of all their pretensions and of all the puffing of the religious press, are, in fact, in their own essential nature, at war with common sense, morality, and religion, and, in their necessary influence, irretrievably, we had almost said, infinitely bad. The same spirit has not hesitated to invade and desecrate even the pulpit with its unseemly ways. Tradition tells us that, at a certain stage in their progress, Dr. Archibald Alexander used to address his classes in Princeton Theological Seminary on the subject of popularity as preachers, somewhat on this wise: "Young gentlemen, you can be popular as preachers. It's the easiest thing in the world. It does not require any genius, or common sense, or study, or culture. Secure access to the columns of the newspaper and advertise, that on Sunday, at the usual hours of service, you will preach standing on your head, and your house will be crowded. It's easy to be popular in that way, if you want to be." In our day we could bring, from the Saturday dailies of many a city, advertisements, in which clergymen propose, in all soberness, to perform, for the public entertainment, feats quite as absurd as that suggested by the great educator of ministers. It would need no prophet to predict the results of all this, even were they yet in the far future; and, since they are here in the present, it takes no seer to discern what they are. This is not the place to demonstrate what must be the logical result of reading novels only, and only poor ones at that. The man who thinks and reasons for himself knows what it must be. We are coming, in fact, upon a public with one of its great elements having no mental muscle with which to lay hold of truth, caring nothing for our standard English literature, taking no interest in theology or the truth of God, and going

to church, if at all, to be entertained rather than instructed. We are training up a generation by the reading of books filled with pretended facts which are yet contrary to the nature of things, of men, and of God, with a morality not of God, a religion not of Christ, and a spirit infused of Mammon and Fashion, rather than of the Holy Ghost; and, in so training them, we are destroying all taste for that which is true and Christ-like, and almost barring the possibility of their becoming the powerful thinkers, and the earnest practical workers which the exigencies of the church demand for its mission. The day may not have come yet when the people of God are ready to enter their solemn protest, and to sweep all such trash out of church, Sabbath-school, and family, but it must come sooner or later, for God's government is so ordered that it never suffers a foolish, a base, or an evil thing to perpetuate its existence in his church for ever. But however that may be, there is no disputing the *fact* of this morbid tendency to novelty, and that is all that need be contended for, now and here. It manifests itself everywhere, reaching to some extent all classes. The cultivated and refined are not wholly free from it; with the masses it is the moulding, ruling tendency. We are almost repeating the character of the old Greek nation, in its decline, in the time of Paul, with whom the one question was—"What is there new?" It need hardly be said that, in consequence of this, the demand for the novel, the unusual, the startling, is brought to bear upon everything which aspires to the dignity of literature, and almost made a condition of gaining access to men.

A third feature of the age, and the last we shall enumerate, is *the prevalence of the utilitarian spirit*, coexisting with the tendencies already noted. "*Cui bono*" is the universal cry. Men hurry—we shall not stop to inquire whether consistently or inconsistently—from their scientific investigations, from their art worshipping, and from their novel reading and sight-seeing, to join in that common cry. This we believe an admitted fact. There is doubtless a true and right noble sense of the word "*useful.*" As man's chief use is to be "the witness of the glory of God, and to advance that glory by his reasonable obedience and resultant happiness, whatever enables him

to fulfil this function is in the noblest and truest sense of the word useful to him." But there is a meaner sense as well. "Things that help us to exist are, in a secondary and mean sense, useful; or rather, if they be looked for alone, they are useless and worse, for it would be better that we should not exist, than that we should guiltily disappoint the purposes of existence." And the present is admitted to be one of those periods when men gravitate toward this lower utility.

Taking up this baser sense of utility, we are ready to ask of everything, What is it worth? Wherein will it aid us? Will it make business easier? Will it help us to run our factories, and dig our canals, and build our railroads, and bridge our rivers, and tunnel our mountains? What will its value be, estimated in "greenbacks?" Even *religion* cannot escape the influence, though with it that influence has doubtless been in the main elevating, in producing a reaction against practical worthlessness. We are acquiring a habit of asking, even of religion, What is its value? Will it make better merchants, and scholars, and mechanics? Will it make truer husbands and wives, better sons and daughters, more faithful friends and neighbours, happier homes? What is it as a working power, affecting the business and bosoms of men? What profit is it? Everywhere, in everything we may note this third tendency, ruling multitudes, and influencing all. It demands and exacts of everything literary, even to the poem and the novel, that it submit to an infusion, in seeming at least, of this demonstrable utility, before it can secure the ear of the great public.

In any ordinary audience these three tendencies are represented, and a threefold requirement is consequently made of the ministrations of the pulpit; first for philosophic and artistic form; secondly, for originality and vividness in presenting God's truth; and thirdly, for an intense practicality. We have no hesitation in pronouncing the exactions of this age greater than any ever before made of God's messengers. To reach, and gain, and mould, and control a mass of men so constituted, the canons of art must not be violated, God's plain truth must be made more telling than man's most highly wrought fiction, and the gospel must somehow be made more deeply and attractively practical than stock speculation, and

banking, and building, and costly and luxurious eating and living. Admitting and insisting upon the mission of the Holy Ghost, still the appalling demand is enough to make the bravest, who at all appreciates it, quail before it, and declare with the gifted but erratic young Robertson, "I would rather lead a forlorn hope than mount the pulpit stairs." Yet he who bears his message in God's name may not shrink from meeting the responsibility, whatever trial or effort it may entail. How, then, shall the task be accomplished?

If we examine their working schemes as distinguished from their rhetorical theories, men, in attempting this task, have made trial of *three methods*, each of which has been determined by predominant or exclusive regard to some one of the three grand tendencies of the times—a regard resulting sometimes from temperament, sometimes from circumstances, and sometimes from bad logic. Sincere and in earnest they have doubtless been in the trial, but the result has been admitted failure, for the simple reason, that God's world is so made that no half truth can win and wield permanent influence over all classes in a community. Men under the influence of the scientific tendency have reasoned thus:—"This is the noblest of these prevailing influences of the age; special heed to it will give us control over the highest class of hearers; we must bring the masses up to our stand-point, rather than descend to theirs." And so, as one-sided things naturally run into extremes, we have had metaphysical disquisitions, and splendid essays, and prose poems—profound and elaborate, but quickening the plain man with no new and telling truth, and making no common heart beat faster by laying magic touch on earnest and noble practical instincts;—we have had our gospel of Philosophy and Æsthetics. Its theory may be very fine; but it has swept the masses out of the church by a logic inevitable as fate:—"If that be the gospel, it is incomprehensible and worthless to us; we don't see how it can elevate or save us; we may as well stay at home;"—and so they have stayed at home, as the complaints and wails of the day attest. Nor has that been all, for this style of presenting God's message has weakened the sense of obligation in the higher classes to whom it has been directed. They have reasoned thus:—"If the gospel

be only a beautiful thing, with nothing living and practical, it is not worth much to us;"—and so they too have stayed at home.

Another class, under the influence of the thirst for novelty, has made chief or exclusive use of this tendency in seeking to accomplish the great task of securing and holding the attention of men. "Here is the way"—so they have reasoned—"of reaching the masses, and of saving the most souls; anything is right in so noble a work; we must go down to men and take advantage of everything that is in them." And so, by the common tendency to extremes, we have had our gospel of "clap-trap" and "twaddle." Religion has thus been made a play, an entertainment, too often a fashionable one, and the church turned into a petty show-house, a theatre, on whose stage the "mysteries and moralities" have been reënacted. The result has been a very natural one; worldly men prefer good acting to bad, Shakespeare's tragedies and comedies to the poor parson's, and a first-class to a tenth-rate theatre,—and so of all other entertainments,—and in the end they have too frequently gone to the genuine play-house, with its cards, billiards, or theatricals; the play-house, which is such without hypocrisy, though its doors open into the pit. The gospel of clap-trap has lamentably failed, and men have felt and acted upon, even where they have not acknowledged, its worthlessness, and the movement, from the highest to the lowest, has been away from, at least, such sanctuaries. A third class has fallen in with utilitarianism, and come under its sway. "It matters neither how true, nor how new, nor how beautiful a thing may be, if it be of no practical value; its practical worth must be clearly seen and laid hold of, and presented most pungently and directly to men." But, as the practical power of God's truth is ordinarily too vast in its workings to be summed up and expressed in figures, and estimated in dollars and cents, the so-called practicality has, from its original one-sidedness, in many cases degenerated into small scolding on subjects of the least possible importance to any human being. And so we have had our gospel of vinegar and wormwood—our Xantippe gospel. Men of taste and culture cannot, and will not endure this; the novelty seekers do not care for it; only small gossiping

people take an interest in such things, and the tide again turns away from the pews.

It needs no argument to demonstrate that none of these methods has accomplished, or ever will accomplish, the great task of reaching, swaying, and saving the multitudes in our Christian lands. Each is partial and one-sided in its assumed principle, and nugatory, if not evil in its results. We must have a working scheme broad enough to take into account all these forces at once, and which shall at once meet the *rightful* demands of all three of these prominent tendencies. Discourse must in some way be made to conform to the highest principles of Art, and yet be neither essay nor poem; to combine novelty with truthfulness, the "things new and old" of Scripture; and to be in the broadest, deepest, truest sense, practical and useful. There are two things which render the present a favourable time for the consideration of the problem thus stated with the view to its correct solution. The first of these is the extensive agitation of the question, "How shall the masses be brought into the sanctuary, attached to it, and saved?" The church sees, as it has never seen before, that it is a vital question, one touching her very existence, and she is naturally anxious to reach a true answer. The other favourable feature, is the reaction that has set in against the extreme and one-sided measures which even earnest men have been disposed to try. The gospel of æsthetics, the gospel of clap-trap, and the gospel of petty scolding, are not the popular things they once were in certain quarters. Common sense and right Christian feeling have revolted against them. Sabbath-schools, that once ran wild over the wares of the quack venders of novelties, now shut out everything of that kind, or meet it, when it is forced upon them, with indignation and loathing. Churches once delighted with the dispensation of toys and gewgaws, have found these very worthless things in the work of building up a permanent congregation, and a vigorous and healthy working membership. But perhaps the most notable feature of the case is the protest against these extremes, which is being made in the religious literature, in the "Schönberg Cotta" books with the realistic element introduced and made prominent, in such volumes as those of Drs. Lowrie and Halsey, and Rev. Messrs.

Breed and Blackburn, published by our Board, and especially in the magazines, of which "Hours at Home" is striving, perhaps under circumstances somewhat adverse, to furnish a type in this country, and of which the "Sunday Magazine" of Dr. Guthrie, and "Sunday at Home," are types in Great Britain, where their marvellous success has demonstrated that Christian people are yet willing and anxious to hear the message that is true as well as the message that is new. These two things, we say, indicate that the present is a favourable time for the consideration of the great problem with the view to its correct solution.

Such then being the characteristics of the times, and such the stage reached in the experiment of solving the grand practical problem of the church, we are prepared to advance a step further in the discussion, and with a view to framing an answer in one degree less general, ask again the question, What is the preaching which shall *meet these determined conditions* of the case? The plain answer, which is neither unchristian, nor unpresbyterian, is *God's truth in its practical bearings must be presented with proper artistic form, and with power, with the grand end of elevating and saving men.* This answer would, we opine, be found not wholly new, if we could take the sense of the thinking, earnest men of the past and present; and yet we trust that when unfolded it will be seen to have enough of the new to fully meet the exigencies of the case. God's truth, in the proper artistic form, will meet the wants of those who have come under the influence of the scientific spirit. God's truth in its grandeur, properly understood, contains the "things new and old"—*new* no less than *old*—with which the wants of the spirit thirsting for newness must be met. God's truth in its practical bearings, is widely and intensely practical enough for the most thorough-going of all sound utilitarians. And the one aim, in the elevation and salvation of men, subordinating everything else to itself and God's glory, furnishes the true principle of unity which will bind all together, and make the work single while it is earnest and hopeful. Altogether it will be found, on comparison, to be substantially the answer which the theory of the books noticed at the beginning of this article offers us. In passing on to the unfolding of the proposition

thus laid down, it follows, that if these considerations accord with truth,

1st. There is *absolute necessity on the part of the clergy for a more correct, complete, and consistent theory of Rhetoric, or the Art of Oratory.* One may study the laws of eloquence solely that he may know them, and in this we shall have *science;* or for the purpose of applying them to any particular product of art that he may estimate it, and in this we shall have a *critique;* or for the purpose of instruction, development and guidance, and in this we shall have *art.* The demand made upon the preacher cannot be properly complied with without a thorough command of Rhetoric in all these relations. Assuredly he ought to have a thorough mastery of the means, the forces, and the principles involved in his sublime work, as well as of how they are to be applied both in criticism and in production. It is our firm belief, that, other things being equal, a man's success, in any sphere, is under God in exact proportion to the correctness of the theory by which he carries forward his work; and we base our judgment on faith in that justice of the Divine government, by virtue of which it is always found on the side of the right, whether it be the right in method or in action. Nor do we hesitate to make strictest application of this rule to the work of the ministry. A God of order cannot delight in disorder in the highest mission assigned to man. *Other things being equal, a man's success in the ministry is in exact proportion to the correctness and completeness of his working theory.* What am I to do? and How and with what am I to do it? are thus vital questions with one sent with a message from God to men. God will never fail to do his part; it is man's to see to it that his be done the best possible.

Leaving out of view those among the clergy who have been led to entertain intelligent and right views of the art of oratory, the remainder naturally fall into *two classes: first*, those who have no theory at all on the subject, and, *secondly*, those who hold only partial theories. Of these in their order.

It requires not even a discerning eye to advise one of the fact, that there are numbers among the clergy who have no theory whatever on the important subject of their mission as God's mouthpieces in the world. We can recall those of our

acquaintance who scoff at all such theories when out of the pulpit, and violate everything that could be rightly embodied in them, when in the pulpit. And in self-defence they are always resurrecting the old and senseless objections to art, and the knowledge of it, that they may confront the advocates of right method with their ghosts. The familiar words of even so distinguished a man as Lord Macaulay, running in a line with the opinions of these objectors, will doubtless occur to any one at all familiar with our English literature. We refer to the passage in his critique on Bacon, in which he rails at rhetoric, logic, and grammar. Macaulay's *practice* is the best refutation of his theory, for in all his writings we find a *studied* adherence to the very principles at which, in this article, he scoffs. To the class with which we are dealing, art is synonymous with *artificial*, or *artful*. They profess to plead for *nature*. "I must be natural,—must speak out and act out my own nature." "But you are rude in manner, awkward in gesture, rough in style, harsh in voice. You ought to practice elocution, and to seek to polish your style." "But it is *my own natural self*. God has made me so, and I must act out myself." And thus the man deliberately persists in uttering what is at once a libel upon his nature and his God,—for he is not at all as God made him, but as man has unmade him,—and what he calls his "own natural self," is most horridly and indefensibly unnatural. Such objections are shorn of all their force to one who has caught even a glimpse of the simple truth, that all perfect art, if not nature, is yet like and consistent with her; and who has come but to suspect that all imperfect art, so far as true, aims at this likeness and consistency. To him everything that falls short of the full likeness and consistency, is, in so far, unnatural and wrong. He finds that the principles of the highest art are merely the interpretation of the plain facts of nature. It is just by the interpretation of the facts of nature, that the true, thinking man, of clear views, comes by his theory of sacred eloquence, and he therefore knows it can be neither artificial nor unnatural. The essential phenomena are before him at the outset. A right theory must take into account and embody all these facts. If, in striving to do this, he adds anything to nature, the result is inconsistency; if from nature he

subtract anything, incompleteness. He is so far true as he adheres to nature. The thing is so simple, that shallow talk about being "artificial" and "unnatural" cannot shake his faith in the slightest.

As we come now to judge of partial theories, held by the second class, above-mentioned, there is need that we pause a moment to contemplate these facts of eloquence, of which we have spoken as patent to all, and to interpret them, in order that we may have the correct and complete as a standard by which to try the incorrect and incomplete. In sacred eloquence we have before us *a soul, in the concrete fulness of its powers and functions, possessed by God's truth and Spirit, expressing itself by means of appropriate language, to move and save other souls constituted like itself.* Here is first, and on either side, *a soul*, in the fulness of its powers, *i. e.*, mind, heart, will, taste, conscience—all these. A soul expressing itself, or a soul moved, involves all these. Then this soul is *under the controlling influence of God's truth and Spirit.* That lifts its activity out of the sphere of the purely human and natural, and makes the man a Divine messenger. Then you have the fit instrument of expression, *appropriate language*, articulate and inarticulate, including speech, tone, look, gesture, in short, whatever in the orator aids expression. And, lastly, the one grand aim, *to move and save souls.* These are the facts, as any one may read them for himself. Theories of pulpit eloquence which fail to take into account any of these facts must be partial, one-sided, so far wrong. The test is simple; let us try some of them.

"*Preaching,*" says one, "*is the presentation of theological truth.*" If in his practice he hold firmly and consistently to his theory in its ordinary acceptation, a sermon with him becomes a theological essay. He evidently has a truth in his scheme, but it is only a partial truth, not even a half truth. He has omitted the essential aim of preaching, forgotten the Divine mission, and somehow substituted an *intellect* for a soul. Perhaps, if he has ever suspected man possessed of heart, will, taste, and conscience, he has summarily reached the conclusion that these are never affected except through cold, logical presentation of truth to the understanding, and that they have no

reciprocating or reacting power. And by the phrase, "*presentation of truth*," such theorists too often mean, simply putting it into logical and grammatical formulas, which are intelligible to the speaker himself, and to educated, thinking men, but either unintelligible or forceless to the plain man. To them *expression* exhausts the meaning of their theory. We protest that expression is not the whole of oratory. The expression of truth characterizes Philosophy; the expression of æsthetic truth, the Fine Arts; but oratory is set apart from both these by the fact that it not only expresses but *transfers* truth. Before the preacher has fulfilled his mission, the theological truth must be put in fit words; into these must be breathed the quickening power of right feeling, deep moral purpose and intense spirituality; and then this living whole must be pressed home with all the art and force of outward eloquence until that truth of God, in its clearness, completeness, warmth, and life, is left lodged in the soul of the hearer. The actual transfer of God's truth to other souls is essential to a proper oratorical presentation, and every effort which falls short of that, is, so far as the highest aim of oratory is concerned, a failure. And yet, narrow as is this view which is satisfied with mere expression in language, it is amazing to how large an extent it is the working theory in the pulpit. We once heard a sermon after this pattern, which treated of the whole subject of the Future State of God's children, answering the questions: "What is heaven?" "What of heavenly recognition?" &c., &c., quoting three or four poems, the whole discourse occupying precisely twenty minutes. We are certain that the man had never dreamed of one thing that belongs distinctively to the sermon. We grant this an extreme case, but many a discourse is constructed after a like model, and, as is always the case, the mightier the logic of the man who works after such incomplete pattern, the more rigidly does he adhere to it. The partial truth that gives this view its power over certain minds, is, that man has an intellect to which the preacher must impart the knowledge of God's word. An important truth it is admitted to be; the great, we had almost said, fatal error, is in supposing it the whole truth.

Reacting against this view, another class holds that *preach-*

ing is moving the religious feelings of men by any means whatsoever. If one of this opinion hold firmly by it in his practice, a sermon with him may possibly rise to the dignity of an *exhortation.* There is evidently some truth in his notion, but only a modicum. Instruction is of the least possible importance in his scheme. God's word is of no worth where a good story or a telling gesture will compass his end better. In place of a soul, in all the fulness of its powers, he puts the emotional part of man's nature,—and that often not the heart in its entireness, taking in those states of feeling which may be as lasting as the soul itself, but the fitful, fleeting passion of a moment, neither deep enough nor permanent enough to affect the life. The writer once listened, for a month or two, to the daily ministrations of the late noted Rev. John Newland Maffit, a most admirable illustration of this method. Any one who ever heard him can recall the "start and stare theatric," the moving, sentimental story, the thousand little things in style and voice and gesture, fitted and intended to arouse the feelings of his audience, and any one who ever watched the progress of his plot to its denouement, will readily recognize in him a complete specimen of the man who thinks it to be his mission to move the religious feelings by any means whatever. The truth which gives this theory all its power, is, that man has a heart which is to be moved and affected; the great and almost fatal error is in supposing that this is all.

Passing over the multitudinous variations of opinion, each of which has its truth, great or little, as the case may be, we find one thing more deserving special notice—the theory that *no definite rules or principles are needed by the pulpit orator.* It may appear inconsistent to call such a view a *theory*, when, on its very face it professes to discard all theories. Nevertheless, it does, in fact, seek to make a theory of its no-theory. We have seen elaborate articles in the "Quarterlies" advocating it. "Let us have freedom for genius," is its cry—"Away with your formal divisions; they hamper us"—"Down with your formal rules; man is a law to himself"—"Out with your stereotyped forms; they are the dead letter which killeth"—"Give us the largest license." Unfortunately, it is seldom genius that utters the cry; ordinarily it is mediocrity—some-

times honest, industrious mediocrity—but mediocrity still. If it be a man of mark, it is ordinarily raised in reference to something of which he knows but little. The literary world has had, in another department, a recent illustration of the truth of these assertions, in the Dean of Canterbury's absolution of himself from the shackles of English grammatical rules, while undertaking to be an authoritative teacher of the "Queen's English." "The Dean's English" has demonstrated than no one had more need than Dean Alford himself to be taught these rules, and to be guided in the practice of them. This is but one case of the million. And yet there is a value in this view if it be considered as a reaction against a cold, rigid, dead formality, with which too many are familiar. It has its admitted truth, *that freedom is necessary to power;* but it forgets that it is only a freedom under and in accordance with God's laws. The Divine government, in every sphere, gives room for the very largest freedom that is consistent with the good of the creature. Man is a free being, though gravitation binds him down to the earth, and one may well doubt if he would be any freer or any better off if there were in some way given him the power to run up the sky against gravitation. If there is one thing evident to a thinking man, it is that freedom of discourse can never be reached by casting away the experience of ages, defying all the principles found in human nature, and running counter to all the laws of God's world. In truth, such freedom and variety can only be secured when working under a system of rules as broad and complete as the facts of nature which centre in eloquence. These principles will always admit and prepare the way for perfect freedom and infinite variety, with the same ease with which a few ultimate chemical elements prepare for the variety of that vast realm of nature in which the great Maker never repeats himself. It is not the sermon but the man that becomes stereotype; and no taking of divisions out of the sermon will remedy that. What is needed is not freedom *from* rules, but freedom *under* rules; and this only comes by those ways, so hard to human nature—by agony of soul and sweat of brow; or, to express it in less formidable, because more familiar and less weighed, phrase, which yet at bottom contains the same terrible meaning—*by*

knowledge and practice. Freedom without rule, at the first license, becomes, in its progress, the dullest of formality, and ends in the unhelpful liberty of the sweeping dust—utter dissolution.

Such a survey of the field we have been traversing, with the application of the proper test to these partial theories, has prepared for the reaffirmation, with increased emphasis, of the necessity of a thorough knowledge, on the part of the pulpit orator, both of what is to be done and how it is to be done; or, in other words, of the absolute need of a more correct, complete, and consistent theory of sacred eloquence. At the very outset of his work (pages 51 and 52 of the trans.) Dr. Theremin insists upon this necessity. After stating it to be his design to construct and present such a system, he proceeds to meet the common objection drawn from the success of Greek and Roman eloquence, achieved without such a system, by demonstrating that the dependence of life, influence, wealth, and freedom, upon success or failure in an oration, called forth men's powers to the fullest, and led them to avoid faults which would prove fatal, so taking the place of the most rigid system, and often more than compensating for it; and then showing that the absence of these conditions in the present renders the strictest system indispensable. We question the rightfulness of the admission, that Demosthenes and Cicero reached the highest perfection by practice, without the aid of any rhetorical system; but, granting that, Dr. Theremin's reasoning is conclusive. Professor Shedd, too, in his admirable Introductory Essay, eloquently enforces the same necessity by other and different arguments.

Taking into account all the elements properly entering into the discussion:—the shortcoming of the theories, and the practical evil resulting from it; the necessity of right views in order to the most successful work; the state of science and art to which the century has brought us; and the imperative demand made by the thinking and cultivated portion of society, for artistic excellence in the presentation of God's truth; the need which has been affirmed must, we think, be admitted. The principles at the foundation of this conclusion are simple. If a mechanic, working blindly, cannot do worthy work, then an

artist, in the sublimest of arts, cannot blindly do noble work. Give him the light of true principle for his guidance. If a theory, wrong in its principles, is inevitably wrong in its operation, then let no man, in the highest sphere of effort, where every word is trembling with destinies immortal, attempt to deliver God's message with such a theory. Let him right the wrong. If the progress of science has made an Art of Oratory possible, then let not him who is sent to be an orator for Jehovah think to work acceptably to the Master, or successfully, without systematic knowledge of it. Give him all that may be known, to use in his great mission. If there is a right and sure method of reaching, holding, and swaying the thinking, educated men of the country by the truth of God, let no messenger of God scoff at or neglect that method. Give him the mastery of it. By rightly becoming "all things to all men," some will assuredly be saved. It is preëminently the duty of the times to fail not to ascertain, at the outset, the correct method of doing God's work; He will honour just that, and, other things being equal, crown it, alone and above all, with the largest and most notable success.

2dly. In accordance with the general answer already given to the question under consideration, the practice of the pulpit must be conformed to right theory, and to the wants of the times, so as *to present God's truth in its practical bearings, and with freshness and vividness.* To consider *matter* and *form*, in the respects herein involved apart from each other—

(1.) The *matter* of the preaching for these times must be, at the foundation, God's truth in its great practical bearings. *God's truth* first of all. It is admitted that the *methods* of one age are never precisely suited to the wants of another; but God's truth, in its relation to man's necessities, is unchangeable. We, therefore, confess to no sympathy with the tendency of Professor Draper and the neologizers of his school, who seem almost desirous, in their profound admiration for the physical sciences, to substitute the truth of nature for the truth of God's word in the training of the Theological Seminary, and in the deliverances of the pulpit. It is true, that in order to be best fitted for any great mission, a man should have attained to that kind and degree of culture which will

insure to him right and complete views of every department in nature, as well as in art, and in the higher sphere of theology, but that is farthest possible from justifying the claims which the distinguished Professor puts forward in his recent work entitled, "The Future Civil Policy of America," for either the predominance, or the exclusive use of the physical sciences, in even the preliminary training of the clergy. We protest against such a view, and, while we humbly bow before him in his own department, fearlessly affirm the incapacity of Professor Draper to decide what is the need of the clergy, and to mark out the course by which they must be prepared for their work. We base our protest—first, upon *natural unfitness;* for, as a general rule, no mere mathematician or scientist is capable of forming a correct judgment concerning the great issues of the higher world of spirit. The constant repetition of the intellectual process involved in the reasoning with necessary truth, that $2+2+2=6$, or that the known and measured forces $a+b+c=d$, does not prepare a mind for moving with ease and certainty in that region, where, in dealing with contingent truth, the spiritual forces combining the known and measured with the unknown and unmeasured, give us $a+x+y+$&c.$=z$. We base our protest—secondly, on evident prejudice and want of knowledge in the premises as incapacitating Professor Draper; for no one who could write one sentence, which occurs in the book above referred to, (page 277,) and which we quote, can pretend to have mastered the facts requisite for the formation of a judgment in such a matter. Speaking of the opposition of the leaders in religion to science, Professor Draper says:—"The result of this condition of things is, that many of the most important, the most powerful and exact branches of human knowledge, have been forced into a position they never would have voluntarily assumed, and have been compelled to put themselves on their defence. Astronomy, in the case of the globular form of the earth, and its position as a subordinate planet; Geology, as respects its vast antiquity; Zoölogy, on the problem of the origin of species; Chemistry, on the unchangeability of matter, and the indestructibility of force." We submit that when both are rightly understood, there is no conflict between the doctrines

of religion and the results of the investigations of *true* science.

The truth of science has its value, which we would by no means underrate, and we hail all knowledge of it as a gift of God, but nature has no revelation of *salvation* to make to sinners; *that*, the one thing essential, is *supernatural*. If the church of God has one living conviction, it is this, that nothing but the revealed truth of God's word can save men. God himself affirms this much. God's truth, then, first of all, and above all. And yet, guarding against another extreme, we are far from having anything like full sympathy with that tendency of mind which would reduce God's word, as presented from the pulpit, to lifeless intellectual theory or dry abstraction. The Bible is an intensely practical book. There are certain great questions which no thinking man can fail to ask himself,—Whence came I? Upon whom can I depend? Whence the evil in the world? Is there any way of escape? What is that way? Guizot, in his "Meditations on Christianity," in demonstrating that the Bible, in its doctrines of Creation, Providence, Original Sin, Incarnation, and Redemption, furnishes the only correct and satisfying answer to these questions, has at the same time brought out the essence of God's word, and shown how prominent a thing is its perfect adaptation to our human wants. These questions have to do, principally, not with man's imaginations, not with his logic, good or bad, not with his taste, rude or cultivated, but with life and death. The Bible appeals to practical instincts, is adapted to practical needs, proposes to meet practical issues, puts its truth in concrete, practical shapes. Preaching which does not appeal to such practical instincts, which does not supply such pressing needs, which does not meet such living issues, which does not put itself in such direct and forcible shape, cannot be according to the standard of God's word. *Its* truth is no dead orthodoxy, but a living and life-giving thing. Not abstract didactic theology, but God's truth, as the Bible presents it, must be the matter of the pulpit in these days. The preacher who is satisfied with the bald statement, and theological or scriptural demonstration of a doctrine, closed up with, "This is an important truth," is not fulfilling his mission. His hearers

would probably admit all that beforehand. But "science, falsely so-called," and reason, better called unreason, we admit, have their cavils and objections, and these are real troubles to him, and to meet these he seeks aid from the pulpit. If it affords it not, it leaves him to grope on in the dark. Didactic theology is, so to speak, the skeleton, which must be clothed with living tissues, and have infused the vital fluids, and inbreathed the breath of God, before it can be a power in our world. The rightful demands of men, and of a correct theory of oratory, can only be satisfied by *God's truth in its practical bearings.*

But there is need of more specific statement in unfolding what is meant by this. The *aim of gospel preaching* is usually stated to be *the saving of sinners and the edification of saints.* As these are only different aspects of the one work of salvation, and are both accomplished through the instrumentality of substantially the same truth, the statement may be properly varied, provided the essence of the matter be retained. It may be rightly said, then, that the aim of the message of the servant of God is to lead to the conversion of men, to develop Christian activity, and to direct the Christian work in the divinely constituted relations of the world in which it must be carried on,—and it may be taken for granted that, in order to adapt itself to this aim, the appropriate message from God must be directed to the soul from that side from which it is possible, humanly speaking, to move it. The preaching for this practical age must take into special account all these things, and, so far as the tendency to practicalness is concerned, the success of the pulpit will depend upon giving wise heed to them. Moreover, it becomes evident at once, that while all revealed truth is to be proclaimed to men, according to the proportion of faith, there are yet, so to speak, *certain centres of crystallization* around which that truth gathers, and in subordination to which it is to be set forth.

The first aim of the gospel is *to lead to the conversion of men*, or to lead them to faith in the Lord Jesus Christ. The preaching which, under God, is to attain this end, must, therefore, first of all and chiefly, present the grand converting doctrine of God's word, "Christ crucified." Salvation is by belief in

Jesus Christ and reliance upon him, not as a teacher, not as a sufferer, not as a martyr, but as *the Divinely-appointed and Divine-human substitute for sinners.* Take this doctrine out of the Bible, and all that is distinctive, all that is fundamental, all that is saving, is gone. It is not merely some abstract conception of the perfection of the Saviour's character, or of the beauty of his life, or of the sublimity of his teachings, or of the glory of the throne to which he is exalted as Mediator,—not any or all of these that it pleases the Holy Ghost to use chiefly in the conversion of sinners. *Christ dying for our sins* is the converting doctrine of the gospel, and while all the rest must be preached, it must be with constant reference to this, and with constant aim to impress this. All must be preached in this, and this in all. The being and nature of God and the lost condition of man are to be unfolded—the law is to be preached in all its length and breadth, and with all its terrors, and every possible motive to be plied, but this with the view of bringing the sinner to a sense of his need of Christ, and to acceptance of him. Christ crucified for the sinner, and presented with a view to his salvation, is thus the first centre of crystallization.

But man is *to become a worker for God*, or as Scripture has it, a co-worker with Him. To lead him to this is the second aim of the preacher. In all true and complete religious development, Christianity must appear not only as a saving doctrine, but also as a life. In an age preëminently demanding action, with dead churches all around them, it should need no argument to convince the leading men that special attention must be directed to this phase of religious culture. The question, How shall men be converted to God? is not more intensely practical than the question, How shall the energies of the Christian church be brought out and gathered up, and directed most powerfully and efficiently to this end of the world's salvation? Now the logic of Christian living, aside from the power of the Holy Ghost, is eminently simple: "Christ has lived and died for me, therefore, I will live and die for him," or as Paul puts it, "The love of Christ constraineth us." The doctrine of the cross, as unfolding the heart of God to men, must be preached in such a way as to

deepen and call forth this sense of obligation, and lead to that work for want of more of which the generations are perishing. The ruin of the world, the mission of the church to save it, the agencies by which this is to be accomplished, right methods of work for the heathen at home and abroad, with the progress and prospects, individual responsibility in the matter, must be constantly set forth, and the appeals in view of them made urgent and irresistible by the application of the power of Christ's constraining love, until we have a church which, by adding works to its faith, shall demonstrate that faith to be living and not dead. All must be preached through this and this in all. The doctrine of the cross in its relations to Christian activity, is thus a second centre of crystallization.

But Christian believing and working are *to be done in the world as it is*, in connection with its Divinely ordained institutions. Here are three great Divine institutions, the Family, the Church, and the State; the Family and the State as truly of Divine ordaining as the Church; the State appointed to embrace all men; the Church to embrace all Christian men; and the Family the kernel of the State and the type of the Church. The Christian is not an abstraction, but a being living in all these relations, and therefore needing direction in them all. God's law—not some human law—reaches and claims supremacy over him in all these positions. There is a profound and, we hold, scriptural truth, bearing on this point, and one to which this generation needs to give special heed, brought out most powerfully by Julius Müller, in his "Christian Doctrine of Sin," in the brief passage in which he insists that man is not a *legislator*, that is, a justice-maker or a law-maker, in the strict sense, but simply, under God, who has himself made the justice and ordained the law, a *law-discerner* and *law-proclaimer*. That truth sweeps away the popular ideas, "man a law to himself," "the church a mere voluntary association," "the people sovereign." God in Christ is the head of all, and God's word the law of all. Now God's word as the law of conduct is not the rule of some abstract man, but of the man in the Family, Church, and State. The minister of God is the only and authorized expounder of this law as it applies to all these relations, and to man in them. It is not simply his *privilege*, con-

ceded by sufferance, but his *solemn duty* to bring that law to bear in all these aspects, and thus make God's own word the moulder of sentiment in all the relations of life. We believe the future progress of salvation in the church will depend very much upon her recognition and appreciation of this her position and her duty. The whole tendency of our national history has been toward putting God's messengers and his word out of their rightful place. Reaction in the early history against much-abused authority has, in the end, run into impatience of all authority, even that which only aims to check the evil. The assumption of political demagogues, and of pulpit demagogues, just as truly in the interests of evil; the vulgar outcry against preaching the moral and Christian principles that should control politics and statesmanship; and the gross ultraisms of many who assume to be models in this sort of preaching, seemed to finish the work of divorcing the Christian man and preaching from all practical connection with the world, and thus to leave great vital issues to work themselves out with no proper guidance, and to spread ruin, individual, social, ecclesiastical, and national, everywhere. It is matter for rejoicing that the terrible experience of the past few years has done much to open the eyes of the clergy, and to rouse them to a sense of their responsibility as God's watchmen, and to reinstate them in their true position. The present and the coming years demand application, plain, forcible, constant, such as the past has not known, of God's word, to all the relations of life, for, after sowing the wind, we are reaping the whirlwind,—in the family, in new theories of marriage and divorce, of the obedience and service of children, and all that,—in the church, in independency and lawlessness, in the clogging of right work by the multiplication of voluntary associations outside of the church, and controlled too often by irresponsible and unfit men,—and in the state—God save the state! Practical direction, out of God's word, in all these positions in which he is a believer and worker, the Christian must especially have in this age in which the old landmarks are being removed. The law of God in its application to the social, civil, and ecclesiastical spheres of duty, is another of the centres of crystallization.

Once more, all this truth of God, whether it have in view

the conversion of men, the development of Christian activity, or direction in duty, must be addressed to, what are called by Dr. Theremin, *the practical ideas*. The truth must somehow be brought into living connection with the soul to which it is addressed. Now, by virtue of his constitution, "every man ideally (though, by reason of his sin, not actually) wills the perfect." "Every man wills the perfect, in so far as it is specifically determined and conditioned by his peculiar relations; this is the idea of *duty*. Every man wills to be inclined and able to realize the perfect at all times, and everywhere; this is the idea of *virtue*. Every man wills that each and every one of his actions result in a series of internal and external consequences that will render the realization of the perfect ideal easier for him in future; this is the idea of *happiness*." ("*Eloquence a Virtue*," page 74.) Here is the side from which, oratorically, he may and must be approached. Show him that a thing is duty, and you have at once a friend within his soul to aid you. Show him that a thing is due to his *manliness*, and you have another friend within. Connect a thing inseparably with his *happiness*, and you have another answering voice. These times call for powerful addresses to these practical ideas. It is one of the pressing necessities. By departure from it, preaching has lost much of its *authority*, as well as much of its power. God's word, especially as coming from the lips of Christ himself, lays tremendous stress on all of these ideas, even to that one of *woe*, from which the tremulous delicacy and subtle pride of this age so shrink away. Success will be won in these days only by fearlessly following in the footsteps of Jesus of Nazareth.

It is an absolute necessity that the preaching of the day should take on more of this practical shape as to its matter. What meets no living want will never reach man, for he is, after all, a practical being, and will never travel very far out of his way for that which can clearly be of no use to him. Speculate and abstract till you take all the soul and life out of God's word, and he no longer wants it. The mightiest in moving power have always taken advantage of the wonderful common sense of the race, and made the most of it; but somehow we of the pulpit in this day are slow to believe fallen men

endowed with common sense and practicalness. We have heard the broad statement made from the pulpit, and that by those credited with being thinking men, that the work of the preacher is unlike any other in the world, in that the operation of the principles of cause and effect, and of adaptation of means to end has no place in it. Against this we plead, not for a rationalizing, much less a rationalistic, view, but for a rational one; and we hold that nothing in God's universe is so perfectly adapted to the end designed as that gospel of Christ which is confessedly the highest revelation of his wisdom. While God is admitted sovereign, we deem it demonstrable, that, in the ordinary administration of that sovereignty, the results of right work when done in the pulpit are not as uncertain as men seem to think. "Whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap." God has presented just what will save man, provided he will comply with the divine conditions. He has done nothing more in any sphere. It would be madness to say that He who has provided redemption at such a cost, takes less interest in the saving of souls than in the ordinary work of men. Dependence for the results is here upon the direct and supernatural power of God, secured in his promise to faith; and the man who does not wish to cast away faith will hardly claim that God's promise and direct power are less a dependence than the so-called laws of nature. The difficulty is, that, in our worldly wisdom, we have too often mistaken man, emasculated the gospel, and distrusted God;—*mistaken man*, thinking him a fool or a puppet, to be interested by sleight-of-hand performances, rather than a being once made in God's image, and having still intense and earnest gazings upward toward the skies, and ceaseless though undefined longings for something higher;—*emasculated the gospel*, vainly imagining that which appeals to the lower and perishing instincts mightier than that which reaches down after what is enduring and godlike in him; *distrusted God*, in that we have wanted confidence in that way of bearing life to men which He has declared to be the embodiment of His highest wisdom. One thing that we of this age must learn anew, and in its full significance, is, that these practical things, which have to do with the conversion of men, with the growth of Christian activity, and the direction in duty in

the world, and which appeal to man's highest instincts, have not yet lost their power. They must be used more constantly and mightily in our preaching if we are to expect great results in the Master's service. The gospel is just what man needs; holding this, we need to preach it as if we believed it. Man, by nature, does not appreciate it; admitting this, we yet need to preach it as if he did, for God has promised to make it a light to the blind. We cannot save men; acknowledging this, with all humility, we must yet, in some sort, preach it as if, under God, we could; for God can save, and has promised to do it. The preaching whose matter shall be such, cannot but be a power in the world, gaining the ear of the perishing multitudes, and, by God's grace, saving their souls.

(2.) Passing from matter to manner, it is obvious that in respect of form the preaching for these times must be *with freshness and vividness, or with power.*

Prof. Day has given a most admirable compendium of the essential qualities of a good style, under the head of "Objective Properties of Style." First, Clearness, as truth must be intelligible in order to be felt; secondly, Energy, as truth must possess vividness in order to reach and stir men; thirdly, Elegance, as what offends against good taste will not readily gain access to men even though it be clear and powerful. There is no other discussion of the principles of style at all comparable with it in the English language, and we therefore commend it to any one who may be desirous of clear guidance in this regard. The course of the present discussion does not lie in the same line with Prof. Day's treatise, as our aim is not to deal with the general qualities of style, but merely to call attention to certain special principles which have to do with adapting the style of the pulpit to the wants of the age, and making it more a power with men.

In attaining that freshness and vividness for which Simplicity prepares, there are, aside from the general laws of Energy, certain special principles which enter more or less into the style of the powerful preachers of all times as an element in winning success, and which, while most important always, are especially a necessity to the pulpit of the present. They

may be denominated Biblical qualities. To enumerate, in brief, some of them.

First: The word of God must be presented *more in concrete form.* The idea, apparently of so many, that the preacher's chief mission is to turn his text into abstract truth, with which to ply a sleepy congregation, is all wrong. However necessary this process of abstraction for the purposes of systematic theology, it is not the Bible method of reaching men. There was never a truer utterance than that of Coleridge, in one of his introductory aphorisms in his "Aids to Reflection:" "To restore a common-place truth to its first uncommon lustre, you need only translate it into action." What we can *see* has power. The Sacrament of the Supper takes advantage of this principle, and embodying the central truth of the gospel, addresses it to reason and faith with the added power of the senses. It is thus the most powerful of all presentations of the doctrine of the cross. And accordingly we find Scripture everywhere presenting its truth largely in living shape and relation, in history and individual experience and incident, so attaining to a perpetual freshness and interest. The pulpit of a day in which the world presents everything in the concrete, needs to model after the Bible in this regard. Volumes on faith in the abstract can never so unfold its nature to the masses of men, as will the exposition of that master example in Abraham's offering of Isaac. Volumes on parental responsibility in the abstract can never so fix the idea in the hearts of men in all its fulness as will that terribly solemn example of a pious father's grief over a favourite son gone down to perdition through his agency, which is brought before us in David's lament over his son Absalom. For our instruction and guidance God's word has put its utterances in these forceful shapes, and we may find in it instances without number, applicable to every possible phase of life, whether in its faith and work or in its relations to family, state, and church. Here is one of the powers which God has put into the hands of the clergy to be used in their mission, and it is preëminently the demand of this age, as well as of human nature, that it be used.

Secondly, God's truth must be presented, as is the Bible manner, *with apt and ample illustration.* Ruskin, (in Part III.,

Vol. II., of "Modern Painters,") has drawn out that noble theory which affirms of all inherent beauty that it is typical of the Divine attributes. It is a magnificent thing in the metaphysical profundity of its conception, no less than in the marvellous felicity of its delineation. We believe this the only true basis of a correct art-theory. Apply the same principle to the world of fact and truth, as well as beauty, and you have a new element of power in the pulpit. The world in which we live, in its men, in its relations, in its material aspects, becomes typical of the higher, spiritual world. As the tabernacle was fashioned after the heavenly temple, so the lower world after the higher. Not simply and arbitrarily illustrative is the world, therefore, but, to the deep and right-seeing eye, *typical*, and therefore illustrative. It is, so to speak, God's first great book for men, containing the foundations for all other revelations, and without which they could not have been—the "Dark Mirror," (*Modern Painters*, Part IX., Chap. i., in Vol. V.,) in which man must catch his first faint glimpses of God and heaven. "Tongues in trees, books in the running brooks, sermons in stones," is no longer the merest fancy of the poet, but the statement of veritable fact. There is a power akin to concrete presentation of the truth, and here is furnished the clue to the mystery and force of figurative language: God has written all higher truth in some lower form, which brings it within our reach. A figure, used in illustrating, has power because it presents the very truth illustrated, as God has given it in simple and concrete shape. This principle is of value not because of Ruskin, but because of God, for we hold this to be the Biblical way of viewing things. The Bible makes everything typical. The soul in all its faculties and life, the family in all its relations and experiences, the nation in all its constitution and history, the church in all its ordinances and triumphs, the earth and the material universe in all its breadth of fact and form, of change and growth, it brings before us to teach us of God and heaven, and the higher things, giving us in this wise our first glimpses of the spiritual realities and glories. One can scarcely conceive of anything that is not so used in the Bible. It is one of the secrets of the wonderful energy and perpetual freshness of style, in which it surpasses

all other and merely human books. And it stands out clearly as a power to be used in the pulpit. We deal too freely in far-fetched and much elaborated figures, which we make for ourselves, and with which we vainly think to illustrate in arbitrary way what God has uttered for us. Such work is like all work purely of man, and after his pattern, forceless and lifeless. What this age preëminently wants is the seeing eye, the quick-discerning mind, and then, turning this down into the soul, or to the household life, or out upon the world, God will make revelations of himself to us, with which we may enforce his higher truths,—and He will make them everywhere, in the flying leaf, the vanishing vapor, and the sweeping dust, in the falling sparrow, the short-lived moth, and the blooming and fading flower, in the yearnings of a father over his wandering son, the watchings of a mother over her helpless babe, and the heavenliness of home. So seeing, we shall no longer hear man's illustration, but God's, and men will unconsciously recognize in it something of God's power. Taking art and science by the hand, as aids and guides in this their sphere, religion must make the world, with all in it, tributary to the pulpit, and make full use of it, until the message of wrath and love is written, as the Bible would write it, on everything that meets man's eye, appeals to his reason, dwells in his memory, fastens to his hopes, moves his heart, and links itself with his life. Such preaching will be a power with man. In the end, the distilling dew shall, from morn to morn, speak to him of the silence, the energy, the quickening, invigorating contact, and the wide-reaching influence of God's proclaimed message; the flaming course of the morning sun as it hastens to its meridian splendour shall show him daily the "path of the just" drawn across the skies, in its beginnings out of darkness, in its light dispelling the darkness, and calling forth the life of the world, in its constant progress, and in its reaching out toward perfection; and the fading leaf sweeping across the sky, while it speaks to him of his own withering life, shall tell him of accumulated work and imperishable monument left behind for the coming generations.

Thirdly: Another element of power is to be found in the presentation of *the specific truths of God's word.* We deal too

much in these days in generalities. It is all wrong. Such truths, from their very nature, can possess comparatively little interest. And they are few in number; the man who deals in them must soon either exhaust or repeat himself. Moreover, it is not the Bible way, for in it everything is specific. The one who holds fast by the precise truth of each text of Scripture will always be new, because, unlike general truth, specific truth is infinite. Over each text a vital question is, "What is the exact thing that God would teach in this passage?" The man who always asks it, and always presents what he ascertains as its answer, will not present the same subject in connection with all kindred texts, and will preach neither abstract theology nor philosophy, but God's word, which is better than either or both. Here, by way of illustration, are two texts:—"By Him all things consist"—"O Lord, I know that the way of man is not in himself; it is not in man that walketh to direct his steps." We have heard men preach on the same general doctrine of providence from both of them. It was not preaching God's word. The first of the texts has nothing to say of providence in general; it only speaks of one element in the doctrine of providence—*preservation*, and is still more specific in affirming this not of God absolute, but of Jesus Christ. "By Christ all things are continued in being." The other text is still more specific in another direction. The emphatic words—at least in significance—are, "in man," "in himself;" and the theme from it, in its relations to providence, would be the prophet's thorough conviction of the necessity of a special providence as demonstrated to him *by the nature of man.* Again, here are three texts: Psalm lxii. 11—"God hath spoken once; twice have I heard this; that power belongeth unto God." Psalm iii. 6—"He hath showed his people the power of his works, that he may give them the heritage of the heathen." Jeremiah v. 22—"Fear ye not me?" saith the Lord; "will ye not tremble at my presence, which have placed the sand for the bound of the sea by a perpetual decree, that it cannot pass it; and though the waves thereof toss themselves, yet can they not prevail; though they roar, yet can they not pass over it?" One might preach on the power of God from them all, but that would by no means bring out their

truth. Taking them only in their applications to the present, the *first* points rather to the abundant and clear evidence that power is God's prerogative;—the *second* may turn our attention to the wonderful manner in which, by the progress of science and art, God is unfolding the powers of nature to the Christian nations, and making way for the possession and conversion of the world;—while the *third* speaks not specifically of the power of God, nor of the power of God to control, nor of the power of God to control the mightiest things, nor of the power of God to control the mightiest things by the most insignificant means, but of the power of God to control the mightiest forces by the most insignificant means, as a reason why the sinner should fear him,—or, in more rhetorical form, the omnipotence of the most insignificant things in God's hands as a reason for the sinner's fearing him. The three run in wholly different lines of thought:—*One* takes us out through the universe, and bids us listen for the voices of God's power everywhere, from man's soul to the sweep of the remotest star; *another* takes us along the experience of Christendom, and shows us how the forces of nature, in wind, steam, magnetism, electricity, in all their application to the arts, to trade and intercourse, are being revealed to the Christian nations, and being used to bring the heathen to their very door for a possession for the church and Christ;—and the *third* takes us to the storm-lashed shore, and to where the minute and mysterious forces of God's vast world are working out in silence the behests of his omnipotence, and bids us sinners tremble as we see how God can hold for ages those furious and seemingly resistless waves by that shifting sand, while the adamantine rocks wear away and disappear,—how He can grind up the mountains by the turn of atoms, bind the proudest with the web of the spider, take his life with a particle of dust or air, or crush him by the turning of a falling autumn leaf. While we do not intend to recommend some forms of expository preaching as suited to this age of cheap commentaries, yet specific truth we must have, as an element of power in the pulpit, even though it carry us all the way back to simple exposition, for that is better than generalities, however glittering, and as much better as God's word is better than man's generalizations. We must

learn to come to a text, not to see whether it may be warped to suit our purposes, but to ascertain what God says in it, and then to present and enforce that from the pulpit.

Such, in hasty sketch, must the preaching of this day be in *matter* and *form* to meet the demands of the times. The pulpit must hold up the practical truth of God in concrete shape, illustrated in God's way, and specific as in God's word. The theoretical, the abstract, the indefinite, the general, have no living energy. The practical, the concrete, the illustrated, the specific, alone are ever new, and fresh, and forceful, and fitted to take living hold on human souls.

As we turn a passing glance to those who hold and control men, we find them clearly possessed, in large measure, of at least some of these elements, and wielding influence according to the completeness of their furnishing. Two men stand out before us as the popular men of the day in the pulpit, with reputation world-wide—we refer to the Rev. C. H. Spurgeon and Henry Ward Beecher. It was long the custom to call in question the power of these men, but the day is gone when one can exclaim "clap-trap" with a sneer, and pass them by. The fact of substantial and permanent success meets us face to face. "Clap-trap" may attract the crowd for a twelvemonth, but it has no power to hold it through the years. It is wiser to acknowledge the facts, and, while guarding against error, seek to make the most of that power, whatever it may be, by which they have won success. Spurgeon and Beecher stand before the world as the most successful pulpit orators of the day. Wherein lies their power? Holding fast the distinction of matter and form, we should say that, in the particulars we have enumerated, Spurgeon's success is due more to the *matter*, Beecher's more to the *form*, though each possesses, in some degree, all the elements, both in matter and form. Taking Coleridge's antithesis between science and poetry, Mr. Beecher's cast of mind is rather poetic than scientific. This accounts for some of his peculiarities. If he has any system of theology, it is one peculiar to himself, so that, taking him in connection with his family, the division of theologians into "the orthodox, the heterodox, and the Beecher family," is more than a witticism. As a result of this laxness and want

of system, we find him often sneering at "orthodoxy" and sound theology, and disparaging some of the truths most precious to the church of God, a feature in his preaching that we deeply deplore. Spurgeon, on the other hand, has his most clearly defined system of theology. In the presentation of the *practical truth* of God we find a marked difference in the two men. Spurgeon dwells more than Beecher upon the doctrine of the cross in its relations to the conversion of men, and the development of Christian activity. The number of conversions under his ministry is therefore greater, and the distinctively Christian activity of his church more noteworthy. Beecher dwells more than Spurgeon upon the duties of the Christian believer and worker in the spheres of *social and civil duty*, applying the truth more to the everyday home-wants of men, seeking to guide them in the world as it is, aiming to make them better fathers, relatives, and friends, better business men and citizens. No man of the day attempts to apply God's word to these practical connections of the Christian with the world, especially in the national sphere, as does Beecher, often radically and wrongly, to be sure, but yet, we are constrained to concede, with an aim to faithfulness, and, on the whole, presenting vital truth, which lays hold of human hearts, and makes him a moulder of public sentiment, and a leader among men. Both address their messages to the *practical ideas* in man, but Spurgeon, the more powerfully, speaking chiefly to duty and happiness, and appealing to the latter from its darker side. with a tremendous and awful intensity of earnestness which has never been surpassed since Jesus of Nazareth uttered his proclamations of woe in Galilee and Judea,—while Beecher addresses more the idea of virtue or manliness, as if seeking to press home dishonesty, cowardice, and meanness as the cardinal sins.

In respect to *form*, both make use of all the elements of power enumerated. Both delight to present truth in the *concrete*. Both hold practically to the theory that *the world is typical*, and so both abound in apt illustration. Beecher, born a poet, yet affectionately acknowledges, in his "Star Papers," his indebtedness to Ruskin for the "blessings of sight." "We are more indebted to him for the blessings of sight than to all

other men. We were, in respect to nature, of the number of those who, having eyes, saw not, and ears, heard not. He taught us what to see and how to see." Spurgeon, in one of his early sermons, gives substantial expression of his adherence to the same theory, though coming by it in a different way. The world in all its breadth is thus tributary to both, and is made to speak most eloquently for God through them. Beecher uses it the more poetically, Spurgeon the more practically. Both present *specific truth*, and are, therefore, always fresh and novel. Of the two, Beecher is rather the man of genius and artistic excellence, Spurgeon the model gospel preacher, and the man of larger Christian influence with the masses. While admitting that no man is to be servilely copied, we yet hold it duty to lay hold of and turn to service every element of power in every man. It is granted and affirmed that there are objectionable elements and eccentricities in their style, especially in Mr. Beecher's, which are to be avoided, at least by other men, and through mad imitation of which this country and Great Britain have been visited with an infliction of a set of clergymen of the "Rev. Shallow Splurge" type. But though these peculiarities lessen their influence, they abate not one whit from the value of the princely gifts bestowed upon them by the Master. We are constrained to think that if Mr. Beecher preached the central doctrine of the cross with the fulness and the "blood earnestness" of Spurgeon, he would be everyway the mightiest man of the modern popular pulpit. These powers of the two men, so far as available, all the pulpit should seek to make of service. Preaching, so conformed to what is right in high example, as well as to the demands of correct theory, meeting the actual needs of men in all the relations of life, will be a master power in the world. It will have the grandest of beauty, and yet not be a gospel of æsthetics; it will possess perpetual novelty, and yet not be a gospel of "clap-trap;" it will always be sublimely practical, but never a gospel of petty scolding. Such preaching will meet the demands of the three tendencies noted at the beginning of this discussion as characterizing the times in which we live.

3dly. It is clear that, in accordance with our general answer

to the question proposed at the outset, *the spirit of the pulpit* must be conformed to right theory, so as to meet the wants of the times. *Men must preach the gospel with a living sense of their grand mission to save souls.* For want of space, we can barely indicate what needs to be brought out in this connection. Dr. Wayland, in his work on the "Christian Ministry," has clearly shown that ministry to be, not a profession, and not on a level with the professions, but most widely separated from them in being a *calling.* A *call* to this great and solemn work, direct from the living God, is the first thing requisite—a call which shall make a man cry out, under a sense of his responsibility, (with Paul,) "Woe is me if I preach not the gospel." Then the vocation of the minister demands intense sympathy with Christ in the work of saving souls. This can only come through the knowledge of God's word in all the forms of theology, from didactic, polemic, historical, exegetical, all the way in to the intimacy of acquaintance with that word which belongs to practical theology, and through the rich indwelling of the Spirit of Christ. Moreover, there must be that complete knowledge of men, and sympathy with them, which can come only from intimate and constant contact with them, both as a man and a pastor. Add to all, large expectation of results. "Preach the word, and *leave* the results to God," so we are wont to say. We hold this form of statement, as it is sometimes meant, to be neither scriptural nor true. Preach the word, and *expect* results from God, is truth and Scripture. It recognizes *faith* as a substantial element of power. Men must feel that their work is one of life and death, and, at the same time, a work in which God and Christ are more interested than they can be—and then, with correct theory working in the right way, and in the proper spirit, they may expect that perishing men will assuredly be reached, and by God's grace, saved. Would that the whole truth concerning the mission of the ministry might be written on the heart of every messenger of God with a pen of fire, and in perpetually burning words, for without it thus fixed in the soul, there can be no such thing as success in the highest and truest sense. The little work of Bonar, entitled, "Words to the Winners of Souls," presents the idea with great force. True it is that a

certain class of men cry out against what they are pleased to denominate its "*legal spirit*," and to declaim against it as setting up an unscriptural standard by which to try the work of the ministry, but we believe that earnest and sincere men cannot but plead guilty to every charge it brings against us of this day.

We need a new life in the ministry. We quote from Bonar. "*The infusion of new life into the ministry* ought to be the object of more direct and special effort, as well as of more united and fervent prayer. To the students, the preachers, the ministers of the Christian church, the prayers of the Christians ought more largely to be directed. It is a *living* ministry that our country needs, and without such a ministry it cannot long expect to escape the judgments of God. We need men that will spend and be spent—that will labour and pray—that will watch and weep for souls." And without such a ministry, without such men, there is no salvation for us!

The glance which a living church to-day casts down from the eminence to which the ages have brought her, cannot but be an anxious one. Looking out upon the world, and noting the signs of the times, we cannot resist the conviction that we are at the dawning of an eventful period in her history. Perhaps this should be characterized as the age of Christian action. At least it must be admitted an age which specially calls for such action. The growth of the modern missionary movement has been confessedly one of the marvels of the world. That God, for the coming of whose kingdom all things are working together, has prepared the way for it by the progress of science and art, which has already been noted. There has always been the same perishing world, but it has heretofore been a far-off world. The later centuries have been bringing it nearer and into oneness with us, until at last, by that mysterious electric power, which with equal ease spans the continents and oceans, God is gathering the nations into one mighty audience chamber of the gospel, to the remotest aisles of which every voice in the church may reach, and the touch of every hand vibrate. The rapidity of the flight of the angel of the Apocalypse, bearing the everlasting gospel, seems about

to be realized. And in the movements of God's kingdom this nation has, by its geographical position, its political character, its commercial connection, and the orderings of Providence, been made a centre. Upon us the old world in all its parts has poured out its superabundant population. Besides the myriads brought near by the outward bonds and means of intercommunication, here are the millions from darkened Africa, from papal and infidel Europe, and from far-off heathen Asia, in our midst, furnishing, so to speak, the links in the chain of sympathy which is to bind to us the destinies of the world. The problem of the world's conversion has thus been forced upon us as upon no other people. Here is the learning requisite to translate the Bible into every tongue within the lifetime of a single generation. Here is the steam-press with which to print a copy of it for every son and daughter of Adam within the same period. Here are the men from whom messengers might in the same time be sent to every hamlet on the face of the globe. Here are the great thoroughfares by which the missionaries and Bibles might be sent. And here is the gold with which to accomplish all this work in so brief space. Here are the glorious *possibilities*,—what shall the *actual* be? A complete Christianity, working with full power in this land and out from it, would, we doubt not, in the course of the next half century, compass the globe with its saving and elevating influences. Shall all this be done? It will depend, in great measure, under God, upon what *the ministry* of the present and coming generations shall be, and upon what the character of *the preaching* for the next quarter century shall be.

Art. II.—*The Trinity in Redemption.*

The Supreme Being is not revealed to us in the Bible as *One* Person: the Deity is tri-personal, not uni-personal. God is not the Father alone; nor the Son alone; nor the Spirit alone: not a single Person, nor two of the Persons, but the three Persons are the "one true eternal God"* of Creation and Redemption: each of these severally considered possesses, absolutely, perfectly, and eternally, the essence, the nature of Divinity in equal measure and glory; and each is infinite, eternal, and unchangeable in His being, wisdom, power, holiness, justice, goodness, and truth.

While thus in the proper attributes and perfections of the Divine nature the Three Persons are One, all communicating in the same numerical and infinite essence, each of the Three has distinguishing and peculiar personal characteristics. Their Personality, unlike their Deity, is not the same. That of each is perfect in its kind, but the Three are *personally* diverse from each other. The orthodox creeds are unanimous in their statements and expositions on this subject. It is the property of the Father, who Himself is of none, neither begotten nor proceeding, to beget the Son: Paternity is the personal sign and distinction of the First Person. It is the property of the Son, who Himself is neither made nor proceeding, to be eternally begotten of the Father: Filiation is the personal mark and characteristic of the Second Person of the Godhead. It is the property of the Holy Spirit, who Himself is neither made nor begotten, to proceed from the Father and the Son from all eternity: Procession is the distinctive personal mark of the Third Person in the adorable Trinity. And as different as Paternity, Filiation, and Procession are from each other, just so different are the Persons of the Godhead, as Persons each from the others. So that the making of One Person out of the Three (which is Sabellianism) is impossible: and, as these Three all partake of

* Larger Catechism, Quest. 9.

and communicate in one essence, one indivisible eternal nature, so it is impossible that there should be three Gods in the three Persons. The Scriptures exclude alike a Modal Trinity and Tritheism.

On this revelation of a Tri-personal Jehovah is founded the whole revealed scheme of the Divine administration throughout the universe: and in nothing is it more luminous and more glorious than in the economy of our salvation.

One other preliminary: Along with the statement that God is *tri-personal*, not one Person, let it be observed concerning the Divine Agency, that though all the Divine Persons concur in it, so that each Divine act is the act of the whole Godhead, yet, that, generally, when it is said in the Bible that God or Jehovah did or purposed to do anything, it is to be understood that One of the Persons of the Trinity is intended; and usually the immediate context will enable us to decide which of the Persons is meant. For example, we read, Gen. i. 26, "God said let us make man in our image," where evidently the First Person is the speaker. "God* so loved the world that He," *i. e.*, the Father, "gave his only begotten Son," &c. "The Word was with God,"† *i. e.*, with God the Father. "God is love. In this was manifested the love of God toward us, because that God," *i. e.*, the Father, "sent his only begotten Son,"‡ &c. "Feed the church of God which He hath purchased with His own blood,"§ and "God was manifest in the flesh,"‖ when the Second Person is intended. "Thou hast not lied unto men, but unto God,"¶ when the Third Person is referred to.

Now the agency and relations, the love and manifestation of these several Divine persons in our redemption, are, according to the Scriptures, determined and characterized by their *personal* peculiarities.** The Father being of none, neither be-

* John iii. 16. † John i. 1. ‡ 1 John iv. 8, 9.
§ Acts xx. 28. ‖ 1 Tim. iii. 16. ¶ Acts v. 4.

** And our *duties* toward the Great Supreme are similarly determined and characterized. Bishop Waterland, vol. iii. p. 416, admirably states this: "If God be *Father*, *Son*, and *Holy Ghost*, the duties owing to God will be duties under that triune distinction; which must be paid accordingly; and whoever leaves out any of the three out of his idea of God, comes so far short of honouring God *perfectly*, and of serving Him in proportion to the manifestations made of Him. Supposing our doctrine true, there will be duties proper

gotten nor proceeding, is properly called the *Fons Trinitatis*, the Eternal Fountain of the Triune Godhead: He is the Father of the Son, from both of whom is the Eternal Spirit. He is in like manner the *Fons Redemptionis*. His personal love for man is the basis and inspiration of the whole work. *He* selects from among the generations of men those who are finally saved, and gives them in an eternal covenant to His only begotten Son, as His bride and everlasting inheritance. He commissions His Son, and sends him to our world to take our nature into a vital and everlasting union with His own, and then to expiate our guilt in a bloody sacrifice. "God so loved the world that He gave His only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in Him might not perish, but have everlasting life." He ordains for that Son on our account the whole course of His life; the time and the manner of His advent, the successive stages and character of His career, all His sufferings, and all His work. Christ did nothing except as taught and directed by His Father. He tells us this with the utmost explicitness—"I came down from heaven, not to do mine own will, but the will of Him that sent me."* "My meat is to do the will of Him that sent me, and to finish his work."† "The Son can do nothing of Himself, but what He seeth the Father do, for whatsoever things He doeth, these also doeth the Son likewise."‡ And then all His *teachings* were not His, but His Father's. The words which He spake were given to Him of His Father. "I have not *spoken* of myself; but the Father which sent me, He gave me a commandment what I should say, and what I should speak. * * Whatsoever I speak, therefore, even as the Father said unto me, so I speak."§ "I have given unto them the words which thou gavest me."‖ Thus all the words, and deeds, and sufferings, all the life and death of Christ, express not simply nor primarily His love to us, but declare with an emphasis, if possible, even more distinct, the primal, sovereign, infinite love of God

to be paid to the Father as Father, and to the Son as Son, and to the Holy Ghost as the Eternal Spirit of both, duties correspondent to their distinct offices and personalities, beside the duties common to all three considered as one God."

* John vi. 38. † John iv. 34. ‡ John v. 19.
§ John xii. 49, 50. ‖ John xvii. 8.

the Father for us. "In this was manifested the love of God (the Father) toward us, because that God sent His only begotten Son into the world that we might live through Him."*

A second illustration of the loving agency of God the Father given in the Bible is the mission by Him of the Third Person of the Trinity. It is unnecessary here to enlarge upon this. The Scriptures greatly magnify it, and we shall refer to it again in another part of this article.

Thus as God the Father is the First Person of the Godhead, so is He first in the order of agency in the work of redemption. God's love is not only paternal, it is primal or fontal in the First of the Divine Persons. Hence the language of Philip† was but the natural expression of an enlightened conscience eager for certainty and peace. "Show us the Father;" let us know and understand His love towards us, "and it sufficeth us." If He is reconciled,—if He justifies, all is well. In the gift of Christ and of the Holy Spirit, the whole mind of the Father is unveiled, the fountains of the great deep of His love are broken up. The dark problem concerning the feelings of eternal justice and majesty is solved; all uncertainty is removed. God is in Christ reconciling the world unto Himself, not imputing their trespasses unto them:‡ and an appeal is hereby made to our reason and humanity that would seem to be irresistible, did not fact affirm the contrary.

Such is the part of God the Father in our salvation. Yet this infinite affection, the existence of this paternal relationship, and this its wondrous outworking, are powerless on man. We read the divinely attested record of His love; we hear God Himself proclaiming it. We know that God is love, love to us; He has given infinite proofs of it, but such is the condition of our souls that the amazing truth is generally like a dream. God the Father loves us—loves us with all His heart, and soul, and mind, and strength, and our return is enmity. "Hear, O heavens; and give ear, O earth; for the Lord hath spoken: I have nourished and brought up children, and they have rebelled against me."§

What now is the peculiar agency of God the Son in our redemption? The second person of the Godhead, while in His

* 1 John iv. 9. † John xiv. 8. ‡ 2 Cor. v. 19. § Isaiah i. 2.

personality as the Son, He is subordinate to His eternal Father, yet being Himself absolutely Divine, equal with the Father in power and glory, has in and of Himself a peculiar relation to us, and an agency in our salvation correspondently peculiar. His agency, indeed, from its immediateness and necessary prominence, may, through inadvertence, exclude from view, or at least disparage that of the eternal Father: it is at least more difficult for us to appreciate the sacrifice of God the Father in giving up His only Son, than that of God the Son in the infinite humiliation of His incarnation and life on earth; in His assumption of the guilt of human sin; in His suffering the wrath of eternal justice in the garden and on the cross. Yet we suppose that the language—"He that spared not His own Son, but delivered Him up for us all,"* interpreted by the Abrahamic type, the sacrifice of Isaac; the words, "Awake, O sword, against my Shepherd, and against the man that is my fellow, saith the Lord of hosts;"† "*the Lord hath laid on Him the iniquity* of us all," * * "*stricken, smitten of God, and afflicted,*"‡ together with the actual penal forsaking of the brightness of His glory, the express image of His Person; we suppose all this grounded in the ineffable instincts (if we may venture the expression,) of paternity in the Father towards His only Son, whose filial affection was reciprocal and responsive; all this indicates a self-sacrificing love for us on the part of the Father, which has no more than its parallel in the love of the Eternal Son.

This love of the Second Person of the Godhead, however, is His own individual love. It is something to be regarded and reciprocated by us as the additional peculiar affection of the Godhead, in the person of Christ, for us lost sinners. In its actings or modes of manifestation, it stands alone in an infinite peculiarity. That love of Christ, whose breadth, and length, and depth, and heighth pass knowledge, is Christ's own, not another's. The Father's love is summed up in the gift of Christ and mission of the Spirit. The Son's love is summed up in the gift of Himself for us, and conjointly with the Father in the mission of the Spirit. And there is this difference between them to be noted; the Father's love appeals to us

* Rom. viii. 32. † Zech. xiii. 7. ‡ Isaiah liii. 4, 6.

through *declarations* of itself; it is a testimony, addressed to us as rational, thinking beings. The Bible, as we have seen, expressly teaches us that the Father is the beginning and springhead of our redemption, and we are called upon to *know* and *believe* the love of God the Father to us. The love of the Son, on the other hand, is an appeal, not simply to our intelligence, and so to our heart, but this order is reversed. That love speaks to us through the sensibilities, almost through the senses. The humiliation of the Son of God; His lowly birth and training; His life of goodness; His shame and agony, His sorrow in the garden, and His accursed death; His burial, resurrection, and ascension, these are manifestations of love, addressed directly to the feelings of men, originally to the actual senses of many, with whom He dwelt for more than thirty years in Palestine. These persons saw, and heard, and handled, and walked with Him who was Immanuel, God with us; a man as truly as we are men, God manifest in the flesh. Divine love was rendered palpable in the humanity, the sad but holy life, the painful sufferings, the death of Him who was the Prince of Life, the Second Person of the adorable Godhead. Thus as to the distinct individuality of Christ's agency in redemption; it is as different from that of the Father as He himself is distinct and different from the Father, as much so as Filiation is distinct from Paternity.

But again, such is the depravity of the human heart that the Lord Jesus Christ is despised and rejected of men. The incarnate Word comes to His next of kin, and they receive Him not. All His love, so self-sacrificing, so pure, so palpable, fails to win and draw men unto Him. All day long He stretches out His hand unto a disobedient and gainsaying people.

Thus two of the sacred Persons of the adorable Godhead are revealed to us, having and exercising a several and infinite love for us, and separately and unitedly failing to move and conquer the apostate sons of men.

There remains one other Person in the Godhead, who being distinct in His personal properties from both the others, has a love for us which is distinct and peculiar to Himself, denomi-

nated by Paul, "the love of the Spirit."* The agency and relations of the Holy Spirit in the plan of redemption are radically different from those of either the Father or the Son. If the love of the Spirit displayed itself only after the manner of either or both of the other persons, the result would unquestionably be the same as in their cases. Infinite love in the Father shown in the sacrifice of His only Son for us; infinite love in the Son, shown in the voluntary offering of Himself for us, are powerless. If we are to be saved, another mode must be tried. Declarations and palpable exhibitions of Divine love are ineffectual. Divine appeals to the intellect and the heart are vain. There is no point of contact, no ground of fellowship between man and God in this way. Man's understanding is darkened; his heart is as adamant. In this connection how instructive is the language of our Lord in John xvi. 7, 8:—"I tell you the truth; it is expedient for you that I go away; for if I go not away, the Comforter will not come unto you; but if I depart I will send Him to you; and when He is come, He will convince the world of sin, and of righteousness, and of judgment." The return of Christ to the Father is essential to the advent of the Spirit, and that in which both the former failed, if we may so speak, will be accomplished by Him; when *He* is come, *He* will convince the world of sin, &c.

On the subject of the agency and operations of the Third Person of the Godhead we shall but suggest the merest outline; and this only in part.

The Holy Spirit is to be regarded, First, As a new conjoint manifestation and proof of the persistent love of the Father and the Son to us. "Whom the Father will send." "Whom I will send." "Whom the Father will send in my name." "Whom I will send from the Father." And as the Holy Spirit is free and perfect in His own Personality, and comes to us of his own accord, comes in fullest sympathy with the Father and the Son, in the exercise of His own special and peculiar love, the Eternal Spirit condescending to the watch

* Rom. xv. 30.

and care and conduct of worthless and vile worms of the dust,* we have therefore in His Presence and Agency a demonstrative exhibition of the combined love of the Sacred Trinity, three oceans of Divine clemency and grace coalescing. And as the specific office-work of the Holy Spirit is to reveal the infinite love of God the Father, the infinite grace of God the Son, and the infinite condescension and communion of God the Spirit, so it comes to pass that sin against the Holy Ghost is aggravated beyond sin against the Father in his peculiar love, or against the Son in His, yea above all sin. In a peculiar and preëminent sense the whole Godhead is sinned against when this Divine Agent and Representative is dishonoured and offended. And so too, the whole Godhead is, in the same sense, loved in the reception of the Holy Spirit. Welcoming and cherishing the Holy Spirit is embracing and loving the Father, Son, and Spirit. We have access to the Father only by the Son; we love and believe the Son only by the Spirit, and if the Spirit is grieved and banished, then the soul is shut out from the entire ever-blessed Trinity, and God and man are sundered from each other for ever.

In the next place, the Holy Spirit must be regarded in the nature or method of His Agency. This, as we have remarked, is entirely different from those of the other two Persons of the Godhead. The Holy Spirit's effective working, does not consist in appealing to our rational or intelligent nature: in addressing our hopes or fears, our love of happiness or dread of pain, our sense of justice or gratitude, our sympathies and better impulses. This method had been abundantly tried; every faculty and susceptibility of our being had been appealed to. A repetition of it would but result in a repetition of failure, for it is not in the power of the Third Person of the Godhead to surpass in love for man the Father or the Son.

What then is the special character of the agency of the Spirit? How does He distinctively and effectively exercise His

* John Howe, vol. v. p. 198, says, "Would any of us deign to be obliged to have from day to day the guiding and conducting of all the motions of a worm? And we need not be told how much less considerable we are in refer- to the great God and the blessed Spirit, than any, the most despicable worm, is to us."

love and grace to us? We answer, *by an immediate direct operation upon the mind or soul of man.* His is a work not of mere persuasion, but of direct supernatural power. It is not distinctively the force of truth, it is rather that which makes truth forcible. It is not the power of argument. It is not the influence of motive, the persuading, wooing, winning processes of oratorical discourse; far otherwise. Such is the condition of the human mind, such the lapsed and disordered state of our faculties, that all exhibitions of Divine truth and goodness, all mere argument and entreaty, are of no avail whatsoever, unless it be to sear and deaden the soul against the mighty verities, the tremendous realities of God's revelation. An eloquent speaker once said of constitutional freedom in Naples and Venice, that "its crushed and mangled form could be seen to twitch and quiver under the dark pall of arbitrary power;" but spiritual freedom, the freedom of the soul in God and goodness. is not only crushed and mangled, it is dead. No deep heart pulsations, no convulsive throbs move the folds or shake the ruffles of the shroud in which her sacred form is wrapped. The celestial fire is extinct; the Divine breath is departed. The eye is closed to the radiant throne of God the Father's eternal love; to Calvary's bleeding cross of mercy, and all the unveiled realities of the spiritual and eternal worlds. The ear is deaf to the voices that come from the excellent glory. The solemn verities of the fall and condemnation of man, of death, resurrection, and the judgment, are like the wind upon the face of the dead. For, in truth, we are *dead;* absolutely dead in trespasses and sins. The distinctive agency of the Holy Spirit therefore is more than an objective presentation to the intellect or senses or imagination of men. It is the direct energetic action of His Power upon the mind. Whatever external, visible, and tangible means He may use, whether in providential events or in the revealed word are mere instruments or channels through which He approaches the citadel of spiritual death; and gaining access to the very centre of our rational and moral natures He imparts a movement to it by an immediate direct influence. Thus in the language of Inspiration, man may become a partaker of the Holy Ghost. The eyes of his understanding are opened, his heart is touched and roused, and the things of the

Spirit, the things of God, of Christ, of eternity become realities to him. In brief, the work of the Holy Spirit is that of a mysterious contact of Deity with humanity, of the Creator of the mind with its secret essence, of the Infinite Spirit with the finite and fallen spirit of man.

But the direct agency of the Spirit is not always effectual. In some of His operations He is irresistible. He works and none can let Him; none can stay His hand, or say unto Him what doest thou? When God made Adam out of the dust of the ground, he was unable to resist the Omnipotent energy that gave him being. And when God endowed him with righteousness and true holiness, Adam could not prevent his having such a moral and spiritual constitution. He found himself in his deepest consciousness a holy and upright man, fashioned in the image of God by the power of the Holy Spirit. So too, the renovation of the soul of man in his fallen state, regeneration is the result of simple Omnipotence exercised by the Holy Spirit. This is a new creation, a resurrection from death in sin, the impartation of spiritual life, and is produced by an exercise of power on the part of the Holy Spirit, like that exceeding greatness of the Divine power which raised Christ from the dead and set Him at God's right hand in the heavenly places. In this matter a man is in the hands of the Holy Spirit as clay is in the hands of the potter. He does according to His own pleasure, absolutely, irresistibly. In the language of our *Confession of Faith*, (Chap. x. sec. 2), "This effectual call is of God's free and special grace alone, not from anything at all foreseen in man, who is altogether passive therein, until being quickened and renewed by the Holy Spirit, he is thereby enabled to answer this call, and to embrace the grace offered and conveyed in it."

But there are other operations of the Spirit to which resistance, successful resistance, may be made by the subjects of them. It is of His agency in these we would speak in closing this essay.

Concerning this ineffectual work of the Spirit, we remark,

(1.) That it is no less than regeneration itself—a secret, silent influence, beyond the reach of the senses or of mental perception, which affects us before we are aware of it, and is

discoverable only by its immediate or subsequent fruits. We are unconscious of its approaches. It is like the wind that bloweth where it listeth. It is the sacred breath breathing upon the slain, that they may live. It is the still small voice of God that comes as a whisper upon the ear of the soul. It is a Divine invisible hand touching the springs of our mental activity. Its working is in such perfect unison with our nature, in such living harmony with all our faculties, that we do not at first suspect the presence of the Divine agency. God is with us, and we know it not. The thoughts that are awakened, the emotions that are stirred, the desires that are kindled, seem so thoroughly our own, so proper to us, so natural, that we do not at first think of attributing them to any other source than our own mental activity. As the subtle, marvellous force of gravitation, without our thought, or will, or feeling, and often without our knowledge, pervades and upholds and quickens us, so the Divine Spirit enters and supports and works in us for our salvation. Thus by His spiritual influence penetrating the recesses of our minds, coming into contact with the hidden fibres and nerves of our hearts, He anticipates our depravity. Before our evil hearts can act they are acted upon, and thus grace gets an advantage both of nature and of Satan. We find these better views and feelings already in place and asserting their power. They are the insignia of the Divine presence; our treatment of them is a direct dealing with the Holy Spirit. We cannot stand aloof from Him as we do from the Father and the Son, and refuse His love, as something objective proffered to us, but we must receive or resist the Eternal Spirit Himself after He has mysteriously entered within us. We must eject or welcome the sacred visitant after He has commenced working directly upon and within us.

(2.) We remark, however, in the next place, that while this direct influence of the Holy Spirit is so independent of our thought and will, and is so subtle and secret in its working, it is ordinarily exerted in connection with Bible truth. The revealed word is commonly its instrument, its measure, and its test. Whatever may be the effect on any person of the Divine working, that effect, at least, is to be judged of by the Bible. Thus it is that the Holy Spirit testifies to the reality, nature,

and extent of His operations. Hence His Divine power awakens, alarms, enlightens, convinces, changes, renews, comforts and sanctifies through the word. When a person in the reading, or the hearing, or the recollection of the words of Scripture *feels* their power, when their record of guilt and danger, of Christ and of retribution ceases to be a mere record, is no longer a speculation or an opinion, but a real verity, a living personal concern, piercing, startling, condemning, then the Almighty Spirit of God is in the soul in loving mercy, performing His peculiar function as the Third Person of the Sacred Trinity. And it is very interesting to note, that, not the Holy Spirit Himself, but rather the Lord Jesus Christ, is first appreciated and loved by the sinner in the successful issue of these Divine operations. The Spirit glorifies Christ; He takes of the things of Christ, and shows them unto us; He opens the eyes of the understanding to perceive the Lord Christ as a Saviour, revealing him to the soul in his Person, in his work, in all his offices, as the chief of ten thousand, the one altogether lovely. The result, when there is a happy result, of all the arresting, convincing, alarming influence of the Holy Spirit, is to lead the subject of this influence to believe and love that once and long despised and rejected Redeemer.

(3.) Let it be observed, finally, that this work of the Holy Spirit is various and sovereign. It is not always the same either in kind or in degree, and is often different in the same person. He dispenses his gifts and graces according to the counsel of his own will. His love is infinite, but it is the love of an infinitely wise Person, dealing with free and rational, though depraved moral agents. Hence there is generally a process or gradation in His influences, a small silent beginning, with subsequent additions. As in the vision of the prophet, first there was shaking among the scattered dry bones, then a coming together of the bones, bone to his bone; next sinews came upon them, and flesh was added to these, and then skin covered them; but there was as yet no *life* in them. Presently, at the cry of the prophet, "Come from the four winds, O breath, and breathe upon these slain, that they may live," the breath came upon them, and they lived and stood upon their feet. So, under the influences of the Spirit, thoughtfulness

will precede alarm, and alarm conviction, and conviction confession, and confession faith, and faith will be followed by hope, and peace, and joy, and holiness. The understanding may be first enlightened, or the sensibilities may be moved, or the conscience may be quickened. Sometimes the result is all that can be wished; the sinner is renewed and forever united to Christ. In other instances the case of Saul is repeated—"The Spirit of the Lord came upon him and gave him another heart," but not the new heart; he was changed, but he was not regenerated. And sometimes, as the Saviour teaches in the parable of the sower, the influence is temporary and superficial. Often, very often, do men receive the grace of God in vain. The Spirit is a righteous Sovereign, and men can vex his benignant heart and limit his influence so that He may stop short in His work of mercy; and thus this gracious power, moving in the depths of the soul, secretly guiding, inspiring, urging the sinner to renounce his sin and flee to Christ, is banished and withdraws. There are six forms of expression made use of in the Bible to set forth the activity of the human soul against the presence, power, and grace of the Divine Spirit; these are "resist," "limit," "grieve," "provoke," "vex," "quench." And the responsibility of men under these influences of the Holy Spirit is to the last degree solemn. For these sacred influences all look and tend to actual regeneration. They are the preparations of the Holy Ghost in the sinner with a view to that mighty change.* They look to the breaking down of

* John Owen (vol. iii., p. 329, Goold's edition,) says, "There are ordinarily certain previous and preparatory works or workings in and upon the souls of men that are antecedent and dispositive unto regeneration." John Howe (vol. i. p. 413, London ed. 1822—see also p. 430,) says, "We must know there are vincible operations of that Spirit, leading on to those that are victorious, being complied with; otherwise to the most terrible vengeance." Vol. v. p. 23:—"There are many previous workings in order to regeneration, wherein the Spirit of God is frequently resisted; that is the workings and operations of common grace which lead and tend to this special work of grace." The *Larger Catechism*, in answer to Q. 68, Are the elect only effectually called? says:—"All the elect, and they only, are effectually called; although others may be, and often are, outwardly called by the ministry of the word, and have some common operations of the Spirit; *who for their wilful neglect and contempt of the grace offered to them*, being justly left in their unbelief, do never truly come to Jesus Christ." (See also "*Shedd's History of Christian Doctrine*," vol. ii. p. 68.)

the barriers which so long had shut out all the love of God the Father, and all the grace and goodness of God the Son. This, according to the Bible and the experience of Christians is almost universally the method pursued by the Spirit of God. He convinces of sin, of righteousness, and of a judgment to come, before He performs that work by which the soul is savingly renewed and comforted and sanctified.

And there being no fourth person in the Godhead, and the love of the Father and the love of the Son having been rejected, the Holy Spirit is man's last, man's only hope.* The Father and the Son are accessible only by the Spirit. If the work of this Divine Person is thwarted, if His influences are overborne and quenched, if He is grieved away and finally departs, then all is over with the sinner. He is joined to his idols, God the Spirit departs from him, eternal "woe" is his portion.

Thus we see that it is not merely by the manifestation of such love as that of God the Father in the sacrificial gift of his only begotten Son, nor by that of the matchless kindness of God the Son, in His incarnation and death, that our actual salvation is effected, but by the washing of regeneration and renewing of the Holy Ghost; through whom we are brought into fellowship with the Father and His Son Jesus Christ, and receive the fulness of their separate and combined love in the great mystery of redemption. The love of God the Father and the grace of Christ are rendered effectual only by the immediate operation of the Holy Spirit.

* Owen, vol. iii. p. 28, says:—"As God hath not another Son to offer, another sacrifice for sin, so that he by whom His sacrifice is despised can have none remaining for him; no more hath He *another Spirit* to make that sacrifice effectual unto us, if the Holy Spirit in His work be despised and rejected."

Art. III.—*The Monophysite Churches of the East.* By Philip Schaff, D. D., New York.

The Monophysites, like their antagonists the Nestorians, have maintained themselves in the East as separate sects under their own bishops and patriarchs, even to the present day; thus proving the tenacity of those Christological errors, which acknowledge the full Godhead and manhood of Christ, while those errors of the ancient church, which deny the Godhead or the manhood, (Ebionism, Gnosticism, Manichæism, Arianism, &c.,) as sects, have long since vanished. These Christological schismatics stand, as if enchanted, upon the same position which they assumed in the fifth century. The Nestorians reject the third œcumenical councils, the Monophysites the fourth; the former hold the distinction of natures, even to abstract separation; the latter, the fusion of the two natures in one, with a stubbornness which has defied centuries, and forbids their return to the bosom of the orthodox Greek church. They are properly the ancient *national* churches of Egypt, Syria, and Armenia, in distinction from the orthodox Greek church, and the *united* or Roman church of the East.

The Monophysites are scattered upon the mountains, and in the valleys and deserts of Syria, Armenia, Assyria, Egypt, and Abyssinia, and, like the orthodox Greeks of those countries, live mostly under Mohammedan, partly under Russian rule. They supported the Arabs and Turks in weakening, and at last conquering the Byzantine Empire, and thus furthered the ultimate victory of Islam. In return, they were variously favoured by the conquerors, and upheld in their separation from the Greek church. They have long since fallen into stagnation, ignorance, and superstition, and are to Christendom as a praying corpse to a living man. They are isolated fragments of the ancient church history, and curious petrifactions from the Christological battle-fields of the fifth and sixth centuries, coming to view amidst Mohammedan scenes. But Providence has preserved them, like the Jews, and doubtless not without design, through storms of war and persecution, unchanged

until the present time. Their very hatred against the orthodox Greek church makes them more accessible both to Protestant and Roman missions, and to the influences of Western Christianity and Western civilization.

On the other hand, they are a door for Protestantism to the Arabs and the Turks; to the former through the Jacobites, to the latter through the Armenians. There is the more reason for such a hope in the fact that the Mohammedans despise the oriental churches, and must be won, if at all, by a purer type of Christianity. In this respect the American missions among the Armenians in the Turkish Empire are, like those among the Nestorians in Persia, of great prospective importance as outposts of a religion which is destined sooner or later to regenerate the East.

With the exception of the Chalcedonian Christology, which they reject as Nestorian heresy, most of the doctrines, institutions, and rites of the Monophysite sects are common to them with the orthodox Greek church. They reject, or at least do not recognize the *filioque;* they hold to the mass, or the Eucharistic sacrifice, with a kind of transubstantiation; leavened bread in the Lord's Supper; baptismal regeneration by trine immersion; seven sacraments, (yet not explicitly, since they either have no definite term for sacrament, or no settled conception of it); the patriarchal polity; monasticism, pilgrimages, and fasting; the requisition of a single marriage for priests and deacons, (bishops are not allowed to marry); the prohibition of the eating of blood, or of things strangled.

On the other hand, they know nothing of purgatory and indulgences, and have a simpler worship than the Greeks and Romans. According to their doctrine, all men after death go into Hades, a place alike without sorrow or joy; after the general judgment they enter into heaven, or are cast into hell; and meanwhile the intercessions and pious works of the living have an influence on the final destiny of the departed. Like the orthodox Greeks, they honour pictures and relics of the saints, but not in the same degree. Scripture and tradition are with them coördinate sources of revelation and rules of faith. The reading of the Bible is not forbidden, but is limited by the ignorance of the people themselves. They use in wor-

ship the ancient vernacular tongues, which, however, are now dead languages to them.

There are four branches of the Monophysites: the Syrian JACOBITES; the COPTS, including the ABYSSINIANS; the ARMENIANS; and the less ancient MARONITES.

I. The JACOBITES in Syria, Mesopotamia, and Babylonia. Their name comes down from their œcumenical* metropolitan, JACOB, surnamed BARADAI, or ZANZALUS.† This remarkable man, in the middle of the sixth century, devoted himself for seven and thirty years (541—578), with unwearied zeal to the interests of the persecuted Monophysites. "Lightfooted as Azahel"‡ and in the garb of a beggar, he journeyed hither and thither amid the greatest dangers and privations; revived the patriarchate of Antioch; ordained bishops, priests, and deacons; organized churches; healed divisions, and thus saved the Monophysite body from impending extinction.

The patriarch bears the title of Patriarch of Antioch, because the succession is traced back to Severus of Antioch; but he commonly resides in Diarbekir, or other towns or monasteries. Since the fourteenth century the patriarch has always borne the name Ignatius, after the famous martyr and bishop of Antioch.

The Jacobite monks are noted for gross superstition and rigorous asceticism. A part of the Jacobites have united with the church of Rome. Lately some Protestant missionaries from America have also found entrance among them.

II. The COPTS§ in Egypt are in nationality the genuine descendants of the ancient Egyptians, though with an admixture of Greek and Arab blood. Soon after the council of Chalcedon, they chose Timotheus Ælurus in opposition to the

* *Œcumenical, i. e.*, not restricted to any particular province.

† From his beggarly clothing. Baradai signifies in Arabic and Syriac, horse-blanket of coarse cloth, and τζώζαλον, is *vile aliquid et tritum.* (See Rödiger in Herzog's Encycl. vi. 401.)

‡ 2 Sam. ii. 18.

§ From Αἴγυπτος, Guptos, and not, as some suppose, from the town Koptos, nor from an abbreviation of *Jacobite.* They are the most ancient, but Christian Egyptians, in distinction from the Pharaonic (Chem), those of the Old Testament (Mizrim), the Macedonian or Greek (Ἀιγ.) and the modern Arab Egyptians (Mizr.)

patriarch Proterius. After varying fortunes, they have, since 536, had their own patriarchs of Alexandria, who, like most of the Egyptian dignitaries, commonly resides at Cairo. He accounts himself the true successor of the evangelist Mark, St. Athanasius, and Cyril. He is always chosen from among the monks, and, in rigid adherence to the traditionary *nolo episcopari*, he is elected against his will; he is obliged to lead a strict ascetic life, and at night is waked every quarter of an hour for a short prayer. He alone has the power to ordain, and he performs this function not by imposition of hands, but by breathing on and anointing the candidate. His jurisdiction extends over the churches of Egypt, Nubia, and Abyssinia, or Ethiopia. He chooses and anoints the Abuna (*i. e.*, our Father), or patriarch for Abyssinia. Under him are twelve bishops, some with real jurisdiction, some titular; and under these again the other clergy, down to readers and exorcists. There are still extant two incomplete Coptic versions of the Scriptures, the Upper Egyptian or Thebaic, called also after the Arabic name of the province, the Sahidic, *i. e.*, Highland version; and the Lower Egyptian or Memphitic.*

The Copts were much more numerous than the Catholics, whom they scoffingly nicknamed *Mælchites*,† or "Cæsar-Christians." They lived with them on terms of deadly enmity, and facilitated the conquest of Egypt by the Saracens (641). But they were afterwards cruelly persecuted by these very Saracens,‡ and dwindled from some two millions of souls to a hundred and fifty or two hundred thousand, of whom about ten thousand, or according to others, from thirty to sixty thousand live in Cairo, and the rest mostly in Upper Egypt. They now, in common with all other religious sects, enjoy toleration. They and the Abyssinians are distinguished from the other Monophysites by the Jewish and Mohammedan practice of circumcision, which is performed by lay persons (on both sexes) and in Egypt is grounded upon sanitary considerations. They

* Of this latter H. Tattam and P. Bötticher (1852) have lately published considerable fragments.

† From the Hebrew *melech*, king.

‡ So that even their Arabic historian Mackrizi was moved to compassion for them.

still observe the Jewish law of meats. They are sunk in poverty, ignorance, and semi-barbarism. Even the clergy, who indeed are taken from the lowest class of the people, are a beggarly set, and understand nothing but how to read mass, and perform the various ceremonies. They do not even know the Coptic or old Egyptian, their own ancient ecclesiastical language. They live by farming and their official fees. The literary treasures of their convents, in the Coptic, Syriac, and Arabic languages, have been of late secured for the most part to the British Museum, by Tattam and other travellers.

Missions have lately been undertaken among them, especially by the Church Missionary Society of England (commencing in 1825), and the United Presbyterians of America.*

The *Abyssinian* church is a daughter of the Coptic, and was founded in the fourth century by two missionaries from Alexandria, Thumentius and Aldezius. It is a strange mixture of barbarism, ignorance, superstition, and Christianity. Its Ethiopic Bible, which dates perhaps from the first missionaries, includes in the Old Testament the apocryphal book of Enoch. The Chronicles of Axuma (the former capital of the country), dating from the fourth century, receive almost the same honour as the Bible. The council of Chalcedon is accounted an assembly of fools and heretics. The Abyssinian church has retained even more Jewish elements than the Coptic. It observes the Jewish Sabbath together with the Christian Sunday; it forbids the use of the flesh of swine and other unclean beasts; it celebrates a yearly feast of general lustration or rebaptizing of the whole nation; it retains the model of a sacred ark, called the ark of Zion, to which gifts and prayers are offered, and which forms the central point of public worship. It believes in the magical virtue of outward ceremonies, especially immersion, as

* A detailed, but very unfavourable description of the Copts is given by Edward W. Lane, in his Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians, 1833. Notwithstanding this, they stand higher than the other Egyptians. A. P. Stanley (Hist. of the Eastern Church, p. 95,) says of them; "The Copts are still, even in their degraded state, the most civilized of the natives; the intelligence of Egypt still lingers in the Coptic scribes, who are on this account used as clerks in the offices of their conquerors, or as registrars of the water-marks of the Nile." Compare also the occasional notices in the Egyptological writings of Wilkinson, Bunsen, Lepsius, Brugsch, and others.

the true regeneration. Singularly enough, it honours Pontius Pilate as a saint, because he washed his hands of innocent blood. The endless controversies respecting the natures of Christ, which have died out elsewhere, still rage there. The church honours saints and pictures, but not images; crosses, but not the crucifix. Every priest carries a cross in his hand, and presents it to every one whom he meets, to be kissed. The numerous churches are small and dome-shaped above, and covered with reeds and straw. On the floor lies a number of staves and crutches, on which the people support themselves during the long service, as they are without benches, like all the orientals. Slight as are its remains of Christianity, Abyssinia still stands, in agriculture, arts, laws and social condition, far above the heathen countries of Africa—a proof that even a barbaric Christianity is better than none.

The influences of the West have penetrated even to Abyssinia. The missions of the Jesuits in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and of the Protestants in the nineteenth, have been prosecuted amidst many dangers and much self-denial, yet hitherto with but little success.*

III. The ARMENIANS. These are the most numerous, interesting, and hopeful of the Monophysite sects, and now the most accessible to Protestantism. Their nationality reaches back into hoary antiquity, like Mount Ararat, at whose base lies their original home. They were converted to Christianity in the beginning of the fourth century, under King Tiridates, by Gregory the Enlightener, the first patriarch and ecclesiastical

* Especially worthy of note are the labours of the Basle missionaries, Samuel Gobat (now Anglican bishop in Jerusalem), Kugler, Isenberg, Blumhardt and Krapf, since 1830. Compare GOBAT in the Basler Missions Magazine for 1834, Heft. 1 and 2. ISENBERG: Abyssinien und die evangelische Mission, Bonn, 1844, 2 Bde. and ISENBERG and KRAPF: Journals, 1843. Also HARRIS: Highlands of Ethiopia, 1844. The imperfect fragments of an Abyssinian translation of the Bible, dating from the fourth or fifth century, have drawn the attention of Western scholars. A. Dillmann (now in Giessen) has since 1854 published the Ethiopic Old Testament, and a grammar and lexicon of the Ethiopic language. Of the older works on Abyssinia the principal are LUDOLPHUS: Historia Ethiopica, Frankf. 1681; GEDDES: Church History of Ethiopia, Lond. 1696, and LE CROZE: Histoire du Christianisme d'Ethiopie et d'Armenie, La Haye, 1739. They have all drawn their principal materials from the Jesuits, especially from the general history of Tellez, published 1660.

writer and the greatest saint of the Armenians.* They were provided by him with monasteries and seminaries, and afterwards by Mesrob† with a version of the Scriptures, made from the Greek with the help of the Syriac Peshito; which at the same time marks the beginning of the Armenian literature, since Merrob had first to invent his alphabet. The Armenian canon has four books found in no other Bible; in the Old Testament, the history of Joseph and Asenath, and the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs; and in the New, the Epistle of the Corinthians to Paul and a Third Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians. The next oldest work in the Armenian language is the history of their land and people, by Moses Chorenensis, a half century later.

The Armenians fell away from the church of the Greek Empire in 522, from which year they date their era. The Persians favoured the separation on political grounds, but were themselves thoroughly hostile to Christianity, and endeavoured to introduce the Zoroastrian religion into Armenia. The Armenian church, being left unrepresented at the council of Chalcedon, through the accidental absence of its bishops, accepted in 491 the Henoticon of the Emperor Zeno, and at the Synod of Twin, (Thevin, or Tovin, the capital at that time,) held A. D. 595, declared decidedly for the Monophysite doctrine. The Confessio Armenica, which in other respects closely resembles the Nicene Creed, is recited by the priest at every morning service. The Armenian church had for a long time only one patriarch or Catholicus, who at first resided in Sebaste, and afterwards in the monastery of Etschmiezin, (Edschmiedsin,) their holy city, at the foot of Mount Ararat, near Erivan, (now belonging to Russia,) and had forty-two archbishops under him. At his consecration, the dead hand of

* Φωτιστής, Illuminator. He was married and had several sons. He was urgently invited to the Nicene council, but sent his son Aristax in his stead, to whom he resigned his office, and then withdrew himself for the rest of his life into a mountain cave. There are homilies of his still extant, which were first printed in 1737, in Constantinople.

† Called also Mesrop, Meserrob, Messerrop, and Murchtoz. Comp. respecting this man, and the origin of the Armenian version of the Bible, the chronicle of his pupil, Moses Chorenensis, and the article by Petermann, in *Herzog's Encycl.* Bd. ix. 320, ff.

Gregory the Enlightener is even yet always used as the medium of tactual succession. Afterwards other patriarchal sees were established, at Jerusalem (in 1311), at Sus in Cilicia (in 1440), and after the fall of the Greek Empire in Constantinople, (1461).* In 637 Armenia fell under Mohammedan dominion, and belongs now partly to Turkey, and partly to Russia. But the varying fortunes and frequent oppressions of their country have driven many thousands of the Armenians abroad, and they are now scattered in other parts of Russia and Turkey, as well as in Persia, India, and Austria.

The Armenians of the diaspora are mostly successful traders and brokers, and have become a nation and a church of merchant princes, holding great influence in Turkey. Their dispersion and love of trade; their lack of political independence; their tenacious adherence to ancient national customs and rites; the oppressions to which they are exposed in foreign countries, and the influence which they nevertheless exercise upon these countries, make their position in the Orient, especially in Turkey, similar to that of the Jews in the Christian world.

The whole number of the Armenians is very variously estimated from two and a half up to fifteen millions.†

The Armenian church, it may be remarked, has long been divided into two parts, which although internally very similar, are inflexibly opposed to each other. The *united* Armenians, since the council of Florence, A. D. 1439, have been connected with the church of Rome. To them belongs the congregation of the Mechitarists, which was founded by the Abbot Mechitar (1745), and possesses a famous monastery on the island of San Lazzaro near Venice, from which centre it has successfully laboured since 1702 for Armenian literature and education in

* Respecting the patriarchal and metropolitan sees, and the bishoprics of the Armenians, comp. Le Quien, tom. i. and Wiltsch, Kirchliche Geographie und Statistik, ii. 375 ff.

† Stanley, (History of the Eastern Church, p. 92,) supported by Neale and Hexthausen, (Transcaucasia,) estimates the number of the Armenians at over eight millions. But Dr. Wood, of New York, formerly a missionary among them, informs me that their total number does not exceed six millions, of whom two and a half millions are probably in Turkey.

the interest of the Roman Catholic church. The *schismatical* Armenians hold firmly to their peculiar doctrines and polity. They regard themselves as the orthodox, and call the united or Roman Armenians, schismatics.

Since 1830, the Protestant Missionary, Tract and Bible Societies of England, Basle, and the United States, have laboured among the Armenians, especially the Monophysite portion, with great success. The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions,* in particular, has distributed Bibles and religious books in the Armenian and Armeno-Turkish language,† and founded flourishing churches and schools in Constantinople, Broosa, Nicomedia, Trebizond, Erzroom, Aintab, Kharpoot, Diarbekir, and elsewhere. Several of these churches have already endured the crucial test of persecution, and justify bright hopes for the future. As the Jewish synagogues of the diaspora were witnesses for monotheism among idolaters, and preparatory schools of Christianity, so are these Protestant Armenian churches, as well as the Protestant Nestorian, outposts of evangelical civilization in the East, and perhaps the beginning of a resurrection of primitive Christianity in the lands of the Bible, and harbingers of the future conversion of the Mohammedans.

Compare respecting the Armenian mission of the American Board the publications of this Society, Eli Smith and H. G. O. Dwight, (*Missionary Researches in Armenia*, Boston, 1833,) Dr. H. G. O. Dwight, (*Christianity Revived in the East*, N. York, 1850,) and H. Newcomb, (*Cyclopædia of Missions*, p. 124–154.) The principal missionaries among the Armenians are H. G. O. Dwight, W. Goodell, C. Hamlin, G. W. Wood, E. Riggs, D. Ladd, P. O. Powers, W. G. Schauffler, (a Wurtemberger, but educated at the Theological Seminary of Andover, Massachusetts,) and Benjamin Schneider, (a German from Pennsylvania, but likewise a graduate of Andover.)

IV. The youngest sect of the Monophysites, and the solitary

* This oldest and most extensive of American missionary societies was founded A. D. 1810, and is principally supported by the Congregationalists and New-school Presbyterians.

† The Armeno-Turkish is the Turkish language written in Armenian characters.

memorial of the Monothelite controversies, are the MARONITES, so called from St. Maron, and the eminent monastery founded by him in Syria, (400).* They inhabit the range of Lebanon, with its declivities and valleys, from Tripolis on the north, to the neighbourhood of Tyre and the lake of Gennesaret on the south, and amount, at most, to half a million. They have also small churches in Aleppo, Damascus, and other places. They are pure Syrians, and still use the Syriac language in their liturgy, but speak Arabic. They are subject to a Patriarch, who commonly resides in the monastery of Kanobin, on Mount Lebanon. They were originally *Monothelites*, even after the doctrine of one will of Christ, which is the ethical complement of the doctrine of one nature, had been rejected at the sixth œcumenical council, (A. D. 680). But after the Crusades (1182), and especially after 1596, they began to go over to the Roman church, although retaining the communion under both kinds, their Syriac missal, the marriage of priests, and their traditional fast-days, with some saints of their own, especially St. Maron. From these came, in the eighteenth century, the three celebrated Oriental scholars, the Assemani, Joseph Simon (1768), his brother Joseph Aloysius, and their cousin, Stephen Evodius. These were born on Mount Lebanon, and educated at the Maronite College at Rome.

There are also Maronites in Syria, who abhor the Roman church. Respecting the present condition of the Maronites, compare also Robinson's *Palestine*, Ritter's *Erdkunde*, (Th. 17, Abthlg. 1), and Rödiger's article in *Herzog's Encyl.* Bd. x. p. 176 ff. A few years ago (1860) the Maronites drew upon themselves the sympathies of Christendom, by the cruelties which their old hereditary enemies, the Druses, perpetrated upon them.

* He is probably the same Maron whose life Theodoret wrote, and to whom Chrysostom addressed a letter when in exile. He is not to be confounded with the later John Maron, of the tenth century, who, according to the legendary traditions of the Catholic Maronites, acting as Papal legate at Antioch, converted the whole of Lebanon to the Romish church, and became their first Patriarch. The name "Maronites" occurs first in the eighth century, and that as a name of heretics, in John of Damascus.

ART. IV.—*Life of Marcus Tullius Cicero.* By WILLIAM FORSYTH, M. A., Q. C. In two volumes. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1865.

An Account of the Life and Letters of Cicero: Translated from the German of BERNARD RUDOLPH ABEKEN. Edited by Charles Merivale, B. D. Longman, Brown, Green & Longmans. 1854.

The Life of Marcus Tullius Cicero. By CONYERS MIDDLETON, D. D. In three volumes. London. 1804.

THE character and position of Cicero were such that the most opposite views have been entertained respecting him. During his life his enemies were exceedingly bitter, but their calumnies could not blacken his memory; and whatever may be our judgment as to his political career, we must confess that we can scarcely recall a statesman even in a Christian country with so unblemished a moral character. It is singular that, with the exception of the *chef d'œuvre* of Sallust, the historians of this period of Rome are chiefly Greek. They are Plutarch, Appian and Dion Cassius; and they cannot be relied upon for a just estimate of Cicero. Plutarch is indeed impartial, but some of his statements are manifestly erroneous, and others must be received with caution. His imperfect acquaintance with Latin is partly the cause, for no more honest writer can be found. Moreover he says he wrote lives, not history; and his object was to delineate character, in which he has been most successful. Hence he often passes slightly over the most important events in a man's life, and subordinates them to dreams, jests, and anecdotes of doubtful authenticity, but which served to give point to his illustrations and comparisons. Appian is in many parts little more than a reproduction of Plutarch. Dion Cassius, who flourished in the reigns of Commodus, Septimius Severus and Alexander Severus, was not likely to take a favourable view of Cicero. Neither tyrants, nor their servants, are wont to admire patriots or their deeds. The speeches, which are introduced into Dion's work, are excellent rhetorical

productions, but that of Fufius Calenus, in which he seems to have collected all the slanders that were ever uttered against Cicero, and concentrated all the malevolence that the most bitter enemy could entertain, is a pure invention. No such speech was ever delivered, and as Forsyth says, "he would rather have put a blister on his tongue than allowed it to expose him to the castigation he was sure to receive," for there was no greater master of invective than Cicero, and even his friends suffered not unfrequently from his biting sarcasm. These charges, this "infamous stuff," as Middleton calls them, can have but little effect upon any one familiar with the history of the period, or who will impartially examine into the matter.

With the revival of letters came a new and a juster estimate of Cicero, and there is no measure to the admiration felt for him by literary men in later times. This culminated in the panegyric of Middleton and the views of Niebuhr, which provoked a strong reaction especially in Germany. Even De Quincey while admitting that in that "age, fruitful in great men, except the sublime Julian leader, none as regards splendour of endowments stood upon the same level as Cicero," and that he was "a thoughtfully conscientious man," has yet, we think, done him great injustice. Some authors have gone so far that they can find no merit in him. Abeken's Life and Letters of Cicero* (translated by Merivale), and Merivale's own works give a very fair and impartial estimate of Cicero. But we have met with nothing to equal this work of Forsyth. He has, we think, pursued the proper course in delineating the character of Cicero. He has presented him not merely as a public man, an orator and a statesman, but has made us acquainted with him as a man in all the relations of life, showing us those private virtues which are calculated to win our love, as well as those more shining qualities and brilliant achievements that excite our admiration. For this purpose he has selected as a basis, his letters, which not only reveal the man, but are more important in giving us a just and vivid conception of contemporary Roman history than any formal work that has descended to our hands. English readers have been made familiar with his letters *Ad Diversos* in the translation of

* Cicero in Seinen Briefen.

Melmoth; but as many of these were of a public and political character, they were written in a more guarded manner than those to Atticus, to which Forsyth makes constant reference, and which bring us into intimate contact with Cicero himself, and give us an insight into the very heart and soul of the man, exhibiting his daily feelings, at one time exalted to the highest pinnacle by the greatness of the deliverance he had wrought out for his country, and the honours showered upon him by a grateful senate and a saved nation; at another sick at heart, and disgusted at the ingratitude of a fickle people, an exile from his beloved Rome. At one moment we see him devoted to literature and philosophy, at another engaged in erecting villas and adorning his grounds; now indulging his taste for the fine arts, or strolling by the seashore unable to work; now immersed in politics, and trembling for the fate of his country, or mourning its lost liberty.

While Mr. Forsyth finds but little to blame in the character and career of Cicero, yet he has not been so dazzled by the splendour that surrounds his life as to present us with a mere panegyric. This biography is, upon the whole, fair, and as impartial, perhaps, as we could expect from an Englishman, in whom there would naturally be a bias towards the aristocratic side in the disputes and civil contentions that so long distracted Rome, and upon more than one occasion broke out into open war, until liberty was extinguished and the great Julius became the master of Rome, her *Imperator*, in a new sense of the term.

On a hill rising above the valley of the Liris, and near its junction with the Fibrenus, was situated Arpinum, an ancient city of the Volscians. The remains of the ancient walls, still extant, show it to have been, in early times, a city of no little importance. More than 300 B. C. it fell into the hands of the Romans, but did not obtain the franchise until 188 B. C., the year in which Rome ratified the peace with Antiochus. Although a considerable town, it owes its celebrity to the fact that it gave birth to two of the most illustrious men of Rome, each of them the saviour of his country, the one by repelling barbarian invasion from her borders, the other by crushing a conspiracy in her capital; the one, Marius, the rude soldier,

seven times consul, the other, Cicero, the polished scholar, Rome's most eloquent orator. Not far from Arpinum the little river Fibrenus bursts forth suddenly from the ground and sends its clear cold water in a deep and rapid stream into the Liris. Just before its junction with the latter river, and less than three miles from Arpinum, it forms an island, now S. Domenico, the beauty of which is still attested by the presence of a convent upon it. Upon this island stood the paternal villa where Cicero was born. His father subsequently enlarged it, and being in feeble health passed most of his life here in the pursuit of literature. In after years Atticus wondered that Cicero, when absent from Rome, could be contented elsewhere than in this villa so delightfully situated and so handsomely arranged. (*De Legibus*, II. 1, 2, 3.)

Marcus Tullius Cicero was born on the 3d day of January, A. U. 647, B. C. 106,* Coss. C. Atilius Serranus and Q. Servilius Cæpio, the same year in which Cn. Pompeius was born, and in which Marius ended the Jugurthine war. His parents were of equestrian rank, and therefore possessed of considerable fortune;† but no member of the family had ever filled any curule office. His family was thus plebeian, although some wished to trace the Tullian gens back to Tullius Attius, a Volscian king. But the family name Tullius was probably derived from the situation of the residence, (*Tullius*—"fountain" or "stream"), and the surname Cicero from some ancestor who had excelled in the cultivation of the *cicer*, while Marcus was the name always given to the oldest son of the family. His grandfather was of the stern old Roman type, and his father was a friend of the principal personages at Rome. His mother, Helvia, is never mentioned by Cicero. We only know that she was of good family, wealthy, and an excellent housewife. His grandfather used to say that his countrymen were like Syrian slaves, the better they knew Greek the worse they were; but his father, who was a man of literary culture, did not share this prejudice, which, a few years later, so completely

* October, B. C. 107, according to the calendar as reformed by Julius Cæsar, B. C. 46.

† In the reign of Augustus, the Census of the Equites was fixed at 400,000 sesterces, (about $16,300.)

disappeared at Rome, that even Cato, the Censor, began the study of Greek in his old days. The talents and the attainments of young Cicero were such, according to Plutarch, as to excite the admiration of the parents of some of his fellow-students, and the envy of others. His father removed to Rome that his sons, Marcus and Quintus, who was four years younger, might enjoy the advantages of education which the capital afforded. With their cousins, the sons of C. Aculeo, they attended the lectures of the Greek professors whom Crassus, the orator, recommended and had employed for his own instruction.

Among the instructors of Cicero was the poet Archias, in whose defence he subsequently delivered one of his finest orations. Through his influence he began to write poetry. He wrote with great facility and some nerve, but lacked the divine afflatus. The effect of his study of Greek, that greatest instrument of education the world has ever contained, is manifest throughout his whole career as an orator and a writer. Besides his intercourse with his teachers, although only a boy, he associated much with Crassus and Antonius, the grandfather of the triumvir, who then shared the palm of eloquence at Rome.

At the customary age of sixteen Cicero assumed the toga pura, or virilis, before the Prætor in the Forum, and having passed along the Sacra Via to the Capitol, and there offered a sacrifice to Jupiter, he was henceforth permitted to enter upon the business and struggle of life. The coloured border had now disappeared from his robe, and could not re-appear until success crowned his efforts for magisterial rank and honour. Cicero now devoted himself most assiduously to the study of law under Quintus Mucius Scævola, the augur, the most distinguished lawyer of his day, and after his death with his cousin, the Pontifex Maximus, who bore the same name, and whom Cicero calls the most eloquent of lawyers, and the most learned of orators. The Roman lawyer was accustomed to give his advice gratuitously to all who would consult him, either at his own home, or during his walks in the Forum. These *responsa prudentum*, made to the suitors, were treasured up by the students for their own guidance. Popularity and influence were gained by the gratuitous defence of persons accused, or by the prosecution of magistrates guilty of mal-

feasance in office. Cicero declares that he scarcely ever quitted the side of the elder Scævola. He attended diligently in all the courts, and in the Forum, that he might hear the most eloquent orators, and by constant practice in private, both in composition and declamation, prepare himself for his future career. No branch of study was neglected. We know from his *De Oratore* (I. 6,) how exalted was his conception of the office, and of what should be the attainments of the orator: Ac mea quidem sententia nemo poterit esse omni laude cumulatus orator, nisi erit omnium rerum magnarum atque artium scientiam consecutus. Professio ipsa bene dicendi hoc suscipere ac polliceri videtur ut omni de re, quæcumque sit proposita, ornate ab eo copioseque dicatur.

A knowledge of the art of war was an indispensable part of a liberal Roman education. As this could be acquired only in the field, Cicero, now in his nineteenth year, embraced the opportunity of the Social or Italic war to serve his only campaign under Cn. Pompeius Strabo, the father of Pompey the Great.

During the stormy period that now succeeded under Marius and Cinna, he devoted himself to philosophy with Philo the Athenian, *princeps academiæ*, who had fled to Rome; to rhetoric with Molo the Rhodian, an excellent advocate and teacher; to dialectics with Diodotus, the Stoic. "Noctes et dies," he says, "in omnium doctrinarum meditatione versabar." (*Brutus*, c. 90.) All the great orators of Rome had either been most cruelly slain, or were absent from Rome. Crassus had died, and Antonius, whose eloquence was such that the soldiers sent to slay him could not obey their commander, had been slain by the officer himself. Cicero prepared himself to take their vacant places by constantly declaiming, and oftener in Greek than in Latin, to enrich his style, and to enjoy the criticism of his Greek teachers, and also by listening to those who spoke in the Forum. About this time he produced his earliest prose work, which was probably his *De Inventione*. His leisure was devoted to the society of the most cultivated ladies of Rome, the purity and delicacy of whose Latin refined his taste, and are doubtless reflected in his own admirable style.

With the restoration of quiet to the republic many of the

banished orators returned, and he now began to plead both public and private causes in the Forum, whither he came most thoroughly prepared, at the age of twenty-four. The first of his extant speeches is that for Publius Quintius, delivered when he was twenty-five years old, and in which he was opposed by Hortensius, who was even then at the head of the bar in Rome, (*primas in caussis agebat.*) Like Demosthenes, his first appearance in a public or criminal trial was in the twenty-seventh year of his age. This was in defence of Sextus Roscius, of Ameria, who was accused of parricide, and who was prosecuted, not only by his own relatives, but by Chrysogonus, a favourite and freedman of Sylla, then at the heighth of his power. The courage manifested in this trial, and his boldness, not only in attacking Chrysogonus, but in criticising even the acts of the dictator himself, produced the most favourable impression as to his talents and character. This was the crisis of his career. Successful in this effort, his business, he informs us, greatly increased, and no cause was considered too great to be entrusted to him, *non digna nostro patrocinio.*

At this time Cicero says of himself, (*Brutus* xci.) that he was lean and weak, with a long, thin neck, and in consequence of weak lungs was unable to continue his arduous labours. His impassioned style of speaking, with the most vehement gestures, and his voice pitched to its utmost, undermined his health; and by the advice of friends and physicians, after a career of only two years, in which, however, he had gained the highest reputation, he left Rome and set out for Asia, both for the benefit of his health and the improvement, or rather the complete change of his style of speaking. He proceeded first to Athens, where he spent six months, exercising himself most diligently in rhetoric and renewing his favourite study of philosophy, which however he had never entirely remitted. He frequented the Old Academy under Antiochus, and through the influence of his life-long friend, T. Pomponius, subsequently surnamed Atticus, from his love of Athens and the Athenians, he also attended the lectures of Zeno and Phædrus, disciples of Epicurus. At this time he was probably initiated into the Eleusinian mysteries, from which he gained new and higher views both of life and of religion (*De Legg.* ii. 14; *Tusc.*

Quæst. i. 13). He traversed Asia Minor in company with the most distinguished orators, engaging with them in the constant practice of rhetoric. (*Brutus* xci. 315, 316.) At Rhodes his old teacher, Molo, again gave him instruction, endeavouring particularly to correct his redundant and exaggerated style of speaking. Thus, after an absence of two years he returned to Rome with health completely restored, not only a more practised, but an almost changed orator (*non modo exercitatior, sed prope mutatus*). Not even Demosthenes was more assiduous or more successful in his oratorical culture than Cicero. His travels, his studies, and above all, his Greek culture at Athens, prepared him to resume his old position at the bar, where Cotta and Hortensius now reigned supreme. While he was absent from Rome, Sylla, whose cruelty was only equalled by the greatness of his deeds, had abdicated his power and died; Pompey had already won the title of Great, and forced the honour of a triumph from an unwilling Senate and a reluctant Dictator, while the youthful Cæsar had gained a civic crown, the simple but most illustrious reward of military valour.

Cicero resumed his duties of advocate; but his oratorical efforts were only preparatory to his political career, upon which he now entered. Eloquence was a passport to political preferment in Rome, although corruption had already sapped the ancient public virtue, and gold was a potent influence in the Roman canvass, which was reduced to as complete a system as among ourselves. The Quæstorship was the first office to which the Roman statesman aspired, as this gave entrance to the Senate, and was the stepping-stone to the higher offices. To this office Cicero was elected in the thirty-first year of his age, the earliest period at which he was eligible according to Roman law. It is a remarkable coincidence that this same year, B. C. 76, witnessed the elevation to office of the three most eloquent orators of their time—Cicero to the quæstorship, Hortensius to the ædileship, and Cotta to the consulship. About this time Cicero married Terentia, a lady, probably of noble birth and of considerable fortune, and his daughter, Tullia, to whom he was so tenderly attached, was born in Aug. B. C. 76. Sicily was called the granary of Rome, and the lot assigned to Cicero the province of Lilybæum in this

island, whither he repaired the next year, B. C. 75. He devoted himself most assiduously to his duties, and although it was a period of scarcity at Rome, he managed to supply the city without oppressing the Sicilians. His integrity and humanity were such as to win the love and gratitude of the people, who decreed him extraordinary honours at his departure. An incident of his life here, was his discovery of the tomb of Archimedes near the city of Syracuse. He still cultivated oratory in his intervals of leisure, and returned to Rome with his powers, according to his own estimate (*Brutus* xcii., 318), perfectly matured. His vanity was much chagrined by finding that the fame of his excellent administration had not reached Rome. He tells a good story against himself; that landing at Puteoli, he met a friend who inquired when he had left Rome, and what the news was there. "I have just come from my province," Cicero answered. "From Africa, I believe," said the other. "No; from Sicily," replied Cicero with some anger. A by-stander who wished to appear well-informed, turned and said, "What! do you not know that this gentleman has been quæstor at Syracuse?" when his province had been that of Lilybæum. He laid aside his anger, and says that this incident was of as much benefit to him as if all had congratulated him. Perceiving that the Romans had dull ears, but sharp eyes, he henceforth kept himself ever before the people, stuck close to the Forum (*pressi forum*), and allowed neither his janitor nor sleep to deny approach to him. (*Or. pro Plancio*, 26, 27.) Although constantly engaged in pleading during the next four or five years, not a single speech or fragment remains. The same year in which Pompey and Crassus became consuls, the former being exempted by the Senate from the usual legal requirements of age and previous office, Cicero became a candidate for the office of Curule Ædile, to which he was unanimously elected. Before entering upon his duties he undertook the celebrated prosecution of Verres, who, as prætor of Sicily, had been guilty of oppression, rapacity, and tyranny so flagrant as to be without a parallel even in that age of corruption, when the spoils of a province were looked forward to, to defray the expenses of elections at home and the extravagance of life at Rome. Appeal to Rome was usually

vain, for the tribunals were corrupted by the proceeds of the very oppression against which appeal was made. The Sicilians besought Cicero to come forward in their behalf, and he willingly consented. As a trial could not be avoided, Verres and his friends were anxious that some one should be employed as prosecutor who would betray the cause. Q. Cæcilius Niger, the quæstor of Verres in Sicily, claimed the right to prosecute; but Cicero, in his speech, *In Cæcilium*, or *De Divinatione*, (so called because the decision was rendered on argument without evidence, as if by *divination*,) noted for its keen wit and biting sarcasm, successfully vindicated his claim. One hundred and ten days were allowed him to collect the evidence, and to prepare for the trial. Within fifty days he had gone over Sicily, and accumulated an overwhelming mass of evidence, gathered from all the principal cities, save Messana, which still favoured Verres. With these documents, and a large body of witnesses who accompanied him, he was ready for the trial, which Verres and his party sought to postpone until the next year, when Hortensius and Metellus would be consuls, and another Metellus prætor, all his personal and political friends, through whose influence and that of his wealth he hoped to escape. Sufficient time was not left for the ordinary slow mode of trial, and Cicero, therefore, reversed the usual course of procedure, and abandoning all his carefully prepared speeches, except the *Interrogatio Testium*, presented at once his witnesses and his evidence. Before an august tribunal of Roman Senators, assembled in the Temple of Castor and Pollux, and presided over by Glabrio, the city Prætor, the criminal was arrayed, while the Forum, the declivities of the neighbouring hills, and even the housetops, were filled with countless multitudes, many of whom were personally interested in the trial, and had flocked to Rome "to behold a criminal who had scourged and crucified Roman citizens, who had respected neither local nor national shrines, and who boasted that wealth would even yet rescue the murderer, the violator, and the temple-robber, from the hand of man, and from the Nemesis of the gods."

But nothing could save him, neither the eloquence of Hortensius, nor the interests of friends availed, and Verres was condemned to banishment and the payment of a fine of nearly

two hundred thousand dollars. The trial continued for nine days, but Verres left Rome before it was finished. This was a great triumph for Cicero, when we remember how corrupt the courts had become.

Cicero subsequently published the five orations against Verres which he had not delivered, and which are scarcely surpassed by the fierce invective of the Catilinarian orations or the terrible attacks of his Philippics. He now entered upon his duties as Ædile, B. C. 69, and discharged them in such a manner as to gratify the people who were extremely fond of public shows and games, and yet not to involve himself in debt, as was so frequently the case at this period. Having been Ædile, he was henceforth enrolled among the nobles and became possessed of large property. The sources of his wealth are uncertain; but Forsyth thinks they were chiefly two, presents from foreign states of which he was the patron, and legacies from friends.* About this time he probably acquired his villa at Tusculum, to which many others were subsequently added, and to the adornment of which he devoted much of his time and his money. He was always careful to put a soul, *i. e.*, a library, into his house. He still continued his profession of advocate, and after the usual interval of three years he was unanimously elected Prætor Urbanus, B. C. 67, at the age of 40, and entered upon his duties the next year. Owing to the disturbed condition of affairs consequent upon the passage of the Gabinian law, giving Pompey the command of the war against the pirates, of that of Otho assigning separate seats in the theatre to the knights, and of the Calpurnian law against bribery in elections, the comitia were held no less than three times before a valid election occurred; but Cicero was each time unanimously chosen City Prætor. The lot assigned to him criminal jurisdiction, and he gained both the reputation of integrity and popularity with the people by his judicial decisions.

Pompey was now at the height of his fame, and he fairly dazzled the people, of whose party he was an acknowledged leader, by the brilliancy of his exploits. Other men had sown the seed, and he had reaped the benefit. Thrice had fortune

* Philipp. ii. 40. He states with pride that he had received from legacies more than 20,000,000 of sesterces, or upwards of $800,000.

rather than merit given Pompey the honour of a triumph; and again was he to enter into the labours of another. Lucullus, one of the ablest and most humane of Roman commanders, had waged war against Mithridates for seven years, and just as he was upon the point of complete success his army mutinied and his government failed to support him. The tribune Manilius proposed a law to supersede him, and to confer upon Pompey the supreme command. The Senate opposed in vain, for the people favoured it, and Cæsar from various motives, and even Cicero supported it. The latter was now in full view of the consulship, the highest object of his ambition, and his eloquence was the power by which he hoped to attain it. His speech in favour of the Manilian law was the first he delivered from the Rostra, and is one of the best specimens of his eloquence. The portrait he here paints of Pompey as a general and as a man, naturally suggests a suspicion of his motives, but he solemnly protests that he was actuated only by the highest patriotism.

Pompey received the command with pretended aversion, and proceeded against the already conquered Mithridates, who sued for peace, but was repulsed, and after a series of misfortunes at length perished by his own command at the hands of an attendant. It is said that when Pompey and Lucullus met, the bays that wreathed the fasces of the former were dry and withered, while those of the latter were green and flourishing. The lictors of the one offered fresh leaves to those of the other; a sign that Pompey should gather the rewards of the victories Lucullus had won. But this mention of Pompey and the Manilian law has led us away from our subject. At the end of his prætorship instead of taking a provincial government, as was customary, Cicero remained at home, and devoted the two years that must necessarily intervene between the office of prætor and that of consul, to his canvass for that exalted position. The chief families of Rome reserved the consulship and the censorship for themselves, and looked with contempt upon the efforts of a "novus homo" to obtain so eminent a position. He made use of every honourable means, but especially of his eloquence in the forum and of his abilities as an advocate, to gain the suffrages of the people. There were six other candidates,

among whom was Catiline, if he could escape from a criminal prosecution for pecuniary corruption in his provincial government in Africa, then impending over him. Strange to say, Cicero was willing to defend him in this, or in some other trial, and even to coalesce with him in the canvass! This is a matter difficult to explain, and even his warmest admirers have to admit a want of consistency in his conduct, unless indeed, as he intimates in his speech for Cælius, he was deceived in the character of the man. "Political necessity," however, may be the best explanation. Just previous to the election such was the course of some of his opponents that he delivered a most bitter invective *in Togâ candidâ* against Catiline and Antonius, who were supported by Cæsar and Crassus among others. Bribery and corruption at Rome were unblushing in that day, and society was on the verge of destruction, government ready to totter into anarchy. There had been intimations of a conspiracy to overthrow the state, and whispers had connected with it even the names of Cæsar and of Crassus, but there was no evidence to sustain the charge. The leaders of the oligarchy or senatorial party foresaw the coming storm and determined to profit by its occurrence. They hated Cicero, and yet saw that he was the favourite of the people, and could alone save the state. They hoped to use him as their instrument, and to employ his abilities, his eloquence, and his patriotism, not simply for the good of the state, but to carry out the objects of their party. Both parties, therefore, joined to promote his election, and he was elevated to the consulship, B. C. 64, not merely by ballot, but by loud shouts, not simply by a majority, but as it were by the voice of all orders and of the whole Roman people.

He had now reached the summit of his ambition, the first new man who had been elected Consul of Rome in a generation, and in the first year that he was eligible. He entered upon the duties of his office January 1, B. C. 63. His inaugural speech announced his course of action. He declared that he should seek no province, no honour, other than the gratitude and esteem of his countrymen, and the consciousness of having well served the state. His course in office, however,

was such as to favour the senatorial party, even when preserving the state.

About thirty years before the birth of Cicero, Tiberius Graechus, a young Roman, of warm heart and ardent imagination, of high edueation, and a genuine lover of the people, was upon a journey from Rome to Spain. He passed through cities once renowned, but now degenerated, through a fertile country once teeming with population, but now cultivated only by the slaves of a few lordly proprietors. The land that had once been distributed among a nation, had by right of conquest become the property of the state, and save the portions assigned to the colonies, had been consigned to the wealthiest and most powerful families at a merely nominal rent. These estates deseended by inheritance, and the nobles looked upon them not as belonging to the state, but as their own private possessions. The absence of the owners, the cultivation of the soil by slaves, the change from agrieulture to pasture, the diminution of population in the eountry, the crowding into cities, the degradation of the people, and all the evils attendant upon the system, forced themselves upon the mind of the traveller. He found this state of things existing throughout Italy, and without eonsidering other reasons, thought that the mode of tenure of the public lands was the sole cause, and that the destruction of this monopoly would remedy all these evils. It was thus that Tiberius Gracchus conceived, or rather revived the idea of an Agrarian Law, that should destroy the usurpation of the nobles, and divide the public domain amongst the people; but even this was not to be done without eompensation to the actual possessors of the land. The Lex Sempronia cost its author his life, and every effort to remove pauperism from Rome by an Agrarian law, which was but a simple act of justice, met with the most determined opposition upon the part of the nobles, and usually led to scenes of violence. Rullus, a tribune, proposed such a law at the beginning of Cicero's consulship. Cicero was placed in a peculiar position. He had hitherto depended upon the people, and now he was called upon to oppose a measure apparently designed for their benefit. Fragments only of his speech in the senate against it remain, but his two speeches to the people are still extant, the

first of which Niebuhr pronounces "one of the most brilliant achievements of eloquence." He thanked them most cordially for their uniform support of himself, and their elevation of him to the consulship upon his first application, and in a manner unlike that of any whom they could remember. Having thus conciliated them, he proceeded to praise the Gracchi, and to declare himself in favour of the principle of an Agrarian Law, but objected to the details of the one under consideration. After his second speech the bill was withdrawn, most probably through the influence of Cæsar, who had employed Rullus, his partisan, to thus undermine the popularity of Cicero. His popularity suffered again by his opposition to the effort to restore their political rights to the descendants of those who had been proscribed by Sylla. His eloquence caused expediency to prevail over justice. His next triumph was in an extempore speech for that Otho who was the author of the law assigning separate seats in the theatre to the knights. Other speeches of this period we need not notice.

We now approach the most important event, not only of Cicero's consulship, but one which had no slight effect in shaping the destiny of the Republic. We allude, of course, to the conspiracy of Catiline. In reference to this matter but one opinion prevailed in ancient times; and after making every deduction for the rhetorical exaggeration of Cicero, the character of Catiline remains the blackest of the Romans who preceded the Empire; and no effort of modern times can remove the stains. The portrait, both of the person and of the character of the great conspirator, drawn by Sallust, who was an enemy of Cicero, can be effaced from the memory of none who has perused his immortal work. To him, therefore, and not to Cicero, would we appeal for testimony as to the man and the period.

In the middle of the sketch of his vices, his companions, his influence over them, and the purposes for which he employed them, occurs that memorable description: "Namque animus impurus, dis hominibusque infestus, neque vigiliis, neque quietibus sedari poterat; ita conscientia mentem excitam vastabat. Igitur colos exsanguis, fœdi oculi, citus modo, modo tardus

incessus; prorsus in facie vultuque vecordia inerat."* His courage and his abilities were not even surpassed by his vices; and Cicero says of him, "Neque ego unquam fuisse tale monstrum in terris ullum puto, tam ex contrariis diversisque inter se pugnantibus naturæ studiis cupiditatibusque conflatum."† Niebuhr says, "He was so completely diabolical that I know no one in history that can be compared with him." His conspiracy to slay the consuls as they entered upon office, Jan. 1, 65, B. C. had failed. Defeated once, he was now a second time a candidate for the consulship, and it was expected that a second repulse would drive him into another conspiracy. His measures were carefully but secretly prepared both within and without the city. Cicero succeeded in gaining a complete knowledge of all the designs of Catiline and his accomplices. His own life was in danger, and the Senate secretly conferred upon the consuls dictatorial power, while Cicero held the election, clothed in armour and surrounded by an armed guard. Again was Catiline rejected; and maddened by his defeat he assembled his accomplices and resolved upon immediate action. The two assassins sent to murder Cicero in the early dawn of Nov. 7th, 63 B. C. (really Jan. 11th, 62 B. C.) were refused admittance because he had been forwarned by Fulvia; and he summoned the Senate to meet in the temple of Jupiter Stator on the next day. Catiline also had the audacity to appear; but none addresssed him, every senator shunned his approach. This was the occasion of Cicero's terrible invective, the First Oration against Catiline. The attempt of the latter to reply was drowned amid the general execration and cries of "Traitor!" and "Parricide." Then becoming furious, and threatening "to extinguish in the common ruin the conflagration that threatened him," he rushed forth from the Senate. Leaving to the conspirators still within the walls the execution of the designs in the city, he betook himself by night to the camp of Manlius in Etruria, who had assembled an army of no less than twenty thousand awaiting the orders of Catiline.

Cicero's Second Oration against Catiline was delivered to the people in the Forum on the morning of Nov. 9th, in which

* Sall. Catilina, xv. † Or. pro Cælio, 12.

he rejoiced at the flight of Catiline, and expressed the wish that all his partisans would follow him, assuring them of every facility for their escape. Catiline and Manlius were declared public enemies by the Senate, and to the Consul Antonius, whom Cicero had won over to the cause of his country, was given the command of the army, while to Cicero was committed the care of the city. Through Volturcius, one of the conspirators, and the ambassadors of the Allobroges, who were vainly seeking for justice at the hands of the Senate, Cicero obtained legal proofs of the guilt of Lentulus, Cethegus, and others. Confronted with the evidence, they acknowledged their guilt, and were committed to the custody of some of the most distinguished senators, amongst whom were Cæsar and Crassus, against whom there were suspicions of complicity in the conspiracy, but without any just foundations, according to the declaration of Cicero himself. From the Temple of Concord in which the Senate met, he proceeded to the Rostra, but a few feet distant, and delivered the Third Oration against Catiline, in which he set forth the evidence against the prisoners, and attributed his success to the guidance of the gods, and especially of Jupiter Maximus, whose statue had been placed in the Capitol on that very day. For himself who had, indeed, saved (*servavi*) the city, he asked from the people "no reward of virtue, no mark of honour, no monument of praise, save the everlasting memory of that day." "In your memory, Romans, shall our actions be cherished, through your conversation shall they increase, in the monuments of literature shall they become fixed and strengthened: and I feel that the same day, which I hope will be everlasting, is consecrated both to the safety of the city and the recollection of my consulship." With a request for protection against his enemies, an exhortation to piety and vigilance upon their part, and a promise of watchfulness upon his, he dismissed them. The people perceiving the dangers they had escaped, and appreciating the patriotism and labours of Cicero, exalted him to the height of popularity;* while the Senate decreed a thanksgiving for his services, an honour never before conferred upon a civilian.

And now came the question of the punishment of the con-

* Ciceronem ad cœlum tollere. Sall. Cat. 48.

spirators. They had been declared public enemies, and in the view of the Senatorial party, the Consuls having been invested with dictatorial powers, could immediately put them to death. But Cicero, knowing the popular feeling, especially as manifested in the recent condemnation of Rabirius, simply for constructive participation in the death of Satiominus, referred the matter directly to the Senate. That body assembled in the Temple of Concord December 5, 63 B. C., (February 7, 62 B. C.,) to deliberate upon the question. Silanus, the Consul elect, gave his opinion in favour of death, as did all who had been Consuls; but Cæsar pronounced in favour of perpetual imprisonment, with confiscation. His speech produced a great impression, and would probably have decided the Senate to pursue the milder course, but for two speeches that followed. The one was Cicero's Fourth Oration against Catiline, the other that of Cato, one of the purest men, and most incorruptible statesmen of Rome, and at the same time one of the most zealous partisans of the Senate, and utterly impracticable. Cicero set forth the importance of their decision to the safety of the Commonwealth, and intimated the danger to himself of the severest course, and by declaring his willingness to obey whatever might be their decree, showed that he was not "disinclined to the capital sentence." The speech of Cato in favour of the sentence of death sealed the fate of the criminals, and the Senate passed the decree in his very words, condemning Lentulus, Cethegus, Gabinius, and Statilius, and Cæparius to death. Cicero immediately conveyed the prisoners to that most horrible prison, the *Tullianum*, where Jugurtha perished, and where tradition says St. Peter was afterwards confined, and delivered them to the executioners. When all was over, Cicero, to the thronging, awe-struck people in the Forum below, announced their fate in the single terrible word, "*Vixerunt!*" For his patriotism Cato hailed him "Father of his country," and the shouts of the people who accompanied him home through the illuminated streets confirmed the title.

Catiline, deserted by all his troops save four thousand, and unable to escape into Gaul, soon after perished in battle, fighting bravely; and his head was sent as a trophy to Rome. The suppression of the conspiracy was the greatest deed of Cicero's

life; the evening of the day upon which the conspirators were executed he ever considered the proudest moment of his life. And yet to this day may be traced all his subsequent misfortunes. Immersed as he was in public affairs, he still found time for the duties of an advocate. At this very time, in connection with Hortensius and Crassus, he defended Murena, the Consul elect, against the charge of bribery. Cato was the prosecutor, and Cicero, by his amusing representation of Cato's stoical philosophy, and particularly by showing the danger of having only one Consul, secured the acquittal of Murena, Cato only remarking, "What a witty Consul we have." The end of his Consulship was now approaching, and he was prepared, as was the custom, to give an account of it to the people from the Rostra. But he was doomed to disappointment. The leaders of the popular party and the friends of Catiline were now active against him, while the leaders of the Senatorial party, who never loved him, and were jealous of his public services, were prepared to sacrifice him.

Great and undoubted as was the guilt of the conspirators, it had not been judicially determined, and their instant capital punishment was wrong; "it was worse than a crime—it was a blunder." Roman law did not give to the Senate the power of inflicting the penalty of death, but expressly forbade any citizen to be put to death, except by a vote of the tribes; and by voluntary exile the criminal could escape even this tribunal. Cicero had been the instrument of the Senate, and when he came to lay down his office on the 31st of December, Metellus Nepos, one of the Tribunes, forbade him to speak, an insult never offered to a magistrate before, and he could only swear aloud, "I alone have saved the Republic," while Senators, Knights, and people spontaneously echoed the cry, "You have spoken true." Thus ended Cicero's extraordinary official career, and from the view we have taken of it, we can well understand that a man, such as Cicero, might well feel elated in contemplating it. His vanity was great, and yet in view of its occasion it was pardonable. But there were those who could not endure his constant declaration that he was "the Saviour of Rome, the Father of his country." The blow, however, which was to afflict him so severely, came from an unexpected source.

Cæsar, the shrewdest politician in Rome, had been elected Pontifex Maximus over Catulus, the wisest and best leader of the Senatorial party, and had also secured his election as Prætor. The mysteries of the Bona Dea were celebrated at his house. Only women were allowed to be present, but Clodius, one of the most corrupt of the young nobles, was discovered present in disguise. Cæsar divorced his wife because "Cæsar's wife must be above suspicion." When Clodius was brought to trial the next year he attempted to prove an alibi. Cicero, however, testified that Clodius had been at his house on that very day, and thus incurred his undying hatred. Pompey had treated Cicero coolly, because in a letter to himself he had compared his efforts to suppress the Catilinarian conspiracy with the former's Eastern conquest. He had taken Jerusalem while Cicero was Consul, and from the time he entered the Holy of Holies, victory is said never to have rested upon his arms. He had now returned to Rome, and after some resistance upon the part of the Senate, had been granted a triumph which had been most magnificently celebrated. Being asked in the Senate what he thought of the sacrilege of Clodius and the bill to select judges for his trial, he delivered a non-committal speech, praising the Senate, &c. Crassus then took occasion to deliver a panegyric upon Cicero, lauding him to the skies, and this gave Cicero an opportunity to deliver the great speech he had prepared for the close of his Consulship. His account of the speech, and of its enthusiastic reception, given in a letter to Atticus, (I. 14,) is very entertaining. Cicero had always endeavoured to unite the equestrian and the senatorial orders, but there was constant danger of rupture. Clodius was acquitted through the grossest corruption of the judges, many of whom were Knights, and when the Senate wished to investigate the matter, he sided with the Knights in resisting the proposal, although he thought them in the wrong. So also he supported them in their demand to be released from a losing contract in reference to the revenues of Asia Minor. This separation of the orders was injurious to him, and he thought detrimental to the State also. Cicero, therefore, saw the necessity of attaching himself to some power-

ful friend to secure his personal safety, and to preserve the authority of the state unimpaired. He selected Pompey. Forsyth says "that Cicero always mistrusted Pompey, and Pompey disliked Cicero." Each was desirous, however, of using the other to accomplish his purposes; and to all public appearance they were on the most intimate terms, each one flattering the other; Pompey at one time declaring that his achievements would have been in vain had Cicero not saved the city for him to triumph in, while Cicero declared there was only one statesman left, meaning Pompey. But it was impossible for the Senate and Pompey to work harmoniously together. He demanded a complete ratification of all his acts in the East, and it was refused. Through Flavius, the tribune, he proposed an Agrarian Law for the benefit of his veterans, and although supported by Cicero in a modified form, it was rejected. Thus Pompey thought again of the people, but Cæsar had supplanted him. Crassus, who hated Pompey, had furnished Cæsar with a million of dollars to relieve his most pressing necessities, and he had commenced his military career in Spain. He now (B. C. 60) returned to Rome to claim a triumph, and to stand for the Consulship. To obtain the latter, he must enter the city; to secure the former, he must remain without; and as the Senate would not relax the law in his favour, he sacrificed the triumph to the Consulship, although in Bibulus he received a most factious colleague.

At this time was formed the First Triumvirate, supported by "the military glory of Pompey, the wealth of Crassus, and the popularity of Cæsar," each member of which thought he would ultimately obtain the supreme power. How now was Cicero, who was always a true patriot, although sometimes mistaken as to the best course, how was he to act? The Triumvirate desired and sought his support, and united with them, to use his own language, he could expect "reconciliation with his enemies, peace with the multitude, and repose for his old age." "But, then," as Forsyth says, "what would become of his political principles? Was he to abandon the cause of the Republic, and the course he had followed from his youth, to make himself an instrument in the hands of others, and surrender his free will to theirs? * * He held aloof,

determined to temporize, and not to commit himself to an alliance, which, it was his firm conviction, threatened ruin to the Republic. He did not, however, wish to break altogether with three such powerful men, whose hostility he would have to encounter almost alone, for he could count on no effective support in his own, that is, the conservative party. This gave his conduct the appearance of vacillation; but it may well be doubted whether he could at this juncture have acted more wisely than he did."

As we have already stated, corruption, bribery, and immorality everywhere prevailed; and nought could have saved the Republic. Cicero fondly dreamed that it might be preserved. "Blinded by his attachment to ancient forms—an ardent lover of temperate liberty—conservative in all his views—he could not bring himself to believe that the old constitution was worn out, and that, while the form remained, the spirit and the life were gone. Those who move with the tide are hardly conscious of the rate at which the tide is flowing, and come upon the rocks before they are aware." Forsyth cannot, as does De Quincey, give Cæsar credit for patriotic motives in overthrowing the Republic, but in a single paragraph, which we cannot refrain from quoting, he does justice to his truly great talents. "That he was one of the greatest of soldiers—and all but one of the greatest of orators—a consummate statesman—a wise ruler when he had attained the summit of his power—magnanimous and humane towards his enemies when he could afford to despise them, though pitilessly cruel when he had an object to gain,—all this we may freely admit; but it ought not to alter our opinion as to his nefarious plot against the constitution and liberties of Rome, nor blind our eyes to the fact that he was unscrupulously and selfishly ambitious." And here is the companion portrait of his great rival. "Pompey was weak and vainglorious; utterly unfit to stand against his giant competitor, or confront the dangers which overwhelmed the sinking state. No man could do this who was not gifted by nature with a genius for military command,—for the sword must ultimately decide the struggle,—and in the hour of trial it was found that, whatever reputation he might have gained against the barbarians of Spain—

the half-civilized forces of Mithridates—or the pirate hordes of the Mediterranean,—he was deficient in the great qualities of a soldier, and was as feeble in the conduct of a campaign as he was infirm of purpose in the senate."

Cicero continued to practise his profession of advocate, and in the course of his defence of his former colleague, Antonius, he made some remarks upon public matters, which being misreported to the triumvirs enraged them, and they permitted Clodius, his sworn enemy, to be adopted into a plebeian gens, that he might become a tribune of the people, and thus be in a position to avenge himself on Cicero. He was at this time absent from Rome for some months, passing his time at his different villas; and his letters show his disgust at politics and his profound dissatisfaction at the state of affairs. He declined to be one of the commissioners to carry out Cæsar's agrarian law, or to be an ambassador to Egypt. He was now thinking of beginning his literary career. He says to Atticus, "To these," *i. e.*, literature and philosophy, "I purpose to devote myself; would that I had done so from the first! Now, however, that I know by experience the vanity of those things I once thought so brilliant, I intend to pay court to all the Muses." He had already written an account of his consulship in Greek and sent it to Atticus to be "published" at Athens, and had collected in a volume the orations he had delivered while consul. Cæsar now received his command for five years, in Gaul and Illyricum, and really desirous of saving Cicero, offered him the post of licutenant, which he nominally accepted, but preferred to remain at Rome and fight out his battle with Clodius, who had now been elected one of the tribunes. The triumvirate had become very unpopular, while Cicero had recovered his former popularity and Clodius had sworn to Pompey that he would do him no harm. But this oath he had no intention of keeping. The consuls of the year B. C. 58, were men of the worst character, and Clodius gained their support by promising them select provisional governments. He ingratiated himself with the three orders, and finally proposed to the people the following law: "Be it enacted, that whoever has put to death a Roman citizen uncondemned in due form of trial, shall be interdicted from fire and water."

It was aimed at Cicero, although he was not named. Knowing his danger, and feeling that his only hope was in exciting the sympathy of the people, he clothed himself in mourning and went about the streets appealing to their compassion. The whole equestrian class also put on mourning, and twenty thousand of the noblest young men of Rome changed their dress and accompanied him in the streets. Deputations from distant towns appealed to the consuls for his protection. The Senate resolved to go into mourning, but the consul Gabinus sternly forbade them, and his colleague, Piso, repulsed every appeal. Pompey had retired to his villa Albanum, and instead of protecting or interfering in behalf of Cicero, coolly referred a delegation of the noblest men of Rome to the consuls! His friendship was hypocrisy, and his proposal a mockery. Cicero in his extremity actually cast himself "at Pompey's feet, who did not even ask him to rise, but told him as he lay there that he could do nothing against the will of Cæsar." By the advice of some of his friends he determined to go into voluntary exile, although he afterwards regretted that he had not fought the matter out in the streets of Rome. Cæsar was just outside the walls of Rome, and Clodius assembled the tribes in the Circus Flaminius, that he might attend. In reply to Clodius, he repeated his assertion, that the condemnation of the associates of Catiline was illegal, but advised the people to cast the mantle of oblivion over the past. The very day, however, that Cicero left the city, a bill, untechnical and ungrammatical, interdicted him by name from fire and water. The clause, forbidding any one upon pain of death, to entertain him within four hundred miles of Rome, was utterly disregarded. His last act, before his departure, was to place in the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus a statue of Minerva, an intimation that they needed her wisdom now that his counsel was absent. His friends in tears followed him without the city, and he hoped soon to be recalled. His property was at once confiscated, his house on the Palatine was burnt down before night, and his wife was obliged to take refuge among the Vestal virgins. His villas at Tusculum and Formiæ were subsequently laid waste. After some weeks he reached Brundusium, crossed over into Epirus, and went to Thessalonica, where he spent seven months. His

letters during this period show great weakness and the utmost prostration of mind. They are filled with peevish complaints, and find fault with his best friends who were doing all they could to obtain his recall. His grief was utterly abject, and we could almost wish that the letters that show us his great weakness and utter inability to support misfortune had not been preserved. Terentia, whom he calls "the most faithful and best of wives," displayed much more courage, and did her best to console him; while Atticus showed every quality of true friendship by assisting his almost penniless family, and devoting himself to his interests.

Clodius now ruled Rome by means of the mob. Cæsar was absent from Rome, and Pompey and Crassus could do nothing. Clodius opposed even the measures of Cæsar, and threatened the life of Pompey, so that in self-defence he turned against the worthless demagogue. Although both the consuls, all the tribunes save two, Pompey and Cæsar, the Senate, and all Italy, with nearly all the best citizens, favoured Cicero's return, yet for seven months—from January 1 to August 4, B. C. 57—did Clodius continue to baffle their efforts, while violence reigned in the streets of Rome. Upon the 4th of August, in the Campus Martius, the highest nobles distributing tickets to the immense crowd that assembled, the people recalled Cicero almost by acclamation. On that very day, anticipating his recall, he left Dyrrachium, where he had been for some time, and landed at Brundusium upon the next day, where his daughter Tullia, now a widow, eagerly awaited him, and where the people received him with shouts of joy. The news of his recall soon reached him, and he set out for Rome; but such was his reception *en route* that it took him twenty-four days to reach the city. His return was like a triumph, and his journey a continued ovation. He passed through the chief cities, and from every town and village came forth the magistrates to welcome him, while the peasants left their labours in the fields, and brought their families to see him as he passed. As he drew near to Rome by the Via Appia, the Senate, and, as it seemed, all Rome, met him outside the walls. He entered the city in a gilded chariot, and proceeded along the Sacra Via, through the Forum to the Capitol, amid the

acclamations of the immense multitude, who again hailed him as the Saviour of the Republic, the Father of his country. It was like the return of Demosthenes to Athens, and that glorious procession from the Peiræus to the Acropolis. Cicero says that that one day was equivalent to immortality (*immortalitatis instar fuit*). The next day he addressed the Senate in a most florid speech of thanks, but bitterly attacking the Consuls of the preceding year. Upon the same day he delivered the oration *Ad Quirites*, in the Forum, and the people were again delighted with that voice which had not saluted their ears for nearly eighteen months.

Clodius now stirred up a "Bread riot," and Cicero secured the passage of a law giving to Pompey, for five years, the control of the import of grain, and the price of provisions soon fell. Clodius constantly crossed his path, and at the head of his band of cut-throats, attempted to kill him. It was with difficulty that Cicero obtained some compensation for the destruction of his property, and the restoration of the site of his house on the Palatine Hill, on a portion of which Clodius had erected a temple, and dedicated it to Liberty. He commenced rebuilding his house, but Clodius and his band drove away the workmen; and upon one occasion Cicero, who was obliged to have armed attendants, barely escaped with his life. Paris, during the reign of terror, was not the scene of greater violence than were the streets of Rome at this period; and even Cicero, in his letters, intimates that his party would employ military force to defeat certain bills. Sick of politics, however, he resumed his favourite duties as an advocate, and delivered a number of speeches both in the Forum and in the Senate. His letters show a more favourable opinion of Cæsar, while still adhering to Pompey.

It was at this time that he delivered his admirable speech, *De Provinciis Consularibus*, in which he pronounced Cæsar to be the greatest military genius—save, perhaps, Hannibal—that the world had ever seen, and uttered a magnificent eulogy upon his victorious career. Literature now began to engross more and more of Cicero's attention, and his literary career may be said to have begun in the fifty-second year of his age, when he composed his treatise, *De Oratore*—the same year in

which he delivered the severest of all his speeches, that *In Pisonem*, in which he employs language such as no public body would now tolerate. His popularity as an advocate was now so great that he could scarcely leave Rome, even in the hottest and most unhealthy season of the year. It is sad, however, to see him defending some of the very worst men of Rome, whom he thoroughly detested, simply to please Cæsar and Pompey, and to retain their support. His own political influence had now become a shadow, and he was compelled to seek protection from others at the expense of political consistency, and sometimes, as his letters reveal, with compunctions of conscience. An extract from one of his letters to his brother Quintus, who was one of Cæsar's lieutenants in Gaul, will show how he felt in reference to public affairs and his own position:—"I withdraw myself altogether from politics, and devote myself to literature; but I will confess to you what I had especially wished to conceal from you. I am distracted, my dearest brother—I am distracted to think that we have no longer a Republic, or courts of justice; and that this period of my life, when I ought to have been in a flourishing position, and in the full enjoyment of a Senator's authority, is either tormented by the labours of the Forum, or soothed only by literature at home—to think that all in vain have I followed the advice in my favourite line of Homer—

Αἰὲν ἀριστεύειν καὶ ὑπείροχον ἔμμεναι ἄλλων,—

that my enemies have partly been not opposed, and partly defended by me,—that my inclinations are not free, and I am not even allowed to hate as I like; and that Cæsar has proved to be the only one who loved me as I wished to be loved; or the only one (as others think) who really wished to love me."* Cæsar cultivated his friendship and wrote him frequently. Cicero could not help admiring the greatness of his talents, and being won by the amiability and magnanimity of his character, although still personally attached to Pompey and generally coinciding in his political views. His celebrated letter to Lentulus, the pro-consul of Cilicia, has been styled his "Apology for his political conduct," and shows the motives that influenced him in his change of views and actions in reference to Cæsar, Pom-

* Ep. ad Q. fratriem, iii. 5, 6.

pey, and Crassus, the members of the first Triumvirate. But to this subject we can merely allude. Cæsar never lost an opportunity to win Cicero to his side, and employed him to assist Oppius in superintending the magnificent improvements of the Forum, which he carried on even while absent in Gaul. Cicero foresaw the storm that was now approaching, and looked to Cæsar for refuge. The murder of Clodius, by the slaves of Milo, is but an evidence of the anarchical condition of Rome, which led to the appointment of Pompey as sole consul. Cicero failed utterly in his defence of Milo, and he was banished. Cicero afterwards wrote his admirable speech, *pro Milone*, in reference to which Milo, in bitter irony, remarked, "It is fortunate for me that this is not the speech that was delivered at my trial; for in that case I should not have been eating such capital things as these Marseilles mullets."

Besides his efforts at the bar he was diligently engaged in the education of his son and nephew, and in literary pursuits. It was at this period that he composed his *De Republica* and *De Legibus*. Crassus had been defeated and slain by the Parthians, and only Pompey and Cæsar remained to contend for the supremacy of Rome. Cicero had become an Augur, an office which he had long desired, and was obliged, much against his will, to become pro-consul of Cilicia. Here he was as mild, popular, and successful as in his earlier government of Sicily. His conduct was in striking contrast with that of those who usually governed the provinces in the name of Rome. His administration was not, however, altogether spotless, and he must be admitted to have sacrificed justice to friendship in deciding the claims of Brutus against the people of Salamis in Cyprus and Ariobarzanes, a king of Cappadocia. His conduct here is indefensible; but we must in justice say that no other blot upon his public career can be discovered. He gained considerable military success over some of the mountain tribes in his province, for which he solicited and eventually obtained from the Senate a *supplicatio*, with the hope of a triumph upon his return to Rome. On his journey he heard with unaffected sorrow of the death of his great rival, Hortensius; and upon his return to Italy found all things ripe for a civil war between Pompey and Cæsar.

A change in the constitution of Rome had now become a necessity, the only question was as to the mode of its accomplishment, and each of the great leaders was anxious that it should accrue to his benefit. Cæsar possessed so much confidence in his own abilities and his influence with the people, that he remained absent from Rome for ten years, while Pompey seemed to control affairs, and at length became dictator in all save the name. Cicero met Pompey whom he found not averse to war and confident of his ability to crush Cæsar, for whom he professed great contempt. Cicero advised that Cæsar should be allowed to stand for the consulship while retaining his military command. This was not conceded; nor was Cæsar's proposal that he and Pompey should both lay down their commands. The Senate with Pompey prepared for war, and Cicero, although heavily in debt to Cæsar, sided with them. Cæsar was outlawed, and he no longer had a choice. The die was cast; the Rubicon was passed; and in less than three months he was master of Italy and of Rome. Cicero was patriotic and disinterested in his motives in siding with Pompey. His letters at this period reveal Pompey's incompetency for the crisis, and his utter inability to cope with Cæsar; while they show that he thought their cause utterly hopeless. "We are vanquished, crushed, captured," he wrote, even before Italy was abandoned in ignominious flight. Cicero, still attended by his lictors, was dreaming of a triumph, the honour of which he could not yet decide to forego when his country was in the throes of dissolution. This personal vanity leading to indecision, was the great weakness of his character. He could not decide what course to pursue. Brought into immediate contact with his former idol, he discovered that he was neither a great statesman, nor a great general. He was flying before Cæsar, and proposed to leave his country only to cut off its supplies or to return and ravage it with fire and sword. Convinced that he was mistaken in Pompey, and that his cause was no longer that of the constitution, Cicero still clung to him from a feeling of gratitude and not of patriotism. The characters of the two leaders now stood out in strong contrast, and Cicero being judge, the decision is decidedly in favour of Cæsar. Yet the letters of Cæsar, and even a personal interview at Formiæ, could

not induce Cicero to go to Rome. He ought at least to have remained neutral. No adequate picture, however, of the state of his mind and its alternations for months, can be presented. At length, against the remonstrances of his family and many of his personal friends, he left Italy to join Pompey in Greece. Here he criticised matters so severely that his views did not meet with much favour. The keen sarcasm of which he was so consummate a master, and of which he was by no means sparing, gave great offence; and even Pompey exclaimed, "I wish Cicero would go over to Cæsar, in order to become afraid of us."

There are considerable breaks in his letters about this period. Pompey's victory at Dyrrachium was followed by his overwhelming defeat at Pharsalia, at which Cicero was not present. He soon afterwards crossed over to Brundusium, thus separating himself from Pompey's adherents. He shortly heard of the assassination of Pompey, and mourned his death as that of an "upright, pure, and earnest man," but with a warmth greatly cooled by the knowledge of Pompey's plans of confiscation and revenge had he been victorious in the great struggle. Cicero had lent large sums of money to Pompey, and he was now greatly embarrassed. His daughter Tullia was unfortunate in her second marriage, and his brother Quintus had quarrelled with him, his nephew had slandered him, and there are intimations of trouble with his wife. In addition to all these things he knew not how Cæsar would treat him, and was driven almost to despair. In September, B. C. 47, Cæsar landed in Italy, and Cicero with mingled fear and hope went to meet him, and was most graciously received. At last he went to Rome, having dismissed his lictors, and at length given up all hopes of a triumph!

The Republic was dead, and Rome was no longer free. Cicero now devoted himself chiefly to literature. He was more than sixty years of age, and yet within the next three years he composed his *Brutus*, *Partitiones Oratoriæ*, *Cato*, *Orator*, *Academica*, *de Finibus*, *Tusculanæ Disputationes*, *de Natura Deorum*, *de Divinatione*, *de Fato*, *de Amicitia*, *de Senectute*, *de Gloria*, *Topica* and *de Officiis*, besides several orations;—an amount of literary labour almost incredible.

Again private griefs overwhelmed him. For causes not now fully understood he divorced his wife Terentia, married a second wife and divorced her also. He lost his daughter Tullia, the idol of his heart, and was almost crushed by the blow. All these things occurred within a year, and he in vain sought consolation in philosophy and in literature. The dastardly assassination of Cæsar again brought Cicero into political life for a short time. He was not privy to the conspiracy although he witnessed the deed, and we regret to say, applauded it. His letters in reference to the murder produce a most unfavourable impression as to his character. Although he disliked and distrusted Antony, yet in his letters to him he professed the warmest friendship. Political motives are the only excuse for this dissimulation. He left Rome and was engaged in study and in writing a number of the works we have named above. He began a voyage to Athens to see his son, but being driven back by adverse winds he returned to Rome, where he was received by the Senate and the people with the utmost enthusiasm.

It was now that Cicero rose to the greatest height of patriotism and of courage. He had hoped that Antony might prove a patriot and save the Republic. Discovering his mistake, the course of events gradually led him into the most violent opposition to the measures of Antony, who was at that time consul. Into the particulars of this contest, which soon became a most bitter personal controversy, we cannot enter. The Antonine Orations in their fierce invective surpass even the Philippics of Demosthenes, the name of which they have assumed, and are not inferior to them in stirring eloquence or fervid patriotism. The second Philippic was never delivered, and in its terribleness is equalled only by the oration of Demosthenes against Midias. In the separation that now occurred between Antony and Octavius, the future Augustus, Cicero of course sided with the latter, although he had not much confidence in him as a leader. When Antony, however, ceased to be consul, and Caius Cæsar, as Cicero called him, was in open hostility against him, the orator pledged his honour to the Senate and people of Rome, that the young adventurer would always prove himself such a citizen as they desired him to be. In a short time and

in the moment of victory he betrayed the cause of the Senate and formed a coalition with Antony. Cicero was the very soul of the senatorial party who so strongly opposed Antony, and his firmness and courage in this contest are in marked contrast with his timidity and vacillation in the civil war between Cæsar and Pompey. Forsyth says, "he could never act boldly unless his conscience was at ease;" in the former war he was afraid he might be wrong, now he knew that he was right. "No peace with Antony!" the worst enemy of his country's liberties, was his motto. "We have repelled the arms of traitors," he exclaims; "but we must wrest them from their hands; and if we cannot do this—I will speak as becomes a Senator and a Roman—let us die!" A letter from Antony, who was besieging Decimus Brutus in Mutina, was the occasion of Cicero's thirteenth Philippic, a speech as bitter as that against Piso, and even more savage perhaps in its invective than the second Philippic. The news of Antony's defeat near Bononia by the consuls Hirtius and Pansa, with whom was joined Octavius, was received with the utmost enthusiasm by the people at Rome, who spontaneously rushed to Cicero's house, and amid the joyful shouts of the surging crowds accompanied him along the Sacra Via to the Capitol, that he might return thanks to the gods for victory. In this glorious Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, upon the next day, before the assembled Senate, he delivered his fourteenth Philippic, the last of his orations which has reached us. Too much cannot be said in praise of the power, the patriotism, and the eloquence of this series of orations by this greatest of Roman orators.

But the war was not yet ended. The Consul Pansa had fallen, and in the next battle before Mutina victory was doubtful, although Antony finally retired from the siege. But the other Consul, Hirtius, was killed, and thus Octavius was left in command. He was suspected of procuring the death of each, and Niebuhr thinks "that the suspicion was not without foundation!"

Rome was now without a leader, and it was uncertain how Octavius would act. Had Cicero been a man of nerve equal to the emergency, he might have assumed the reins, and perhaps saved his country. But nothing could change the course of

events. Antony gained over to his cause first the army of Lepidus, and then Lepidus himself. Pollio then joined him, and finally even the faithful Planeus; while Decimus Junius was some time after seized in disguise, and murdered by the command of Antony. Octavius was alienated by the refusal of the Senate to allow him to stand for the consulship long before the legal age, and his army was dissatisfied by its failure to pay their bounty and rewards. Octavius marched upon Rome, entered its gates as conqueror, and in the twenty-first year of his age was declared a Roman Consul. The destiny of the Republic was fixed, its fate was sealed; and Cicero, bitterly disappointed in the man whom he had lately so lavishly praised, retired from Rome, and with his brother prepared to go into exile.

Octavius, now legally adopted as the son of the great Julius, marched forth from Rome ostensibly against Antony and Lepidus, but in reality to consummate the treachery he had long meditated. On the 27th of November, B. C. 43, on a little island of the Rhenus, near Bononia, the second Triumvirate was formed. They divided the world among them, and each selected an illustrious victim to satiate his vengeance, and Octavius basely surrendered Cicero to the fury of Antony. His brother and his nephew were murdered in Rome. Cicero embarked at Astura, and might have escaped but for his irresolution. He landed at Circeii, but was persuaded to embark again. The sea was rough; and sick, he landed at Cajeta, (Gaëta,) and proceeded to his villa near Formiæ, saying, "Let me die in my country, which I have saved so often!" His pursuers were upon his track, and his faithful slaves forced him into a litter, and bore him along a by-path through the woods to the shore. Some one betrayed his path, and the assassins met him as he came out of the wood. Hearing their footsteps, he ordered his attendants to set down the litter, and drawing aside the curtain, he called out to one of the leaders of the band of murderers, either Herennius or Popilius Lænas, "Here, veteran! if you think it right—strike!" His steadfast look, his gray hairs and pale countenance moved even his assassins, and they hesitated. One of the leaders then stepped forward, and with three awkward blows severed his head from

his body. "Thus fell Cicero, December 7th, B. C. 43,—the noblest victim of the bloody Triumvirate. He was exactly sixty-three years, eleven months, and five days old when he died."

His head and his hands were sent to Antony in Rome, and then, in bitter mockery, they were nailed to the Rostra, the scene of the triumphs of his eloquence. It was fitting that, in after years, when perhaps the remorse of Augustus had raised Cicero's son to the Consulship, he should commit to this son the destruction of every statue and monument that bore the name of Antony. As a man, Cicero may be subject to the charges of insincerity and vanity, for his public speeches and his private letters are often inconsistent, and he was never weary of sounding his own praises. But there is no public man of Rome whose character is so free from censure, and we involuntarily confess his superiority when we resort to a *Christian standard* in our estimate of his character. His last treatise was his *De Officiis*, in which he places duty upon a much higher ground than many of the utilitarian systems of the present day. He was ever a lover of virtue, even of whatsoever was true, and honest, and just, and pure, and lovely, and of good report, so far as man can ever be, without the pale of a written revelation. Genial and witty, he was the life of the circle in which he moved, as well as the first of his country's orators, the best of her writers, the purest of her statesmen; and, with his profound convictions of duty and of the great doctrines of a Providence and a future state, he was the wisest of her philosophers. Well did a historian remark of him:— "Vivit vivetque per omnem sæculorum memoriam; ... citiusque e mundo genus hominum quam Ciceronis gloria e memoriâ hominum unquam cedet."*

* Vell. Paterc. ii. 66.

ART. V.—*Social Life of the Chinese; with some Account of their Religious, Governmental, Educational, and Business Customs and Opinions.* By Rev. JUSTUS DOOLITTLE, for ten years a Member of the Fuhchau Mission of the American Board.

Missionary Life in Persia; being Glimpses at a Quarter of a Century of Labours among the Nestorian Christians. By Rev. JUSTIN PERKINS, D. D.

The Land and the Book; or, Biblical Illustrations drawn from the Manners and Customs, the Scenes and Scenery of the Holy Land. By WILLIAM M. THOMSON, D. D., for twenty-five years a Missionary of the A. B. C. F. M. in Syria and Palestine.

Zulu Land; or, Life among the Zulu Kafirs of Natal and Zulu Land, South Africa. By Rev. LEWIS GRANT, for fifteen years a Missionary of the A. B. C. F. M. in South Africa.

Expedition to the Zambesi. By DAVID and CHARLES LIVINGSTONE.

The Hawaiian Islands; their Progress and Condition under Missionary Labours. By RUFUS ANDERSON, D. D., Foreign Secretary of the A. B. C. F. M.

IT is no part of our object to give a critical notice or examination of the several works whose titles we have inserted. They were all written by missionaries, except the last; and that records the results of long-continued and faithful missionary labour among a savage people.

In the following pages we propose to speak, not of the direct influence of Christian missions, in the civilization and social improvement of heathen tribes, or in their conversion and preparation for heaven; but rather of their indirect influence upon society and the world. Our subject is *the bearing of the foreign missionary enterprise upon the cause of science and learning generally;* and we accept the titles of the works above mentioned,—to which many others equally appropriate might be added,—as a motto in this undertaking.

Were we disposed to make the most of this subject, we might call attention, first of all, to the labours of the primitive Christian missionaries,—the apostles, and their successors for the next four hundred years,—who not only traversed the vast Roman empire, embodying at that period all the civilized portions of the earth, but who penetrated on every side the surrounding regions of darkness and barbarism, carrying with them the lights and consolations of religion, and also the lesser lights of learning and science. The staid and mystic oriental, the untutored African, the rude barbarians of northern and western Europe, including our own indomitable ancestors, were first taught the use of letters, as well as brought under the humanizing influence of Christianity, by the labours of missionaries.

We might also refer to the Nestorian missionaries of the middle ages, who penetrated the wide fields of central Asia, from the uttermost bounds of China to the Euphrates and the Caspian sea, softening the hearts of the fierce natives, and enriching their minds with the rudiments of learning and the elements of holy truth. It was through this region, that the celebrated Venetian traveller, Marco Polo, passed in his excursion to the distant East. It was the Nestorian churches chiefly, that he visited and described. And the fact that, by some, his narrative has been regarded as little better than romance, was owing more to the ignorance of the reader than to a want of competency and fidelity in the writer.

We might refer also to the Romish missionaries of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. For whatever may be thought as to the result of their labours in a religious point of view, we are persuaded that, in a literary view, full justice has not been meted to them. The principal scene of their labours was southern and eastern Asia, with some part of Africa, Mexico, and South America; and it is not too much to say, that nearly all the accurate knowledge of these great countries which the world possessed, until the last seventy years, was derived from these men. The publications of the French missionaries alone amounted to fifty large volumes, all of which were read with avidity, not only by priests and monks, but by the ablest scholars in Europe. The ancient maps of the interior pro-

vinces of China and Cochin China, of the greater Tartary, Thibet, and Japan, were constructed almost entirely by the Papal missionaries. The earliest accounts of Congo and Abyssinia were from the same source, and served as a guide to Mr. Bruce, in his subsequent travels through those countries. The Papal missionaries in South America explored and described vast regions, which had never before been visited by any European. One of these men wrote a history of the New World, of which Dr. Robertson says: "It contains more accurate observations, and more sound science, than are to be found in any description of remote countries published in that age." Another of them left a manuscript history of St. Domingo, which was the basis of the work of Charlesvoix.

But it is not our intention to enlarge on the writings of these missionaries of a former age, or on the indebtedness of the literary world to their labours. We choose rather to call attention to the *modern* missionary enterprise,—that which commenced among Protestants near the beginning of the present century, and is still prosecuted with so much vigor and success. That there is an important connection between this great enterprise and the general cause of learning and science, so that the devotees of the latter have much to expect from the continued progress of the former, and consequently should feel a deep interest in it, is to us exceedingly obvious; and we shall endeavour so to present the subject as to make it obvious to others.

What then is the modern missionary enterprise? How much is involved in it? What is it aiming to accomplish?

Those engaged in this work have undertaken to extend the Christian religion throughout the length and breadth of the earth. They have undertaken,—in literal obedience to the command of Christ,—to "preach the gospel to every creature." In prosecuting this grand design, they are engaged, so fast as men and means can be furnished, in sending forth missionaries into all lands,—to the east and the west, the north and the south,—to countries civilized and uncivilized, near and remote,—to regions long inhabited, and to the newly discovered islands of the sea. The whole earth is to be visited and

explored, and the blessings of civilization and the gospel are to be extended to all people.

And who are the men employed in this mighty enterprise? Not the ignorant and inefficient,—dunces who could do nothing at home, and from whom enlightened Christian society is quite willing to relieve itself. The men sent out as missionaries are, in the first place, *educated* men,—men who, with few exceptions, have been liberally, thoroughly educated,—men who have enjoyed the best advantages which the universities and seminaries of Christendom can boast.

Then they are, in general, men of peculiar and distinguished *talents*,—men capable of looking closely at subjects presented—of directing, to a great extent, their own studies and movements,—of pursuing successfully the most arduous literary as well as spiritual labours; of grappling effectually with whatever difficulties or opposition may be thrown in their way. It would be vain, on such an errand, to send forth other men than these; and such, in general, are the men whom the directors of modern missions have sought out, and actually sent out, into the service. If any doubt this, let them run their eye over the catalogue of missionaries who have gone forth from the different churches of England and America, during the last seventy years. There he may read the honoured names of Buchanan, and Martyn, and Morrison, and Milne, and Carey, and Marshman, and Ward, and Hall, and Abeel, and Judson, and Poor, and Eli Smith, and Miron Winslow, among the departed. He may read also the no less honoured names of King, and Hamlin, and Duff, and Goodell, and Perkins, and Thurston, and Scudder, and Byington, and Livingston, among the living. We might mention a great many others, of perhaps equal ability, —*turmæ nobilissimæ juvenum*,—who have more recently gone to their several fields of labour. Among these are to be found not only clergymen, but physicians, printers, artisans, agriculturists, and others from the different walks of life. They are, in the general, men who had the best prospects before them in their native lands, and who, by their talents and learning, their intellectual ability and moral worth, are capable of making their influence felt, and themselves respected, anywhere.

And these men are sent forth into different parts of the

earth, it must be borne in mind, not as tourists, or envoys, or diplomatists, or speculatists, to hurry over a country or continent, note first impressions, and come home and make a readable, popular book; but they are sent each to his particular station, which is henceforward to be his home. He is to remain there —to spend his life there. He is to associate familiarly with the people; study their dispositions and character; acquaint himself with their peculiar customs and manners; learn their language; read their books, if they have any; traverse their country, so far as he shall have occasion; search into their antiquities, mythology, and history; and, while he is endeavouring to do them good, is to make himself acquainted (as manifestly he ought to) with everything of interest respecting them. And now we ask, is it possible that men thus situated, and of the character above described, should not make numerous and important discoveries in the different departments of science and learning? Is it possible that they should not have it in their power—being in constant communication with their patrons at home—to make continual and large accessions to that general fund of knowledge, which belongs appropriately to the world?

One of the most important branches of human learning is *philology*. Ever since the confusion of tongues at Babel, and the consequent separation of the tribes of men, a necessity has been imposed upon those who would become learned, or who would associate extensively with mankind, to acquire different languages. And the study of languages has constituted no small part of the mental labour of our race. This being the case, every new fact which is discovered in the history of language—every new principle which is unfolded and established —every additional facility in this branch of study—in short, every accession which is made to the general stock of linguistic lore—should be regarded as so much gained to the cause of learning, and to the interests and happiness of man. And who, we ask, are in more favourable circumstances for promoting these important objects, than missionaries? And who have done more for their actual advancement?

When a missionary plants himself among a people, his first effort is to acquire their language. And this he must do, not

superficially, but thoroughly, so that he may be able not only to read their books, if they have any, but to converse with them freely, and address them intelligibly. If their language is an unwritten one, like that of most savage tribes, he first forms a list of words, as caught by the ear; reduces them to order and rule; establishes his system of orthography; constructs his lexicon and grammar; and by the time he is able to converse familiarly with the people, he has prepared for them, and for the world, a written language.

The work performed, in this case, by the missionary, is not only an acquisition to himself, and to those for whose special benefit it was intended, but it is, we repeat, an acquisition to the world. It is so much gained to the great republic of letters. And how often has this work been accomplished, and this gain been realized, within the last seventy years, through the instrumentality of Christian missionaries? We may go even further and ask, when, where, has this work been accomplished at all in modern times, except through their instrumentality? Commerce has not done it. Neither literary interest, nor governmental influence has ever done it. But Christian missionaries have done it, we had almost said a hundred times over. And are these devoted men entitled to no credit, on this behalf, from the learned world? Did Cadmus immortalize his name, by introducing letters into Greece, and instructing the rude natives in their use? And shall no honour be given, and no obligation be felt, to those in our own age, who have done the same thing, and done it on a far wider scale, than was ever before attempted? Who have taught various heathen tribes, in the west and south of Africa, in different parts of Asia, in our own forests, and in the islands of the sea, the use of letters, and are now engaged in preparing books, and creating for them a literature of their own?

The incidental advantages of a labour such as this to the cause of learning, are scarcely less important than its direct results. In the work of shaping an unformed language, studying it in its elements, and committing it to writing, new and important facts will be likely to be discovered, and principles before unknown may be educed. And not only so, affinities in language may be traced, and the origin of nations thereby dis-

covered, which otherwise had been concealed. It was in this way that the track of our own English ancestors was traced, at the distance of three or four thousand years, to the neighbourhood of the Caucasian mountains and the Black and Caspian seas.

The question is often asked, Whence came the aborigines of America to this country? And whence the numerous and populous tribes inhabiting the green isles of the western ocean? The time for a full and satisfactory answer to these questions has, probably, not yet come. But we predict that, whenever they are answered, the result will be owing, in no small degree, to the discoveries of missionaries, in tracing out affinities in language, and comparing the customs and features, the domestic habits and religious rites of different nations.

But the missionary, in many instances, is not under the necessity of shaping a language for his people. He finds one written to his hand; it may be a venerable language, like the Arabic, the Sanscrit, and Chinese. In this case, as before, his first labour is to acquire the language—to acquire it thoroughly—that he may be able not only to use it in common conversation, but to consult libraries, read books, and possess himself of whatever learning may be treasured in it. This many Christian missionaries have already done; and having done it, they obviously possess the means, beyond almost any others, of promoting the literary interests of the world. Take, for example, the missionaries in Syria, who have made themselves familiar with the Arabic tongue. This language is remarkable, not only for its great age, for the beauty and finish of its structure, and for the wide extent to which it is spoken, but for the literary treasures which are supposed to be hoarded and buried under it. It is a singular fact that, in the ninth and tenth centuries of the Christian era—the very midnight of the dark ages—when the lights of learning and science seemed, in all other countries, ready to expire, they blazed up, with a steady and glowing refulgence, in Arabia and the surrounding countries. Under the patronage of the Caliphs, learned men were drawn together, extensive libraries were collected, schools were established, the best works of the Greeks were translated into the Arabic tongue, and no means were neglected, and no expense spared, which would be

likely to conduce to the advancement of learning. The consequence was, that the literati and philosophers of Arabia became, in a short time, the most celebrated in the world. For a long period they were the chief depositaries of learning, and subsequently became the instructors of Europe. Some of the Arabic works prepared at that period have been translated, more have been destroyed, but others, it is with good reason believed, remain concealed. They are treasured up in palaces and castles, in public and private libraries, in different Mohammedan countries, and need but the search of qualified Arabic scholars to bring them again before the world. And who so likely to make this search—to make it diligently and effectually —as missionaries residing in those countries; men who are acquainted with the manners and customs of the people, possess their confidence, and are able to read their language with the same facility as their own? We may be enthusiastic on this point, but we cannot resist the impression that scholars and antiquaries have yet much to hope from the inquiries of missionaries—inquiries made without at all interfering with the appropriate duties of these men—in search of hidden, buried remains of Arabic learning.

The dependence of letters on the missionary work may be strongly illustrated, by considering what has been done in reference to China. Only a few years ago, the celestial empire —embodying more than a third of the population of the globe— was to the rest of the world little better than a *terra incognita*, enclosed, as it was, by the double wall of commercial restrictions, and its invincible, unreadable language. Both these walls have been, in great measure, broken down and taken out of the way; the latter of them chiefly by the labours of missionaries. In the year 1807, the celebrated Morrison entered on his mission to China. After a residence of four years, he completed a grammar of the language. In eleven years more, he had prepared and printed, at an expense of £12,000, a complete Chinese and English Dictionary, in six quarto volumes. Meanwhile, Dr. Marshman, at Serampore, was labouring in the same cause, where he published his ponderous *Clavis Sinica*, and translated, we believe, the entire works of Confucius. By these and the subsequent labours of mission-

aries, the barrier-door, excluding all intercourse between the celestial empire and those who speak the English language, has been fairly thrown open. The Chinese is now made as accessible, and almost as easy of acquisition, as any other language. Americans visiting that country may soon be able to converse with the Chinaman in his own tongue, and he with them in theirs.

Of the importance of a literary achievement, like that of Morrison above described, we are scarcely able to conceive. When we think of the extent of the Chinese empire, of the swarming millions of its population, of the commercial interests connected with it, and of the value of an unrestricted social intercourse between it and Protestant Christian nations; the work to which we have referred, considered only in a literary point of view, swells to an importance of which we know not how worthily to speak. Compared with it, of how little value are the light, ephemeral effusions of our tale tellers and fiction-mongers, who would fain be regarded as *par excellence* the literati of England and America!

We have spoken of the labour bestowed upon the language of China, because of the vast interests to be affected by it, and not because the work itself is greater than that performed in other places. Indeed, it is by no means so great. The English and American missionaries have prepared dictionaries, vocabularies, and grammars of many heathen languages. Dr. Judson prepared and published, many years ago, a valuable lexicon of the Burmese. Mr. Andrews, a missionary to the Sandwich Islands, has prepared a dictionary of the Hawaiian tongue, containing and defining more than 15,000 words. One of the last works of the late Dr. Winslow was an elaborate Tamil and English dictionary. Dr. Carey, the pioneer of modern missions, published grammars of no less than eight languages, and a dictionary of one.

Nor should we omit to mention, in this connection, the many translations which have been made, during the last fifty years, of the Holy Scriptures. Dr. Judson gave to the Burmese a very valuable translation of the whole Bible. The late Dr. Bridgman, with some assistance from others, translated the entire Scriptures into the written language of China. Doctors

Smith and Van Dyck have brought out a new and very perfect translation of the Arabic Bible; and Dr. Goodell has lived to complete his translation of the Scriptures into the Armeno-Turkish. In the establishment at Serampore, many years ago, the Holy Scriptures were in the process of translation and publication in from twenty to thirty languages, at the same time.

Some persons will think lightly of undertakings such as these because they pertain so exclusively to the Bible. But has the Bible, we ask, no literary merit? Setting it aside (if it must be so) as a book of religion, is it not itself a literary production; and one that will more than bear a comparison—in point of excellence as well as antiquity—with the best of Greece and Rome? Does it not contain history, and poetry, and eloquence—eloquence without the fires of ambition or party; poetry, without the alloy of a cumbrous and debasing mythology; history, without the ornaments and falsehoods of national partiality? And is it of no importance, in a literary view, to give this volume to the nations? Who can estimate the literary influence and importance of Luther's Bible in Germany, or of our own invaluable translation of the Scriptures in England and America? But what these translations have done for us, the translations which have been made and given to the heathen will, in due time, effect for them.

That we may not be thought to stand alone in our estimate of the literary labours of missionaries in the East, we may refer to the editors of the *London Quarterly Review*. In the first nineteen volumes of this great critical work—we have not had time to look through the volumes further—there are no less than fourteen extended articles on missionary publications. The reviewers speak of the missionaries in the East as "learned and indefatigable scholars," whose "progress in the oriental languages is wonderful," and to whom "the European world is indebted, in no small degree, for the extension of its knowledge of oriental literature." "The *Clavis Sinica* of Dr. Marshman, and the Dictionary of Dr. Morrison," they say, "are the two most acceptable works that the study of Asiatic literature has yet produced. They have completely torn away the veil that so long enveloped the symbolic writing of the Chinese, and removed the difficulty that has hitherto impeded the study of

that singular language." In short, the reviewers represent these missionaries as having "a claim to the thanks of the literary part of the world," and as being "the benefactors of the human race."

But the labours of missionaries are not to be estimated alone by their success in mastering difficult languages. At all the principal stations the press is in operation, furnishing a new and purified literature to the people immediately concerned, and bringing out whatever of interest may have been concealed among them, for the benefit of the world.

Nor is this all. At most of the principal stations there are established not only schools, but *high-schools*, *colleges*, *seminaries of learning*, designed to furnish to the more promising youth the advantages of a liberal and professional education. Such a college was founded by Dr. Morrison at Malacca. Several of a like character have been established in Bengal. Others are founded in Burmah, Ceylon, Constantinople, on the West Coast of Africa, and in the Sandwich and Society Islands. These all are the results of missionary labour, and nearly all are superintended by missionaries themselves. Of their present and prospective literary importance we need not speak. Calculate, if you can, the importance, in a literary view, of almost any of the colleges of our country. But what these colleges have been, and are, to the youth of America, the colleges established by missionaries in heathen lands will be to the teeming myriads who surround them. These institutions, though yet in their infancy, have begun to scatter wide their blessings; and they will continue to scatter them, with a broader cast and a more liberal hand, till science, learning, and religion shall have completed their joint conquest over the darkness and superstitions of men.

But the missionary enterprise has other connections with learning and science, aside from those which have been noticed. The geography and history of foreign countries, their natural scenery and curiosities, their geology and botany, the manners and customs of the inhabitants, their superstitions and their religious rites,—all these constitute subjects of inquiry in which the learned world have a deep interest, and who, we ask, are more favourably situated to pursue such inquiries, and bring

them to a successful issue, than foreign missionaries? And who, we ask further, have accomplished more than they, in these several departments of knowledge, during the last fifty years? Take, for example, the single subject of geography. Into what parts of the earth have these heroic men not gone? What island so remote that they have not visited? What mountain so lofty that they have not climbed? Going everywhere, they bring back knowledge of distant regions. The most intrepid of explorers, they are at the same time the most faithful narrators. "They have rendered," says one, "more real service to the science of *geography*—to the accurate knowledge of our globe, than all the geographical societies in the world."

The period, however, has not yet come, when the discoveries of missionaries, on all the points above referred to, can be noted in long detail. They have not had sufficient time and opportunity to accomplish more than a small part of what may yet be expected of them. Still, enough has been done, in correcting mistakes and misapprehensions which once prevailed, and giving accuracy to our knowledge on many points, to entitle them to grateful consideration. Let us pause and notice a few of the instances in which gross mistakes of one kind or another have been corrected.

In former times, when the uncivilized portions of the earth were less known than at present, it was not uncommon for navigators and travellers to return from their excursions with the most extravagant accounts of their discoveries. Nothing was too absurd or ridiculous to find a place in their veracious narratives. They seemed to vie one with another in their effort at the marvellous, and he was sure to be the most successful author, who succeeded in telling the toughest story. For example, an ancient traveller returning from the East,* affirmed that "the Bramins of India keep tubs full of rain, wind, and thunder, constantly by them, which they bestow upon their friends, or inflict upon their enemies, according to their pleasure;"—that "the earth swells and rolls, like the waves of

* Apollonius of Tyana, whom some modern infidels have held up as the rival and compeer of our Saviour. See his Life, written by Philostratus, an Athenian.

the sea, only at the touch of a Bramin's wand"—that at the feasts of the Bramins, "there is no need of servants, since the chairs, stools, pots, cups, dishes and plates, understand every one its own office, and move spontaneously hither and thither, as the case requires." He asserts, that in one country, he found the women particoloured, half black and half white; in another, a nation of pigmies living under ground; in another, apes as large as men, and a kind of beasts having faces like men and bodies like lions. In another country which he visited, he found wool growing out of the ground like grass, and dragons as plenty as sheep in Arcadia. Even Herodotus tells of a country in farther India, where the ants are larger than foxes, and throw up monstrous ant-heaps of sand, from which the gold-hunters extract their gold.*

At a much later period, the discoverers of the Nicobar Islands pretended that they had found a spring, which had the property of turning iron into gold; also that the natives of those islands were furnished with a suffix, such as Lord Monboddo supposed belonged originally to our whole race, but which the inhabitants of civilized countries, by too much sitting, had worn off. This latter story, no less a man than Linnæus was inclined to believe.

At a still later period, the Spaniards who discovered Florida alleged that they had found a spring, which instantly restored the aged and infirm, who bathed in its waters, to all the verdure and vigour of youth.

It was to ridicule and restrain this propensity for the marvellous, which induced Swift to entertain his readers with his celebrated Gulliverian tales—an object which he, to some extent, accomplished. His stories had about the same potency to check one evil, which the romance of Don Quixotte had to remove another. Both, for the time, were pretty well laughed out of countenance.

Still, neither the extravagance of explorers, nor the credulity of readers, was entirely cured at once. Enough of the evil yet remained to furnish abundant work of correction to the faithful missionary. For example, it was formerly denied in England that widows in India ever burned themselves on the

* Book iii. Sect. 102.

funeral piles of their deceased husbands. But owing to the researches of missionaries, almost every child in Christendom is now acquainted with the dreadful fact.

The accounts given by navigators who first visited the Pacific Islands, as to the character and condition of the natives, are well remembered. These natives were represented as the very children of nature,—unsuspecting, uncontaminated, free, amiable, devoid of care, and living together in an almost paradisaical state of innocence and happiness. Their females, like the sea-nymphs of ancient fable, came floating around the anchored vessel, as willing to attract the notice of the strangers, as to gratify their own reasonable curiosity. The glowing accounts which had been published as to the character and condition of these islanders constituted an inducement, perhaps, with the directors of the London Missionary Society, to make them the first objects of their benevolent regards. Accordingly, the missionaries went and settled among them, and entered upon the work of their civilization and conversion. And they soon found what kind of characters they had to deal with, and how much the credulity of the public had been abused. They found as unequivocal marks of Adamic descent in these uncontaminated children of nature, as could be found in any other portion of the world. They were treacherous, warlike, bloody, licentious, man-killers and man-eaters, murderers of fathers and mothers, and even of their own children. They were besotted in ignorance, averse to every kind of useful exertion, the slaves alike of their chiefs, their idolatries, and their lusts. Such was the state in which these happy islanders were actually found, and in this state they continued, until the light of Christianity began to dawn upon their minds, and its sanctifying power was felt upon their hearts.

The misapprehensions which formerly prevailed in regard to the extent and value of *oriental learning* were both gross and hurtful. Sir William Jones and his coadjutors contributed something towards correcting these evils, but much more has been effected by the researches of missionaries. Of the justness of this remark we might give many proofs, but our limits confine us to two or three.

The most extravagant notions were entertained formerly, by

learned men, respecting the wisdom of the Hindoo Bramins, exhaustless stores of which were supposed to be treasured up in the Vedas—their sacred books. It was presumed by infidels of the last age, that when these came to be translated and opened, they would far surpass the Christian Scriptures, and bring them into utter contempt. The Vedas have not, indeed, been translated, for they have been found to be not worth translating; but by the indefatigable Ward and other missionaries, they have been opened and read, and the public have been fully apprized of their contents; and the age of wonder, conjecture, and admiration in regard to them has passed quite away. With the exception of the Rig Veda—the oldest book—they are found to be chiefly remarkable for their contradictions, exaggerations, indelicacies, puerilities, and for the nurture which they continually administer to some of the worst passions of the human heart.

A similar work to that here detailed has been performed in reference to the Chinese lawgiver. He had long been exhibited as a prodigy of wisdom, almost justifying the superstition of his followers in ascribing to him divine honours. But unfortunately for his reputation, the great Confucius has been translated. He has been raised by the learned Marshman from his long burial in the darkness of an unknown tongue, and brought out before the world. And now he appears a very indifferent personage. He has become weak like another man.

We all know what has been the fate of the fabulous chronological legends of China, when subjected to the scrutiny of some of the eastern missionaries. It used to be said, and by many believed, that the Chinese had unquestionable historical records, which carried back their origin to thousands and perhaps millions of years previous to the Mosaic account of the creation. The taunts and scoffs, the boastings and exultations of infidel writers and talkers on this subject were loud, and confident, and long. But with all persons of common information they have come to an end now. The Chinese have no reliable history anterior to the time of Confucius, who was contemporary with Ezra and Nehemiah; nor, after every allowance which can reasonably be made, can they claim for their nation a higher antiquity than the age of Abraham.

We may refer to an instance of correction by a missionary, of a more recent date. Some years ago an infidel philosopher went to New Holland for the purpose of examining the character of the natives, and ascertaining whether they were men or brutes. He collected and criticised a vast number of skulls, and at length came to the conclusion, and published it, that the natives were not human beings, but a species of apes. Shortly after, a Methodist missionary invited the philosopher to go with him, and visit a converted native on his death-bed. They went together, and heard the native confess his sins, express his hope in Christ, quote Scripture, and speak in general of his religious experience. At the close of the interview, the missionary turned to the philosopher and said: "Sir, did you ever see a monkey die after this manner?" The confounded philosopher could only reply, "My philosophy stands corrected by your Christianity."

Of the work of correction by a missionary, we had an example in this country not many years ago. An English gentleman, professing to have been a great traveller, visited many of our cities, delivering lectures on the Holy Land. Wishing to make his performance lucrative and popular, if he wanted a good story to give interest to it, he had no difficulty in finding one. If he needed some touching fact or thrilling incident "to point his moral, or adorn his tale," it was always at hand. He had seen a lion come up from the swellings of Jordan. He had seen the rocks of Palestine all swarming with bees, rendering it still a land of honey, if not of milk. But happily there was a missionary on the romancer's track—one who had long resided in the country described, and was perfectly acquainted with its localities and condition. He was able to set the matter right, and disabuse the public of the impositions which had been practised.

We need refer to no more instances of corrections and rectifications. Those we have noticed are sufficient to show that the learned world are under *some* obligations, on this account, to the studies and labours of faithful missionaries. Next to the importance of knowing anything, is that of possessing accurate knowledge. And he who assists to correct our mistakes, and

give us accuracy of knowledge, confers upon us an important benefit.

We have spoken already of *geographical* knowledge, as imparted by missionaries. But this is not all. Not only have unvisited regions of the earth's surface been explored, but the customs and manner of life pursued by the natives have been searched out. Their gods and demons, their idolatries, superstitions, and religious rites, have been investigated and exposed. At the different missionary houses in London and Boston, there are whole rooms full of heathen gods,—sufficient in number to load a vessel,—figures the most grotesque, hideous, terrific, odious,—like nothing "in heaven above, or the earth beneath, or in the waters under the earth;" spoils won by the bloodless conflicts of missionaries from heathen temples, and transmitted home as trophies of their victory.

The journals of missionaries in new and unexplored regions are full of important information, and are worthy of perusal and preservation, not only by Christians, but by the devotees of science and learning. Here are described the peculiar features of different countries; their cities and villages, their soils, rocks, mountains, rivers, animals, vegetables, and natural curiosities; and specimens in great numbers have been furnished to grace the cabinets of the learned at home. One of the greatest geological wonders of the world has been discovered, within a few years, by missionaries at the Sandwich Islands. We refer to the dread volcano of Kilauea, with a crater of not less than eight miles in circumference, and fifteen hundred feet in depth; a volcano compared with which Vesuvius and Ætna, with all their classic interest and fabled wonders of Cyclops, and thunderbolts, and giants, are little more than a blacksmith's forge. No wonder the nations regarded this horrid crater as the very entrance to the infernal regions.

Another important work which missionaries have aided in accomplishing, is the fixing of the localities of ancient cities and towns. It is known to every scholar that the names of hundreds of places mentioned in ancient sacred and profane history are not found on our best maps; or, if found, their localities have been fixed by mere conjecture. But the missionaries, by residing and travelling in those ancient countries—Greece,

Syria, Asia Minor, Palestine, Mesopotamia, Arabia, Egypt, &c., —by observing and comparing different localities; by becoming familiar with the traditions and languages of the natives, are making new discoveries every year, and contributing to settle what before was merely conjecture or wholly unknown. The great services of the late Dr. Robinson, in settling questions of this nature in the Holy Land, are universally acknowledged. But Dr. Robinson could never have accomplished his researches, as himself admits, but by the help of a missionary. The late Dr. Eli Smith was almost constantly with him as an interpreter and guide, and assisted in drawing up many of the sketches in his journal.

In short, were the inquiry instituted, Who, in modern times, have brought into notice, and laid fairly open,—in their geography, their natural history, their social and religious state,—so many countries before almost, if not altogether, unknown,—such as Greenland, Iceland, large portions of Africa with the contiguous islands, Burmah, Siam, and eastern Asia, the Indian Archipelago, Polynesia, and many parts of our vast continent,—the answer to this inquiry is obvious and necessary. Commerce has not done it. It never would do it. Commerce is too selfish to engage extensively in enterprises of this nature. Literary interest and curiosity have not done it. At least they have accomplished but little. If we except the efforts,—very laudable ones certainly,—of the London Geographical Society to explore the interior of Africa, mere literary interest has effected almost nothing. The important work to which we refer has been performed almost exclusively by Christian missionaries. It is a result, though but an incidental one, of their sacrifices, their conflicts, and their toils; and the debt of gratitude which it imposes is due, in great measure, to them.

In the foregoing remarks, we have endeavoured to show that, —from the character of missionaries, as learned, gifted men,—from their situation, as permanent residents in foreign lands, having a familiar acquaintance with languages, localities, and other circumstances,—and from the nature of their pursuits, being scholars, teachers, travellers, authors, as well as preachers of the gospel,—it might be justly anticipated that they would

be able to do much for the cause of science and learning, as well as for the promotion of their more immediate objects. The learned would have much to expect of them. The connections between their great enterprise and the interests of learning are sufficiently numerous and obvious to justify such expectations. We have shown, too, as fully as possible within our limits, that the expectations which might reasonably be indulged have thus far been realized. In a great variety of ways, missionaries have devoted themselves to the cause of science, and have done for its advancement all that could be expected of them.

It must be borne in mind, however, as before remarked, that the missionary enterprise,—at least, the *Protestant* missionary enterprise,—has but just commenced. The great object aimed at is but in the infancy of its accomplishment, and the incidental advantages to be anticipated are but just beginning to be realized. And if,—under all the disadvantages of a new and untried undertaking, when the number of missionaries is comparatively few, and the most of them have been at their stations but a little while,—so much as we have seen has been already done, what great results are to be expected in the progress and consummation of this holy work? When the unevangelized portions of the earth shall have been explored and fully occupied by Christian missionaries,—when, fired by a quenchless and apostolic zeal, they shall have penetrated and permeated the heart of Africa, the central and northern regions of Asia, the wilds of America, the deserts of New Holland, and all the islands of the sea,—when they shall have scaled the walls of China and Japan, and planted the standard of the cross in every place on which the light of heaven shines, —when missionaries shall have been longer at their posts, and shall have become more thoroughly acquainted with the languages, the literature, the localities and circumstances of the different nations,—when their schools, their presses, their colleges, their seminaries shall have been longer in operation, and, under the influence of these, native mind, all over the earth, shall be roused into action, and learned natives, in great numbers, shall have been raised up,—in a word, when the missionary enterprise, now in its infancy, shall have had a full de-

velopment of its powers and resources, in a manly growth, and a just consummation,—what great results may assuredly be expected, not only in a religious, but a literary point of view? We may, indeed, be mistaken in the judgment we have formed in reference to this matter, but it really has seemed to us that the literature of the world has more to expect from the successful prosecution of the missionary enterprise, than from any other source whatever. We know of no other cause—we can think of no other, which is likely to produce so great results, even in a literary point of view.

In conclusion, therefore, we come boldly and earnestly to literary men, and bespeak their favour for the cause of missions. The most of our readers, we know, sympathize deeply with this cause from higher considerations than those here suggested. They love it, they value it, as philanthropists and Christians. They long to see the multiform cruelties of the dark places of the earth removed, their idolatries purged, their superstitions and their crimes for ever done away. They yearn for the debased souls of the poor heathen, and wait to see them enlightened, elevated, purified, sanctified, and made meet for the inheritance of the saints in light.

But we address ourselves, in these concluding remarks to mere literary men, and would urge the subject on literary and scientific grounds. In view of what missionaries have already accomplished for the cause of learning, and the greater things which they may be expected to accomplish, we ask such men to dismiss their prejudices, if they have any, and to regard, henceforth, with interest and favour the mighty enterprise in which missionaries are engaged. We ask the literati of our country to follow, with their eye, the hundreds of learned, educated men, who are already abroad in different parts of the earth. Watch their movements, read their letters and journals, note their discoveries and advances in the different departments of useful learning. Listen to the accounts,—not of unprincipled libertines who sometimes wander among them, who cannot endure the strictness of their discipline, and to whose ungodly lives their holy example is a constant reproof,—but to the accounts of enlightened, virtuous, honourable men, who have themselves witnessed the results of their labours; and the more

you become acquainted with missionaries in this way, the more you will honour them. The more you know of their work in its actual progress and results, the more you will be interested in it, and the more earnestly you will desire to see it consummated.

ART. VI.—*Ecce Homo. A Survey of the Life and Work of Jesus Christ.* Boston: Roberts Brothers. 1866.
Preface Supplementary to Ecce Homo.

MOST of our readers hardly need to be told that, in the domain of religious literature, *Ecce Homo* has been, at least in Britain and America, quite the sensation book of the season, having already gone through its twelfth edition in England. It is rare that any work on Christianity has for the time commanded more general attention or elicited more general comment and criticism, friendly or adverse, in most of the accredited organs of religious opinion. This fact, rather than any novelty in its topics or special power in treating them, has laid a necessity upon us of examining its contents. We confess to some surprise at the sensation the book has made. We attribute it more to the boldness of its pretensions and the brilliancy of its rhetoric, than to any intrinsic power. We detect in the author some culture, some freshness, sparkle, and polish of style; little depth or breadth, as a thinker, an exegete, a scholar, a philosopher, or a theologian. Some of our reasons for this judgment will soon appear. The truths it contains are among the rudiments taught in Christian training and nurture, in the Sabbath-school and the nurseries. Its errors are for the most part too stale or too shallow to invest the book with any special intrinsic importance. The elementary truths concerning the person and work of Christ which it disowns or ignores, and which every Christian child knows, are far more momentous than all that it sets forth without them.

The extraordinary reception given to this book arises, we apprehend, from some extraordinary state of the public mind in Protestant Christendom. Some prevailing excitement or distemper in society will often give books an immense ephemeral popularity, that have no elements of permanent acceptance or influence. Dr. Bellamy once preached a sermon during a thunder-storm which, owing to that circumstance, produced such an impression upon the people, that they requested a copy for publication. He told them he would grant it, "if they would print the thunder and lightning with it." Many a theological or political pamphlet has exercised prodigious influence when addressed to an excited state of the public mind, which had not vitality enough to outlive that excitement. The scientific skepticism of our day, the rationalism in the church which leans towards infidelity, the timid ignorance of many real Christians, have done much towards giving this book its abnormal prominence. Some weak believers have accounted it quite an addition to their armour, offensive and defensive. They have evidently been in a state to be thankful for the smallest favours, not suspecting that they lose more than they gain by every such vindication, not of Christianity, but of something else in its name. Sceptics and destructives look with interest to see, if indeed it does build up or guard what they have been fain to destroy. Meanwhile, intelligent Christians look with amazement and alarm on the wide acceptance and popularity of a work which undertakes to commend the religion of Jesus Christ, by ignoring its most essential or distinctive elements.

There are two aspects in which such an exposition of the Life and Work of Christ may be viewed, one referring to our judgment of the intrinsic merits of the book itself—the other to the proper estimate of the author's position or tendencies. The former may be in itself very defective, erratic, even fatally heretical. The latter, in regard to his internal stand-point and religious tendencies, as manifested by such a production, must be estimated, not by this alone, but by his antecedents taken in connection with it. Two men are moving; one downward, from the heights of truth to the abyss of error, the other upward, from the slough of error to the summit of truth. They

both meet midway between the top and bottom. They are at the same point. But one is moving downward, the other upward—can there be a doubt that he who is struggling upward towards the goal of truth, is vastly nearer to it in his inner soul than he who has met him while gliding away from it? So two men may publish the same book, considerably above average Socinianism or vulgar Rationalism, but equally below the standard of scriptural doctrine and fundamental Christian truth. But the one is struggling up out of the toils of rationalistic and sceptical fallacies in which he has been trained, or long entangled. The other is falling away from the truth as it is in Jesus, to which he had formerly clung. Can there be a doubt which is the truer and sounder man, closer to Christ, and further from perdition?

Although the author still keeps his own secret, he is reputed to be a man of Socinian antecedents, struggling upward towards a higher conception of Christ and his religion than bald Unitarianism often reaches.* There is much in the whole tone and structure of the book to favour such an hypothesis. It is written as if by a man feeling that he has detected truths once unseen or unrecognized by himself, and now endeavouring to commend them to those in whose sight Christ and his gospel had borne very much the character of myths or impostures, at all events of being destitute of Divine inspiration and authority. He is apparently setting forth the transcendent excellence of Christ's character and teaching, and the proofs of superhuman power thence arising, to those who deny or overlook them. But in

* The following is going the rounds of the newspapers:

"*The Author of 'Ecce Homo.*'—The *Bookseller* for July 31st has the shrewd conjecture that the author of *Ecce Homo* is Mr. Richard Holt Hutton, one of the editors of the London *Spectator*. 'We believe,' the writer says, 'that we shall not be very far from the mark when we guess that he will probably be found in the editorial chair of a London newspaper, and that he formerly edited a review which we regret to say is now discontinued. In early life the gentleman in question was a Unitarian, closely connected with a celebrated literary family of that denomination; later in life his views became more advanced, while his faith contracted; but more recently he has attached himself to the Church of England, and will be frequently seen attending the ministry of the Rev. F. D. Maurice. If this guess prove correct, many of our readers will have no difficulty in recognizing the writer of *Ecce Homo* by the above description.'—*Presbyterian.*"

his whole procedure he seems to us to effect his purpose more by lowering Christianity to men than by lifting men up to Christianity. And in doing this, with large pretension, he gives us the thin shadow of morality for the glorious gospel of the blessed God; and besides negative errors of omission, falls into gross blunders and crudities of interpretation, by putting the fictions of his own imagination in place of the simple narratives of the evangelists.

We extract from his *Preface Supplementary*, which appears to have been issued in reply to criticisms upon the original book, the following synopsis of his main doctrine regarding Christ, as found in the Gospel by Mark, substantially repeated by Matthew and Luke, and, to some extent, by John—the only books of Scripture which the author treats as of authority, and these only partially so, in the premises.

"1. Christ assumed a position of authority, different from that assumed by ordinary teachers: Mark i. 22.

2. He claimed to be the Messiah: viii. 29, 30; xii. 6; xiv. 62.

3. Under this title he claimed an inexpressible personal rank and dignity: xii. 36, 37; xiii. 6, 7.

4. He claimed the right to revise and give a free interpretation to the Mosaic Law: ii. 27; x. 4.

5. He claimed the power of forgiving sins: ii. 10.

6. He commanded a number of men to attach themselves to his person, ii. 14; x. 21; to the society thus formed he gave special rules of life, x. 43, 44; made his name a bond of union among them, ix. 37—41; and contemplated the continuance of the society under the same conditions after his departure: xiii. 13.

7. He was believed by his followers to work miracles.

8. These miracles were principally miracles of healing.

9. The society he founded was gathered, in the first instance, from the Jews: vii. 27; but it was intended ultimately to embrace the Gentiles also: xiii. 10.

10. Though he assumed the character of King and Messiah, he declined to undertake the ordinary functions of kings: xii. 14.

11. He required from his disciples personal devotion, and

the adoption of his example as their rule of life: viii. 34, 35; x. 45.

12. He spoke of a Holy Spirit as inspiring himself; iii. 20—30; and also as inspiring his followers: xiii. 11.

13. He spoke much of the importanee of having good feelings as well as good deeds: vii. 15—23; ix. 50.

14. He demanded positive and, as it were, original acts of virtue passing beyond the routine of obligation: x. 21.

15. He denouneed vehemently those whose morality was of an outward, meehanieal kind, and he named them hypoerites: vii. 1—13.

16. By these denuneiations, and by his elaims to Messiahship, he plaeed himself in deadly opposition to the Scribes and Pharisees: xii.

17. He required from his followers a spirit of devotion to the welfare of their fellow-ereatures: ix. 35; xii. 31; and he declared himself to be aetuated by the same spirit: x. 45.

18. Aecordingly he went mueh among siek people, healing them, sometimes with strong signs of emotion: vii. 34.

19. He enjoined upon his followers a similar philanthropy: x. 21, 44—5; vi. 13.

20. He oeeupied himself also with euring moral disease, and particularly in the outeasts of soeiety: ii. 16, 17.

21. He taught the forgiveness of injuries: xi. 25.

Now of these propositions, which have been dedueed from St. Mark, it is to be observed, in the first plaee, that they are equally deducible, with scarcely the alteration of a word, from eaeh of the other three Gospels. The only exeeption to this is that the author of the Fourth Gospel, who eonfines himself very mueh to generalities, does not speak definitely of the forgiveness of injuries or of the duty of relieving men's physieal wants. On the other hand, he attests more strongly than the other Evangelists the prominenee which was given, in Christ's moral teaching, to love. As forgiveness and philanthropy are among the most obvious manifestations of love, we may eertainly say that St. John, too, though not expressly, yet implicitly, attests that they were preseribed by Christ."

Among all these, what the author counts peculiar and dis-

tinctive of Christianity, is the formation of a society by our Saviour to promote morality among men. He says,

"Let us ask ourselves what was the ultimate object of Christ's scheme. When the Divine Society was established and organized, what did he expect to accomplish? To the question, we may suppose he would have answered, the object of the Divine Society is that God's will may be done on earth as it is done in heaven. In the language of our own day, its object was the improvement of morality." *Ecce Homo*, p. 100.

So also in his *Supplementary Preface:* "Resting then upon a basis of absolutely uniform testimony, upon facts merely illustrated and explained by less certain tradition, the writer has endeavoured to describe a moralist speaking with authority and perpetuating his doctrine by means of a society. *It is this union of morals and politics that he finds to be characteristic of Christianity.*"

It is not then that Christ reveals or requires any virtues or duties not previously enjoined by the philosophers, or otherwise known to men, but that he has organized a society to enforce them, which constitutes the differential quality of Christianity. We quote still further from the *Preface Supplementary*, because it is the author's own interpretation of his book, and sets out his views in the shortest spaces.

"What states are to the moral virtues of justice and honesty, and armies to the virtues of courage and subordination, that the Christian church is intended to be to all virtues alike, but especially to those which are nursed by no other organization, philanthropy, mercy, forgiveness, &c. When, therefore, the writer has spoken of these virtues as having been introduced among mankind by Christ, he does not mean to say that they had never before been declared by philosophers to be virtues. He has expressly guarded himself, and that several times (see particularly p. 142), against this misunderstanding. He has expressly said (p. 182) that the province of Christianity is not the province of the moralist. But the difference between stating the principles of morality and putting men into a condition to practise them,—between introducing new truths to the lecture-room of the philosopher and introducing them to the markets, and councils, and homes of men,—this difference, though it

seems to some of his readers vague or slight, seems to the writer vast and all-important. He knows something of what is in Seneca and Epictetus, and he duly respects the moralities taught there; but he 'yields all blessing to the name of Him that made them current coin.'

"That Christ has improved the ideal morality of philosophers is not what the writer wishes to maintain, though probably it is true. Nor does he assert, what may also be true, that Christ has improved the moral practice of the average of men."

Thus the author makes the distinctive element in Christianity, not the revelation of peculiar truths, or the requirement of peculiar services and duties correspondent therewith, but the formation of a society, called the church, to nourish and develop the virtues already recognized among men, and inculcated by heathen moralists and philosophers. What now, according to our author, are these virtues thus cherished and propagated by this church, and what are the appliances and forces peculiar to it for promoting them? The virtues specially noted and discussed by him are philanthropy, mercy, resentment, forgiveness. The special power for promoting them is found, first, in what the writer styles "the enthusiasm of humanity" inspired by the person, life, influence, and example of Christ, as a new and extraordinary manifestation in the world, and as the Founder and Head of this new organization; and secondly, His enthusiasm invigorated by the social, organic, disciplinary influence of this society and its symbols. This enthusiasm is a "divine inspiration," in the subject of it, which makes him a "law unto himself," and emancipates him from all the fetters of outward literal law, even though that law be divine. "This then it is which is wanted to raise the feeling of humanity into an enthusiasm; when the precept of love has been given, an image must be set before the eyes of those who are called upon to obey it, an ideal or type of man which may be noble and amiable enough to raise the whole race and make the meanest member of it sacred with reflected glory.

"Did not Christ do this? Did the command to love go forth to those who had never seen a human being they could revere? Could his followers turn upon him and say, How can we love a creature so degraded, full of vile wants and contemptible pas-

sions . . . It is precisely what was wanting to raise the love of man as man to enthusiasm. An eternal glory has been shed upon the human race by the love Christ bore to it. And it was because the Edict of Universal Love went forth to men whose hearts were in no cynical mood, but possessed with a spirit of devotion to a man, that words which at any other time, however grandly they might sound, would have been but words, penetrated so deeply, and along with the law of love the power of love was given. Therefore also the first Christians were enabled to dispense with philosophical phrases, and instead of saying that they loved the ideal of man in man, could simply say and feel that they loved Christ in every man.

"We have here the very kernel of the Christian moral scheme. We have distinctly before us the end Christ proposed to himself, and the means he considered adequate to the attainment of it. His object was, instead of drawing up, after the example of previous legislators, a list of actions prescribed, allowed, and prohibited, to give his disciples a universal test by which they might discover what it was right and what it was wrong to do. Now, as the difficulty of discovering what is right arises commonly from the prevalence of self-interest in our minds, and as we commonly behave rightly to any one for whom we feel affection or sympathy, Christ considered that he who could feel sympathy for all would behave rightly to all. But how to give to the meagre and narrow hearts of men such enlargement? How to make them capable of a universal sympathy? Christ believed it possible to bind men to their kind, but on one condition—that they were first bound fast to himself. He stood forth as the representative of men, he identified himself with the cause, and with the interests of all human beings, he was destined, as he began before long obscurely to intimate, to lay down his life for them. Few of us sympathize originally and directly with this devotion; few of us can perceive in human nature itself any merit sufficient to evoke it. But it is not so hard to love and venerate him who felt it. So vast a passion of love, a devotion so comprehensive, elevated, deliberate, and profound, has not elsewhere been in any degree approached save by some of his imitators. And as love provokes love, many have found it possible to conceive for Christ an attach-

ment the closeness of which no words can describe, a veneration so possessing and absorbing the man within them, that they have said, 'I live no more, but Christ lives in me.' Now such a feeling carries with it of necessity the feeling of love for all human beings. It matters no longer what quality men may exhibit; amiable or unamiable, as the brothers of Christ, as belonging to his sacred and consecrated kind, as the objects of his love in life and death, they must be dear to all to whom he is dear. And those who would for a moment know his heart and understand his life must begin by thinking of the whole race of man, and of each member of the race, with awful reverence and hope.

"Love, wheresoever it appears, is in its measure a law-making power. 'Love is *dutiful* in thought and deed.' And as the lover of his country is free from the temptation to treason, so is he who loves Christ secure from the temptation to injure any human being." *Ecce Homo*, pp. 179—80.

This enthusiasm is what is meant by the Holy Spirit in the New Testament, both as to his nature, and his indwelling in the souls of Christians whereby they are Christ's.

"It was fully understood by the early church that the enthusiastic or elevated condition of mind was the distinctive and essential mark of a Christian. St. Paul, having asked some converts whether they had received this divine inspiration since their conversion, and receiving for answer that they had not heard there was any such divine inspiration abroad, demanded in amazement what then they had been baptized into." Pp. 160—1.

The Holy Ghost then of *Ecce Homo* is this divine inspiration or "enthusiasm of humanity," which he describes as follows: "Our investigation into the character of the law under which the members of the Christian commonwealth are called to live, has led us to the discovery that in the strict sense of the word no such law exists, it being characteristic of this commonwealth that every member of it is a lawgiver to himself. Every Christian, we learn, has a divine inspiration which dictates to him in all circumstances the right course of action, which inspiration is the passion of humanity raised to a high energy by contemplation of Christ's character, and by the society of those in

whom the same enthusiasm exists. We cease, therefore, henceforth to speak of a Christian law, and endeavour instead to describe in its large outlines the Christian character; that is to say, the new views, feelings, and habits produced in the Christian by his guiding enthusiasm." P. 195.

And still further: "It was the inspiration, the law-making power, that gave Christ and his disciples courage to shake themselves *free from the fetters even of a divine law.*" P. 198.

It is scarcely necessary to say that this annuls all objective laws, all scriptural authority, all divine truths and precepts, beyond the "passion," "enthusiasm," that is to say, the feelings and impulses of each individual soul. These feelings, whether in Christ or his followers, are inspiration, the only inspiration, and the only Holy Ghost or author of inspiration known to this writer. Such a christology speaks for itself, and is beneath criticism. But the author's system, as a whole, is scarcely more erratic and superficial than many of its details, to some of the more remarkable of which we ask attention, as we bring this review to a close. We cannot stop to spread before our readers his evasive uncertainty in regard to the reality and extent of Christ's miracles, and the normal authority of the word, or any portion thereof; or the myths and arbitrary glosses which, with strange audacity, he superinduces upon such plain evangelical narratives as those concerning our Saviour's temptation, the woman taken in adultery, the portraiture of John the Baptist; the prayer of our Lord on the cross for his crucifiers, and, in general, the unbridled license which he uses with the text and exegesis of Scripture. Many of these have been forcibly exhibited in an able but just critique on the volume, in the *London Quarterly Review* for April, 1866. We cannot forbear, however, calling attention to some points which reveal more fully the drift of his system.

He claims that Christ amplified and elevated the sphere of morality, by giving it a positive character. The Old Testament was mainly prohibitory. The New Testament deals chiefly in positive commands. His language is, p. 201, "Now in what consisted precisely the addition made by Christ to morality? It has been already shown that Christ raised the feeling of humanity from being a feeble restraining power to be

an inspiring passion. The Christian moral reformation may indeed be summed up in this—humanity changed from a restraint to a motive. We shall be prepared therefore to find that while earlier moralities had dealt chiefly in prohibitions, Christianity deals in positive commands. And precisely this is the case, precisely this difference made the Old Testament seem antiquated to the first Christians. They had passed from a region of passive into a region of active morality. The old legal formula began '*thou shalt not*,' the new begins with '*thou shalt*.' The young man who had kept the whole law—that is, who had refrained from a number of actions—is commanded to do something, to sell his goods and feed the poor. Condemnation passed under the Mosaic law upon him who had sinned, who had done something forbidden—the soul that sinneth shall die;—Christ's condemnation is pronounced upon those who had not done good, I was an hungered, and ye gave me no meat."

It would be difficult to stray further from the truth. The Old Testament, in general and in detail, not only charges us to "cease to do evil," but to "learn to do well." The decalogue, even where its form is negative, carries, according to the understanding of all Christendom, and as interpreted throughout the Scriptures, the implication of the contrary positive virtues. And surely, it can scarcely be questioned that the New Testament abounds in prohibitions as well as commands. Christ disowns and consigns to perdition the workers of iniquity. Are not bitterness, wrath, clamour, evil-speaking, fornication, uncleanness, covetousness, lying, all unfruitful works of darkness, abundantly prohibited there under direst threatenings? Why then venture such rash and groundless representations of the teachings of Scripture? Why such wresting them from their obvious import to give plausibility to a chimera of his own imagination?

But what now does our author set forth to be the conditions of membership in the church, and the import of the sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper?

In regard to the former he says: "Assuredly those who represent Christ as presenting to men an abstruse theology, and saying to them peremptorily, 'Believe, or be damned,' have the coarsest conception of our Saviour in the world. He will

reject, he tells us, those who refuse to clothe the naked or tend the sick, those whose lamps have gone out, those who have buried their talents, not those whose minds are poorly furnished with theological knowledge." Pp. 90, 91. The truth or falsity of all this depends entirely on what the author means by "abstruse theology," "theological knowledge," &c. He not obscurely indicates in the chapter on membership in Christ's kingdom, from which the foregoing is extracted, that such things as the Divinity, Atonement, and Resurrection of our Lord, are so included in them, that belief in them should not be exacted as a condition of admission into Christ's kingdom. But this is more explicitly and unquestionably put in his account of the qualifications for Baptism. Construing our Lord's declarations to Nicodemus in the extreme literal and ritualistic sense as averring that there is "no way into the Theocracy (church) but through baptism," he gives us the following view of the qualifications for this sacrament. "But among the followers of the Legislator there is but one common quality. All, except a very few adventurers who have joined him under a mistake and will soon withdraw, have some degree of what he calls faith. All look up to him, trust in him, are prepared to obey him and to sacrifice something for him. He requires no more. This is a valid title to citizenship in the Theocracy. But in habits and character they differ as much as the individuals in any other crowd. Some are sunk in vice, others lead blameless lives; some have cultivated minds, others are rude peasants; some offer to Jehovah prayers conceived in the style of Hebrew psalmists and prophets, others worship some monstrous idol of the terrified imagination or passionless abstraction of philosophy. It is the object of the society into which this *motley crowd* are now gathered gradually to elevate each member of it, to cure him of vice, to soften his rudeness, to deliver him from the dominion of superstitious fears or intellectual conceits. But this is the point towards which the society tends, not that with which it begins." Pp. 94, 95.

This would seem to teach that, no matter what enormities of belief any may entertain, even in regard to Christ himself, and although they may be as yet unreclaimed idolaters or profligates, they still have a right to membership in this society—

the Christian church. All that is required is a willingness to be enrolled among Christ's followers and to be baptized, even though they bow down to dumb idols, or conceive of him as a Socrates, a Voltaire, a Nimrod, or a Napoleon. A simple answer to all this is our Lord's last and great commission, "Go ye into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature. He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved. But he that believeth not, shall be damned." The Ethiopian eunuch was admitted to baptism only on condition of believing with all his heart, and he confessed his faith that Jesus was the Son of God. To what purpose then does this author tell us in his *Preface Supplementary*, that "Christ, instead of declaring beneficence to be a virtue, merges all virtue in beneficence. In his account of the judgment of men (Matt. xxv), all that we commonly call morality disappears; not a word is said of honesty, purity, fidelity; active beneficence is made the one and only test: those who have fed the hungry are accepted, those who have not done so are rejected. And the same view of virtue as necessarily and principally an activity is presented in the Parable of the Talents, where all that men possess is represented as capital belonging to the Supreme King, the interest of which He exacts under the heaviest penalties," &c. &c.

Is not this clearly negatived by the general tenor, and the explicit, repeated, manifold averments of our Lord and his apostles? Does he not declare in regard to the unregenerate, the unbelieving, the impenitent, the unconverted, the doers of iniquity, that they cannot enter the kingdom of heaven, or escape perdition? And do not his inspired apostles teach in his name that "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"? that all liars shall have their part in the lake of fire? and that nothing shall enter heaven that defileth or maketh a lie?

But let us look at the author's account of the Lord's Supper and its import. "A common meal is the most natural and universal way of expressing, maintaining, and as it were ratifying relations of friendship. The spirit of antiquity regarded the meals of human beings as having the nature of sacred rites

(*sacra mensæ*). If therefore it sounds degrading to compare the Christian Communion to a club-dinner, this is not owing to any essential difference between the two things, but to the fact that the moderns connect less dignified associations with meals than the ancients did, and that most clubs have a far less serious object than the Christian Society. The Christian Communion *is* a club-dinner: but the club is the New Jerusalem; God and Christ are members of it; death makes no vacancy in its lists, but at its banquet-table the perfected spirits of just men, with an innumerable company of angels, sit down beside those who have not yet surrendered their bodies to the grave." *Ecce Homo*, p. 178.

And again: "It is precisely this intense personal devotion, this habitual feeding on the character of Christ, so that the essential nature of the Master seems to pass into and become the essential nature of the servant—loyalty carried to the point of self-annihilation—that is expressed by the words 'eating the flesh and drinking the blood of Christ.'" P. 190.

This needs no comment. The work, as a whole, is one more of the multiform attempts of sceptical ingenuity to make out a Christ, without any "doctrine of Christ," a Christianity, without any doctrine of Christianity. Of course it is a failure. Even the laudatory article in the *North British Review*, in which the writer shrinks from all rebuke beyond the most tender and dainty criticism, signalizes this great defect, and avers the impossibility of finding any renovating power in Christ disjoined from a true doctrine of Christ. It is not possible for such views of our Saviour as amount to a "false Christ," or to no Christ, to exert any genuine saving or transforming efficacy upon men. No view of Jesus which ignores or repudiates the "truth as it is in Jesus," can avail to renew and sanctify the soul. It is not a being of some unknown order that is our Redeemer, nor some merely superhuman creature; not a man only, nor God only; but a person who is both God and man, the Word made flesh, God blessed over all for ever. This glorious being indeed was the greatest of Teachers and Martyrs. But he was no mere teacher or martyr. To have been all this and no more, would have left him still impotent to kindle any "enthusiasm of humanity," any faith which works

by love, purifies the heart, and overcomes the world. It is as "bearing our sins," and being "made a curse for us" on the cross, that this cross becomes the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth, and that his blood cleanseth from all sin. It is by his Holy Spirit, as a Divine Person—not as a mere "enthusiasm of humanity," indwelling and inworking in us that we are made "new creatures in Christ Jesus." The love of God is shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Ghost. As to all this, let history be our witness. Where has Christianity been a power on earth, after the divinity, vicarious sacrifice, resurrection of Christ, and the renewing work of the Holy Ghost have died out from the faith of men? Indeed, when these have gone, what of Christianity is left? The philanthropic virtues still surviving among Socinians are but the inheritance handed down from the ancestral faith they have repudiated; the last reflections and radiations from that Sun of Righteousness which is now left beyond the horizon of their faith.

We see announced as in preparation another work by the author of "Ecce Homo," entitled, "Christ as the Creator of Modern Theology and Religion." We look for little light on this subject from one who is capable of offering the contents of this volume as a fit presentation of Christ—one which he may fairly summon men to behold as a just portraiture of the Incarnate Son of God.

We cannot better give a summation of our views of this production than in the concluding words of the article in the *London Quarterly Review* for April, 1866, above referred to.

"To refute all the errors which abound in 'Ecce Homo,' would be tedious and useless. The author claims to have studied the subject with especial regard to the facts, and he perverts the commonest particulars, which lie on the surface of the Gospels. He writes with an affectation of philosophical depth, and numerous passages in his treatise exhibit either ignorance or defiance of the elementary principles which are familiar to children and peasants. He disguises every-day truths by a pomp of disquisition and a wordiness of style which darken what is simple instead of elucidating what is obscure. His diffuse phraseology is wanting in precision, and his ideas

are often in the last degree vague and sometimes contradictory. His performance is just the reverse of its pretensions, and is inaccurate, superficial, and unsound. Whatever may be his creed —which he has carefully concealed—his want of candour in dealing with his authorities, his presumption, and his rashness, deserve the severest censure. That his book should have obtained the suffrages of any members of the Church of England, is melancholy evidence of their slight acquaintance with their faith and their Bibles. . . . . Happily, there is a vast body of educated men who are better informed, and while error is perpetually changing its form and is only born to die, the grand truths of Christianity are passed on with accelerated impulse from generation to generation. They were never more in the ascendant than now; and there is this good, at least, in the assaults of adversaries, that they promote inquiry and help to establish the revelation they were designed to overthrow."

ART. VII.—*The Hebrew Prophets, translated afresh from the original with regard to the Anglican version, and with illustrations for English readers.* By ROWLAND WILLIAMS, D. D., Vicar of Broad-Chalke, Wilts, formerly Fellow and Tutor of King's College, Cambridge. Vol. I.—The Prophets of Israel and Judah during the Assyrian Empire. 8vo. pp. 450. London and Edinburgh. 1866.

THIS book has no particular claim to attention from any novelty in its contents, its methods or results. It is, however, noteworthy as marking a fresh stage in the process which has for some time been going forward, and which bids fair to transfer to our own religious literature, if not to our own shores, the battle which has been waging in Germany from the beginning of the present century.

The English and American churches are accustomed to contests with avowed opposers, with philosophical deists who deny the reality of revealed religion, and frivolous scoffers who mock

at sacred things and point their profane jests at the inspired word of God. These have assailed not the essence of Christianity, but its evidences. The ponderous blows which were given or received, and the poisoned arrows which were discharged or warded off, did not affect the contents of the Scriptures so much as their claims upon men's credence and obedience. Friend and foe alike united in the confession that this volume professed to be a supernatural communication from God, and that it contained a definite system of doctrines and precepts propounded to men as a divine rule of faith and duty. By deist, infidel, and Christian, the Bible was understood substantially alike. The question in dispute was not what it claimed to be, nor what it taught; but whether its claims were valid, and its teachings true and authoritative.

At the opposite extreme from these battles with the open antagonists of all revealed religion, lay the controversies on points of doctrine with which our churches were familiar among themselves. Here the divinity and authority of the Scriptures did not come into question. Whatever skirmishing there might be over minor and unessential details, or however the dispute might wax hot over weighty and momentous doctrines vital in their bearing on evangelical religion, the foundations were left untouched. To the combatants on either side, the Bible was the word of God and contained a system of truth divinely authoritative.

A far subtler and bolder form of attack than either of these indigenous species of warfare has, however, been developed abroad. It proceeds not from professed foes outside the church, but from men who call themselves Christians, and who resent as unfounded and malignant the charge of heresy or unbelief,—who occupy prominent positions in evangelical communions and fill noted theological chairs,—men in some cases of immense and varied learning, who make the Scriptures the study of their lives, and are enthusiastic in their admiration of the sacred writers. And these men fortified by their position in the church, by their extensive research and their unquestioned ability, as well as by their professions of candour and of respect and veneration for the Scriptures, direct their assault not merely at the external evidences of revealed religion, nor

at particular doctrines of the word of God which may be more or less important, but by a dexterous use of criticism and philology they undertake to explode all that has been most surely believed from the days of the prophets and apostles. The entire supernatural view of religion is simply a stupendous mistake and misunderstanding; and nothing more is needed to demonstrate this than a careful study of the volume which Christendom has made the basis of its faith. The inner mechanism of these books sufficiently explains their true character. There was no miracle, no prophecy, no immediate revelation in the case. Before a fair and candid interpretation and an intelligent criticism all mystery disappears, and the literary products of Palestine are to be classed with those of Greece and Rome and other lands. The inspired men, the psalmists and the prophets of the Hebrews, were simply sages, poets, and orators, admirable for their genius and penetration, their eloquence and poetic fire, but in no other sense the messengers of God or the interpreters of his will, than the same classes are among every people and in every age.

As remote though not uninterested spectators, we have been wont to look serenely on this scene of strife, congratulating ourselves on our safe distance and our sheltered position. We have been affected by it much as we used to be by the clangour of transatlantic arms before these last few terrible years, while we securely trusted that the shock of war could never reach ourselves. From these vain dreams we were rudely roused by the breaking out of the late rebellion. It was not an affair with the Indian tribes menacing our outposts, which the despatch of a few regiments might quell. It was not a mere question of policy to be settled peacefully at the polls. It was a desperate struggle for the nation's life against those who had sworn to support the Constitution, but who hoped by a bold *coup d'état* to seize upon the government, possessing themselves of the national forts, supplies, and ammunition, turning our own guns upon us, and beleaguering the capitol.

The warning notes of preparation for a like struggle over the essentials of the Christian faith are already sounding in our ears; and its friends and defenders must equip themselves thoroughly for it. Hitherto it has been chiefly the light

skirmishes that have appeared upon the field, but the tramp of the heavy armed legions is close behind them.

German opinions and conclusions have been imported piecemeal, and sometimes even ludicrously and unskilfully urged after they had been abandoned by their authors, like foreign fashions thrown upon the market after the commodities had ceased to be saleable at home. German books of the destructive sort have been translated and circulated among us, but as these were prepared for another public, and presupposed a very different state of popular opinion and a widely variant taste, they had little influence on the general mind. There were those, however, to whom these novelties proved welcome, and by whom their startling conclusions were eagerly embraced. This number has been steadily increasing, and as a consequence these ideas are becoming naturalized; they are cast into the forms of English thought, wrought into shapes more captivating to English minds, and native centres created for their wider and more vigorous dissemination. Writers in leading Quarterlies, and even in influential daily journals, have put forth these views in laboured articles and in sprightly paragraphs. Men of eminence in letters and science, and dignitaries of the church, have tacitly assumed their correctness or entered the lists in their defence. The only Introduction to the Old Testament from an English pen, which makes any pretension to represent the existing state of Biblical learning, is wholly in the same interest, the awkward and ill-digested, but learned and copious treatise of Davidson. And now in the volume under consideration a beginning is made at new translations and commentaries, from which the idea of a supernatural revelation is carefully excluded, and every occasion seized to scout the notion as the offspring of bigotry and prejudice, or the remnant of an antiquated superstition.

The author, Rowland Williams, D. D., is well known by his paper on Bunsen's Biblical Researches, in the famous "Essays and Reviews," by a volume of sermons in the same vein, entitled, "Rational Godliness," by his Christianity and Hinduism, and other minor publications.

The estimate which he puts upon the prophets will appear from such expressions as the following: "The words were

spoken by the prophet after the measure of his own age, with its limitation of horizon and of feeling." P. 6. "Prophecy is not a delegation of the Divine omniscience, but a foreboding from trust in the Divine justice, tinged possibly by passion, limited certainly by circumstance." P. 40. "The eternal power of the prophets springs ever fresh, not from whatever gift of prediction they may extraordinarily have possessed, but from that which they have in common with ourselves, their sight of God, their hatred of tyranny and hypocrisy, their courage in denouncing wrong, their awe-stricken prayerfulness, their poetical fire, their manly generosity." P. 216. Again he speaks of "the prophet's own mind impelled by presentiment, as by something divine, as we ourselves in some vast calamity, or amidst organized wrong veiled by falsehood, forebode by faith in God that it cannot be for ever." P. 339. And of "fervent forebodings, which have a tinge of prediction, though not in the external sense commonly conceived." P. 355.

The prophets, then, were under no extraordinary Divine influence. What they uttered was not the immediate communications of God's Spirit, but the forebodings of their own minds. It follows from this that they could have no infallible prescience of the future; and there cannot in strictness have been any such thing as a fulfilment of their predictions. This conclusion he does not pretend to evade, but explicitly draws and undertakes to establish it in detail.

He says, indeed, p. 96, "With God no prediction can be impossible;" and again, p. 150, "No religious mind, least of all my own (whatever may have been polemically imputed), would deem it impossible for God to foretell the captivity a century before it happened."

It is here confessed that the clear foresight of the future, however distant, is not in itself incredible. There is no *a priori* necessity forbidding it. God certainly foreknows what will come to pass; and if he has chosen, he may have communicated that knowledge to the prophets. No man is authorized to declare that the prophets can have uttered no real predictions. Whether they have done so in actual fact, must be determined by an unbiassed examination of their writings. To such an examination our author confidently makes his appeal, and pro-

fesses himself willing to abide its issue. He boldly avers that all the books of the prophets do not afford a single instance of supernatural foresight. The method by which this conclusion is reached, is as extraordinary as the conclusion itself.

Of Hosea he alleges, p. 91, that no proof can be given that any event absolutely future, when the writing was published, was therein foretold. Even if this were really so, it is a palpable evasion of the point at issue. We may leave out of view the Messianic predictions, which are disposed of by a very summary process; and we may allow it to be an open question, whether Hosea survived the fall of Samaria, and published the book of his prophecies after that event; and yet, if Hosea uttered predictions which were afterwards fulfilled, it is as fatal to the theory as if they had been from the first committed to writing.

Here is the record of a ministry covering the last sixty years of the existence of the kingdom of the ten tribes, the ever recurring burden of which, from first to last, is the destruction of this ungodly kingdom, and the exile of the people. This prediction is further set in combination with the announcement of the future fate of the house of Jeroboam, which occurred in the outset of his ministry, and with arguments, expostulations, and exhortations, which imply that the kingdom was still standing, and space was still allowed for repentance. Now the people amongst whom Hosea laboured for the space of nearly two generations, must have known whether his ministry was really such as is herein described; whether he had really announced, as he here claims, the fall of Jeroboam's house, and at the same time and thenceforward the overthrow and captivity of the ten tribes. If he had not, and it was, as it must have been, well known to the people that he had not, how did this book ever gain credence, or its author attain any other reputation than that of an impostor instead of a prophet.

But apart from the esteem in which it was held, it is apparent from its whole spirit, style, and structure, that it belongs not after but before the Assyrian captivity began. The indignant rebukes, the impassioned entreaties, the moving appeals, which are based upon the predictions and mingled with them, which presuppose at the same time that they justify them,

would be without an object, would be wholly insupposable after the kingdom was actually overturned and the people exiled. From the very tenor of these utterances they must have been first made before the things predicted in them had come to pass. Whether they were committed to writing prior to the fulfilment or not, is a matter of no consequence, since we have in the popular reception of the book the same confirmation of its being a truthful record as in the credit attached to any history of recent and well-known events.

But there is a further peculiarity of this prophetic announcement which affords a demonstration not only that the prediction was uttered before the event, but that it was recorded substantially as it had been uttered, and that no change was made in its form to adapt it to what actually took place. Prophecy is not history; and although real and exact in its correspondence with history, it has nevertheless its own peculiar and distinctive character. Its modes of representation and forms of expression, though justified by the event, are often manifestly such as would not have been employed after the event. This divergence of method arises out of the difference in the ends at which prophecy and history respectively aim, and in the point of view under which they contemplate the same territory. One of its incidental results is the demonstration of the genuine predictive character of the former, and that it is not a *vaticinium ex eventu*.

Thus the fact of the coming overthrow of the ungodly kingdom of the ten tribes and the exile of the people is repeatedly declared, and with all distinctness. But there is a singular obscurity clouding the locality of the exile. The prophet says at one time that they shall be carried into Egypt (viii. 13, ix. 6); at another, that they shall be carried into Assyria, (x. 6); at another still, that they shall be carried into both Egypt and Assyria, (ix. 3, xi. 11); and once again, that they shall not be carried into Egypt but into Assyria, (xi. 5). This variety of statement is seized upon to disparage the prophecy and point the charge of vacillation and mistake. It is, however, apparent at once that this allegation is inconsistent with the other, that the book was written after the things predicted had come to pass. Both cannot be true. And in point of fact neither is.

Such sentences could not have been written after it was known from the event that the exile was in Assyria. And on the other hand, the assumption of vacillation and error is gratuitously made. If we will deal with the language of the prophet, as we would with that of any other respectable author, we will scarcely believe that he has thus grossly contradicted himself almost in consecutive paragraphs; we shall suspect that beneath the literal inconsistency there is some consistent meaning. And it will require little penetration to discover that the whole is capable of being readily harmonized. And the same process which will reconcile these superficially divergent statements with one another, will likewise reconcile them all with the actual fact. Egypt is the ideal name of a land of bondage. To carry Israel back into Egypt was to reduce them to the same condition in which their fathers had been in that ancient empire. But, as the prophet himself explains, the Egypt to which they were to return was not the literal territory so called, but the Assyrian should be their king; just as we speak of Vandals and of Hessians in an another than the strictly ethnic sense.

Perhaps also the words of the prophet may find a further justification in the not improbable assumption that while the great body of exiles were led away to Assyria straggling bands may have been taken into Egypt, or have fled thither to escape Assyrian oppression, as was the case at a later period with the Jews when the mass of the people were carried to Babylon. In any event the prediction is amply verified, and yet its terms are such as to preclude any other supposition than that it was really a prediction. It must have been uttered in this form if not actually committed to writing, before the issue could be divined by human sagacity. .

The subterfuge thus ineffectually resorted to in the case of Hosea may serve as a sample of the mode of dealing with those predictions which were fulfilled in the life-time of the prophets who uttered them. The bald suspicion or the confident assertion that the prophecies have been modified so as to adapt them to the event after it occurred and create the appearance of a foresight which did not exist, is counted sufficient to set them aside. No proof is offered to sustain this gratuitous conjec-

ture. No pains are taken to free it from the difficulties by which it is pressed. No explanation is given of the mode in which these spurious propheeies could gain credenee in the circumstanees supposed, or how the people eould be induced to believe that events had been foretold, not to their fathers but to themselves, of which they had never heard until they took place; or how such bad faith is eonsistent with the eharaeter of the prophets, whom Dr. Williams represents as sincere, upright and God-fearing men; or how his hypothesis can be reconciled with the internal evidence to the contrary afforded by the structure of the propheeies in question.

His eagerness to rid himself of predictions by making the writings of the prophets posterior to the events to whieh they refer, occasionally leads him to eonelusions whieh put even the critics of Germany to shame. Thus Nahum's propheey of the fall of Nineveh is converted into a retrospect of her doom by the magic of a few prophetie preterites and the vividness with which the overthrow of that mighty city is pictured. "The first impression," he says, (p. 434), "left by a dispassionate perusal of our prophet, is that of eontemporaneousness or subsequence to the events which he narrates. The defenders are fallen, the assailants hasten to the wall, the siege-screen is set fast, the city is taken, her daughters moan as doves, her people refuse to rally, she beeomes a pool of waters. This impression need not be removed by the subsequent reflection, with whieh in his closing epode the prophet travels baek into the counsels of eternity for the causes of the event over which he exults." What Dr. Williams here calls "travelling back into the counsels of eternity" is just the predietion of an event which is plainly represented as not having yet occurred, but as eertain to take place in the future. It is not the past of Nineveh, but her coming fate which is set forth and pronounced inevitable, its grounds exhibited, and a striking example adduced to confirm what in itself appears so incredible. It is manifest that this is either a prediction, or that its author designed that it should be regarded as a prediction. And in either ease the vivid pictures of the preceding chapter cannot have been intended to be understood as a description of what is already past.

The fact is, as the mass of the readers of this book have

believed from the beginning, and as modern critics of all schools concede, the prophecy of Nahum contains indubitable evidence of having been uttered at or near the time of Sennacherib's disastrous defeat, which is treated as prophetic of the ultimate overthrow of this proud oppressing empire. This is confirmed by the position of the book in the collection of the minor prophets. And, as Dr. Williams observes, "Josephus distinctly places Nahum a hundred and fifteen years before Nineveh's fall."

Under these circumstances, to imagine that the date of the prophecy is settled adversely to all internal and external considerations, by saying "that the prophet of God meant what he said when he affirmed Nineveh to have been captured," is as intelligent as it would be to sever from its context some passage in which a historian makes use of the present tense in speaking of the past, and infer from this the contemporaneousness of the author with what he describes.

The methods already described of escaping the evidence of supernatural foresight are freely employed in such cases as the foregoing. But when the fulfilment took place after the prophet's death, and no chronological hypothesis can bridge the interval, another and more summary process becomes necessary. The obnoxious prophecies are disposed of by the critic's knife; and whatever it might be inconvenient to retain, since it would contravene the point to be established, is unhesitatingly rejected as spurious.

It is astonishing that a clearheaded Englishman can be deluded by such a palpable circle as that involved in this destructive criticism, or that even under the pressure of a foregone conclusion he can be induced to resort to it. As a matter of course the critic finds exactly what he wishes to find. He sets out with the prepossession that there is no real prediction to be found in the prophets. Every prediction, that can be disposed of in no other way, is consequently alleged to have been written after the event. Then having arranged the dates *ad libitum* in detail, he turns round and claims that inasmuch as all these prophecies were written after the event to which they refer, there is among them no real prediction.

If this method is allowable there is no difficulty in proving

anything that a man may undertake to prove. If Dr. Williams had been so disposed he might have shown with equal ease that the Israelites were never under a kingly government, and that the existence of royalty among them is merely a traditional blunder. The critical process would be simply this. Inasmuch as there were no kings in Israel, the books of Samuel, Kings, and Chronicles, which profess to record their history, must be spurious; they were written doubtless sometime after the exile, when the Jews, chafing under foreign domination, sought to gather credit to their own nation by asserting that they too had had a race of kings. All the scattered passages in other books which allude to or presuppose the existence of kings, must likewise be culled out and referred to the same origin. After this expunging process has been completed, it can then be claimed that no reference to kings or a kingdom is to be found in the entire genuine literature of the nation; and consequently the existence of a regal government in Israel is a figment and a chimera.

Nothing in the history of opinion is susceptible of a readier demonstration, as has often been shown, than that the extravagance of modern criticism is the offspring of disbelief in a supernatural revelation. However this may be disguised or disclaimed, nothing is more certain than that the so called rational grounds of this criticism are uniformly subordinated to the doctrinal principle from which the whole has proceeded. The alleged diversities of style and diction and range of ideas and mode of conception, which are paraded as evidences that certain books of the Bible, or parts of books, cannot belong to the authors to whom they are traditionally referred, were never thought of as involving any such conclusion until the necessity was created for it by the exigencies of modern unbelief. And that this conclusion still rests upon its original premises, and not upon the other arguments by which it is professedly sustained, is apparent from the fact that these latter are deemed conclusive by those who urge them only when the doctrinal consideration co-exists with them; and that in spite of all disagreement among themselves as to the state of the argument or the literary aspects of the case, the critics uniformly agree in their conclusions, so far and only so far as the rejection of

every passage involving the supernatural, which cannot otherwise be evaded or explained away.

Dr. Williams himself, with all his professions of impartiality and freedom from doctrinal bias, finds one passage in Isaiah to be spurious on account of "the spirit of charity" which it breathes. P. 335. And others on the directly opposite ground of desiring "revenge upon oppressors," which he alleges to be "the spirit engendered by the sufferings of the exile, and expressed in the poems subsequent to the return." P. 401. Though vague assertions of difference of style are made to disprove the genuineness of certain passages, the resemblance in others may be so close that he can scarcely distinguish between them, and yet the conclusion is the same, as on p. 292, where, after urging that "the greatest masters of Hebrew criticism" deny the style of certain chapters to be that of Isaiah, he adds, "I would not be understood, as if the difference of verbal colour in style appeared to my own ear sufficient alone to justify the dissociation of this chapter from Isaiah. Many both of the thoughts and phrases appear to me so remarkably like, that if the author is not Isaiah, he imitated Isaiah." Elsewhere, with all his literary arguments in full force, he is willing to admit the suggestion of genuineness, provided it is not allowed to make in favour of prophetic foresight. Thus, pp. 354, 5: "The moral horizon of the chapters is such as to suit the period of the Babylonish captivity. . . . . Such is substantially the view of most critics. . . . . If any one prefers making Isaiah the author, he may either call the entire piece predictive, *or he may easily imagine* dealings with the Assyrian in the less fortunate days of Ahaz or Hezekiah, to which parts of the picture will, not quite perfectly, correspond."

On p. 37 he propounds what he calls "a grave critical question." "There are scattered at the end of several scriptures, both in the Psalms and prophetical books, little pieces not always accordant with the main theme, but singularly appropriate to the exile or the return from Babylon." Do these form an integral part of the productions in which they are found, or were they added during or after the exile? Of this he says, p. 38, "An impartial answer to this question is, that we have no such evidence of the former state of the books as

would render such addition impossible; nor yet proof of its having actually taken place. We shall never quite know, how far the labours of Ezra, or of those to whom his name has been given, extended in arranging as well as editing the canon."

It is strange that Dr. Williams does not see that the very magnitude of the hypothesis here suggested must destroy it, and that it is hopelessly encumbered instead of corroborated by the number of interpolations which he is obliged to assume. Anticipations of the exile of varying distinctness are found scattered through all the preëxilic books from the writings of Moses downward; and this not only at the end of psalms or prophecies, but in the body of them as well, and in varying magnitude from a single verse or paragraph, to sections of many continuous chapters. All these must be interpolations purposely inserted, or fragments from anonymous authors, accidentally blended with writings otherwise genuine. In the former case the intelligence of the people and the good faith of the custodians of Scripture are gratuitously impugned, and their reverence for the inspired word insulted, notwithstanding Dr. Williams's singular notion that such additions were possible, and are not likely to have been thought wrong. In the latter case it must be accounted for that, while such brief books as Obadiah, dating from the earliest period of written prophecy, are preserved distinct and assigned to their proper authors, the writers of these added passages, some of which are much longer and belong to the most striking and important parts of the Old Testament, and which exerted a powerful influence in the exile, were wholly unknown to the collectors of the canon, although they lived almost, if not quite, in Ezra's own days. Nay, they had not only themselves dropped completely from sight, but the knowledge of their writings as distinct productions was lost, so that they were innocently attached to, or promiscuously mingled with, writings of a former age, so widely separate in subject and in character that critics at the present day can infallibly sunder them.

And what is still more remarkable, in this unheard of falsification of the entire national literature, it so happens that there is scarcely an interpolation or a suspected passage, which is not a prediction of the exile or of something connected with

the exile. Now if, as Dr. Williams would have us believe, this is purely a literary question to be determined apart from all doctrinal bias, which is the more natural and credible supposition, that the entire literature of the nation has been tampered with to this extent, nobody knows by whom, or how, or when, or for what purpose,—or that this idea of the exile of an unfaithful people was before the minds of the sacred penmen from the beginning, and gained clearness and consistency as time advanced? If their anticipations were justified by the event, and the accuracy of their foreshadowing was such as to show that they were enlightened by the Omniscient Spirit of God, should this be allowed to alter the conditions of the problem in its purely literary aspect? Can Dr. Williams in fairness claim that it does, after affirming that "there can be no harm in believing prophecy; but great harm in distorting Scripture to create it." P. 214.

But criticism is only one of the weapons which our author has at command to rid himself of obnoxious predictions. Where this fails, or he is indisposed to resort to it, he can make an equally effective use of interpretation. It may not always be convenient to locate a prophecy after its fulfilment; and at any rate some variety of method will relieve the tedious monotony of an uniform process. Accordingly upon occasion predictions are so explained as to divert attention from their actual fulfilment, and thus conceal the evidence of supernatural foresight. Sometimes they are made to be a mere presentiment or vague anticipation. Thus (p. 22), "The idea of foretelling future events with articulate prediction (as distinct from devout or hopeful forebodings) is not intended here."

Or a sense may be put upon them which they do not really contain, and then it can easily be made to appear that they were not fulfilled. Thus (p. 40), "Amos's denunciation was fulfilled, though neither in the time nor by the instruments which he expected." The proof of mistake in the time is given on p. 63: "The prophet, like a puritan or early Quaker or the sterner friars of the 12th century, answers wrathfully, and denounces on his mitred opponent calamities of which we have no record whether they came to pass; or whether God, whose thought is larger than our thought, overruled the too

fervid zeal. We know that Jeroboam died in peace, though Amos, *if he is reported truly by Amaziah*, meant differently." Now it is as plain upon the face of the passage (vii. 9, 10) as can be, that Amos was not truly reported by Amaziah. The former had said that the Lord would "rise against *the house of Jeroboam* with the sword." Amaziah perverts this into "*Jeroboam* shall die by the sword." Where is Dr. Williams's candour then, when he represents the denunciation of Amos as unfulfilled (p. 39), because it did not come to pass "in the reign of Jeroboam, against whose house no sword came from abroad until domestic conspiracy overthrew his son;" where it is moreover to be observed, that the words "from abroad" are gratuitously inserted, not being warranted by the prophet's own language.

The allegation that Amos indicates the wrong instruments for the judgment which he foretells, has no other foundation than a downright mistranslation of iii. 11. Ashdod and Egypt are summoned (iii. 9) to behold the iniquities of Samaria, in order, if possible, to shame this guilty city out of practices base enough to astonish the very heathen. By an unauthorized change of text they are represented as besieging and spoiling the city. The real executioners of the woe here denounced are hinted at, though not named, by the prophet, when he declares (v. 27) that the captivity would be more remote than Damascus.

Again, (p. 299), he says of Isaiah, chap. xiii., "The desolation of Babel, which he expects to follow, is an anticipation, destined in long ages to find fulfilment, though not in the hour or manner conceived by a man, to whom (as the words of the Lord Jesus may teach us) God had not made known the times and the seasons." The fact is that the prophet does not profess to define either the hour or the manner in which the finishing stroke is to be put to the desolation which he so accurately portrays.

Our author, it further appears, is not always particular in the choice of his methods, provided the end is attained of doing away with prediction in the proper sense. On p. 353, he allows the alternative of explaining a passage as "vague presentiment," or supposing it to have been "subsequently filled

in." On p. 332, the prophet "expected" what never took place, or else "uttered a general anticipation," which he admits to have been afterwards verified.

It spite, however, of both criticism and interpretation, cases occur, in which it is impossible not to acknowledge that the words of the prophet have come true. But even this does not disturb our author's serenity. "Prescient inferences from faith in the moral order of God's world have often come true. So the great reformation of the church and the revolution of France were felt due, long before they came." P. 40. Of the overthrow of Sennacherib's host, agreeably to the word of Isaiah, he says, (p. 222), "I incline to consider this a remarkable instance of faith justified by the event; but hardly find it demonstrable that the expectation went beyond foreboding, or that the result transcended the limits of a marvellous providence." His suggestion of an adverse conclusion from "the circumstance that the disaster took place not in Palestine, (Isaiah xiii. 1), but in the Egyptian desert, (Herod. ii. 141)" is sufficiently neutralized by his statement (p. 328) that we do not know "whether it happened in Egypt or in Palestine."

The prophecies respecting Christ, as was to be expected, are dealt with as the rest. Here criticism would be of little avail, and interpretation must do the work. The process of solution is disclosed, pp. 154—7. "What did the prophets mean? Did they predict a Messiah, one anointed with the Holy Spirit, who should be priest, prophet, and king, the glory of Israel, and Saviour of mankind; suffering, yet triumphant; man in form, God in power." . . .

"We have seen in the prophets preceding Micah such glowing anticipations of a brighter future, as fancy loves and faith in God does not disapprove. . . . We have seen also aspirations of the patriot stamp, earnest enough to take the form of predictions, that Jehovah would have mercy on his people Israel, protect their border, restore their exiles, and transmit their inheritance to their children. . . . No one of these prophets hitherto has presented the picture of a hero deliverer, national or spiritual, such as we conceive the Messiah.

"Proceeding to Micah, we still find the general anticipation of good to come and the national hope, both of which are

strikingly combined in the splendid fragment which commences the 4th chapter. . . . Considering how the prophet connects his hopeful fragment with what goes before and after, *i. e.*, first with the destruction which bad teachers would bring upon Zion; secondly, with the triumph which Zion was to win over Assyrian invaders; we can but trace so far a hope of temporal deliverance, and a hope which in some of its features Providence did not see good to fulfil; since the kingdom of the ten tribes did not return to Migdal-eder by Bethlehem or to Jerusalem. We are now at the heart of the question; for if we connect the latter-day fragment, as we ought, with the birth from Bethlehem-Ephratah, a few verses lower, it becomes no longer possible to avoid the conclusion that Micah is speaking of some one being born, or sitting already on Judah's throne, and destined, as he hoped, to consolidate the divided kingdom; certainly he is not speaking of any distant Messiah, earthly or heavenly. . . . It will result that we shall be obliged to consider the citation in our first Gospel, ii. 6, as an adaptation of ancient words instead of an authoritative allegation of prediction; and opinions will differ widely as to the degree of historical justice or fanciful ornament shown in the adaptation.

"Any reader, who is convinced that in this famous passage of Micah, we have no divine prediction of Jesus as the Messiah born in Bethlehem, will be prepared for a similar falling of the scales from his eyes, when he examines other passages."

This long quotation sufficiently reveals how unshrinkingly the theory is carried through, and the process by which it is done. Messianic predictions are resolved in one or other of two ways. First, the prophets' hopes are fixed on some one then living, and they give utterance to their fond expectation of what Hezekiah perhaps, or another descendant of the royal house of David, would do or would become. The prophets, it is true, do not in these connections name Hezekiah or this hopeful prince, whoever he may be. They never say that the wonderful personage of whom they speak, and who is to introduce so blessed an era, is a contemporary. But since there are no real predictions, they must mean that, if they mean anything. At any rate Dr. Williams so assumes. He is satisfied of the fact whether others are or not.

These expectations of the prophets may never have been fulfilled in the person whom they had in mind. They may have been in their terms chimerical and extravagant to the last degree, as applied to an ordinary prince or to any mere man. But Dr. Williams does not consider himself responsible for this any more than he is bound to reconcile the expressions in Virgil's fourth Eclogue with sober history. The hopes of the prophets were disappointed, and their predictions failed in their original intent. Thus these sacred words came to be transferred to other objects and to others still, each fresh disappointment serving but to push them farther into the future, until at length stripped of everything local and material, and receiving a spiritual sense such as the prophet never dreamed of, they were applied to Christ.

If this is so, the Jews are certainly a most extraordinary race of men. The non-fulfilment of his prediction is generally thought to discredit a prophet. But with them, it appears, it is different. The more grossly they are deceived, the greater credit they attach to the fraud. The clearer the evidence of falsehood, the more pertinaciously they will cling to it. Their hope of a Messiah, which has been their one outstanding characteristic for ages, is built upon predictions which were falsified over and over again before their eyes, and which, moreover, were uttered by men who never had any solid claim to the prophetical character.

And, besides, the history of interpretation is exactly the reverse of what the Doctor would have us believe. The steadfastness of Jewish traditions is a universal by-word. Now, as far back as it is possible to trace them, the passages in question were understood of the Messiah. This is their original ancestral faith. It was only after they had in their blindness rejected the Saviour when he came, and these prophecies were turned against them by Christians, and the accuracy of their fulfilment in Jesus of Nazareth was shown, that they bethought themselves of other and inferior applications. It is the reference to Hezekiah, not that to the Messiah, which is the afterthought.

The second solvent of Messianic predictions transmutes them into undefined hopes of a blissful future, the good time ever

coming, which men in uneasy circumstances long for, and inextinguishable hope paints as in prospect. This is their ideal for the Jewish people and the Jewish state, the glory, perpetuity, and triumph of the kingdom, the peaceful security of the inhabitants and every form of temporal blessedness; and "can only by some inversion of the prophet's own meaning be applied to Christianity."

But if these prospects of good and imaginings of a happier future are so natural, how comes it to pass that while continuous and uniform with the Hebrew prophets, they were in all the ancient world confined to them. The Greek and Roman poets sang of a golden age in the past, but they never dreamed of one to come. The only exceptions in the whole range of classic literature are a few scanty passages, which, like Virgil's ode addressed to Pollio, betray their origin by expressions and ideas manifestly derived from the Jewish Scriptures.

These foreshadowings of the blissful future were not mere vague and misty aspirations. They were connected in the prophets' minds with a definite era, of which they had formed a clear and consistent image. And although the period is sometimes spoken of merely in the general, without explicit mention in each passage or by each prophet of the person of the great Redeemer, still the current belief of the nation and the unambiguous language of other passages and other prophets, compel to the conclusion that this expected person was the centre about which all their hopes clustered, and that they looked to his coming to introduce the blessings which they describe.

That the prophecies, whether of Messiah's person or of the period to be ushered in by his advent, were cast in the forms of the Old Testament, does not detract from the reality of their inspiration nor the exactness of their fulfilment. This follows necessarily from the preparatory character of the former dispensation. In the intention of God these outward material forms were symbols of higher spiritual things. The people of Israel were placed under the tutelage of the former, that they might be trained to a proper comprehension of the latter. This Dr. Williams substantially admits, apparently not discerning that in so doing he concedes a principle which carries every-

thing else with it that the most fervid supranaturalist can desire.

Thus, p. 29, "If history repeats itself by fresh instances of eternal principles . . . . the old description may become a new prophecy. . . . . And if a holy organization on a spiritual type takes the place of old Israel in God's favour, it may be argued that the threatenings and promises of the old were typically intended of the new; intended not by the prophet, but by the Providence which wields nations, patriots, tyrants, and their destinies, painting in the past the picture of the future."

Again, p. 158, "We need not exclude from the region of devout metaphysics a speculation, how far the dread Being, to whom our thoughts are known long before, may have calculated the impulses of his ancient worshippers and their expression, so that things spoken of old might become applicable again; the songs of Zion become hymns of the church, the praise of King David be transferred to a mental king, the prayer for Solomon, the sorrow of Jeremiah, possibly the birth of Hezekiah repeated in the greatest (we must not say 'the only') Christ."

And, p. 169, "We may even find a pleasure, which if not severely logical, is yet not altogether mystical in turning memory into hope, and in saying to ourselves, though God did not see fit to build up the kingdom of Hezekiah, as Micah expected, He has given that hope a glorious transfiguration by building up a spiritual dominion of One who was the Son of David in figure and poetry—whether in flesh we hardly know. Though the twelve tribes have not found a reunion, which as a thing local and national would not affect any spiritual faith, the hearts of men in distant nations may be knit together by the free Spirit which once spoke narrower, and now speaks wider hopes. The Holy Land is wherever God is. The prophets are wherever free men worship in truth." Once more, p. 224. "Some portions are so local and temporal as the exaltation of Mount Zion above other mountains, that our own Master, Christ, the only infallible interpreter, has reversed them by his doctrine, and taught his followers that the fulfilment of such things lies in their expansion; hence they fulfil

in such a sense as that in which the forest of to-day fulfils the acorn of a millenium ago."

Here is a confession that in the orderings of God there is a correspondence between the utterances of the prophets wrapped in the temporary forms of the ancient economy and the spiritual and enduring realities of the gospel. The whole Old Testament is thus one vast prophecy of the New, of which the verbal predictions of the Messiah are but the culminating points. And the more attentively this correspondence between the Old and the New in God's kingdom is studied, the more conviction will ripen into certainty that we are not in the region of accident or human caprice, but of Divine foreordination. And the more narrowly we inspect the coherence of this great preparatory scheme in the Old Testament the more thoroughly we shall be satisfied that the Messianic predictions are not isolated phenomena, nor accidents in the scheme, but component and important parts of it; that these utterances must have been shaped by the Divine prescience as truly as the whole scheme was prearranged of God; and that in the Divine intention these utterances carried from the first those ideas which we now find to be involved in them. And if God designed them, who shall prove that men did not in a measure comprehend them? That the prophets themselves, and the people to whom they were addressed, did not, to a greater or less extent, penetrate to their real meaning?

After the evidences, which have been given, it might well be thought superfluous to accumulate further proof of how completely Dr. Williams denies the presence of anything supernatural in the prophets. They have a mission from God in no other sense than all men of great and pure ideas, conscious of the truth and value of what they utter. It will, however, contribute to a juster understanding of the rigour with which he presses his fundamental principle, to state in a word how completely he rates them as men on a level with other men. The association of Sophocles, Cicero, and St. Paul (p. 37) finds repeated parallels in the combination of the prophets with the bards and philosophers of other lands, and even with Turkish dervishes, Popish confessors, and enthusiasts generally. Their sentiments though often commended are sometimes represented

as less liberal and just than those found elsewhere. They are spoken of as under the influence of human passion, frequently vindictive and governed by a narrow and contracted patriotism. When they enter into the region of politics they mistake their sphere and give injudicious advice, such as princes were justifiable in declining to act upon. "It is the old quarrel," he says, p. 366, "between the unseen and the seen, faith and flesh, the prophet and the soldier, the preaching Covenanter and counselling Cromwell, the simplicity which asks for prayers against cholera, and the statesmanship which recommends the removal of dirt." The false prophets and the true are put upon a level, and the strife between them is made the ground of a charge that there were factions in the prophetic order.

After what has been said it will surprise no one to hear that he speaks contemptuously of a book-revelation, and denies the reality of miracles. These are disposed of either by naturalistic explanations, or by denying the trustworthiness of the records in which they are found. In regard to the resurrection of Christ he holds the following hesitating and non-committal language, pp. 426, 427:

"Who can read the fifteenth chapter of 1st Corinthians, and say that the evidence of a community, summed up by St. Paul within thirty-five years of the event, leaves no stronger assurance on the mind than we possess as to the addition of fifteen years to Hezekiah's life, specified in 2 Kings xx., we know neither when nor by whom, and transcribed in this appendix (Isaiah xxxvi.—xxxix.) some years, we know, after the hymn of Hezekiah had existed as a separate fragment? That Christ rose bodily from the grave on the third day, rests historically on the belief of the hundred and twenty men, who met in the upper chamber (Acts i. 15—22). The most natural account of their belief is that it had a correspondent fact; this is enough to strengthen the hope of believers in Christ. If the evidence from the first day to our own has satisfied friends without satisfying foes, and so wants the compulsory force of demonstration (*as there are signs of its passing through an oral stage*) this may show it was not meant to be a foundation, but a confirmation of the faith which enters within the veil. To those who receive Christ as the Son of God, his death seems far more miraculous

than his resurrection. Those who acknowledge him but as the Son of Man, must feel his teaching to be an element of credibility in the subsequent story. The worthiness of the occasion, the dignity of the person, the nearness of the attestation, the importance to mankind of the immortality involved in the event, and the ever recurrent necessity of belief in this or some kindred pledge of our destiny, remove Christ's resurrection out of the category to which the specification of Hezekiah's fifteen years and the return of the shadow on the dial belong. It may be of God's goodness that He would not rest our faith absolutely on display of power in the past, lest learning should avail more than piety, and scholars believe more immediately than the meek of heart; He may give adequate assurance as a reward to those who without seeing have loved, yet not change the idea of faith, which is to endure as seeing the unseen; at any rate, the event best attested in the New Testament, the most sacredly associated with our hope, and most important, *if we hold it*, in all history, deserves a nobler use than polemical employment to bias interpretation elsewhere."

His attitude upon some of the questions now agitated in church and state, may be inferred from the following passage, pp. 217, 218, with which we shall conclude our notice of this volume.

"The extent to which Isaiah interposed in the policy of his times, resembling in that respect Ambrose and the more statesmanlike of the Fathers, renders it natural to ask, what would have been his judgment on some of the questions of our age. We can hardly imagine the developments of our commerce, our colonies on every sea, our boundless luxury, with abject poverty by its side, as entering into his conception. Yet the sentiments in which his large genius would have indulged, are too clear from the expressions which he used of Tyre and her merchant princes; we may fear that much explanation from our economists would have been needed to reconcile him to some of our social inequalities. We may be too sure, no explanation would have induced him to tolerate such laws of entail, as transmit encumbered and unimproved estates, with an inheritance of debt, while by logical necessity they render the tiller of the soil little better in physical well-being than the serf, sometimes

in moral aspiration, than the cattle which he drives. This remark should not be understood as if we were bound in the light of the gospel and of reason to consider the arrangements of Providence exhausted by the economy of Palestine; only if arrangements change, moral principles are permanent; at least it would be well, amidst professions of devotion to the Bible, not to close the eyes of our mind altogether to what the sacred writers would have said, had they been writing of ourselves. Again, as regards provision for the external maintenance of religion, nothing is clearer than that whatever theory excludes religion from the commonwealth, leaving men to guess what should be right in their own eyes, would have seemed to the prophet national atheism. By divine right he would have parliaments or presidents, no less than princes, govern and be governed, and the priest's lips keep knowledge. He would not have expected the living coal from the altar to touch the lips of crazy volubility in preference to those of a rightful officer. Yet no system which hardened itself in a tradition of forms or suppressed fresh truths and confessed itself a stranger to inspiration, and incapable of profiting by experience, could have satisfied him. He might, in an historically descended society, have borne articles but few and not inconsistent with each other or with their adjuncts; prayers he would probably have had fixed, but not without elasticity of provision for circumstances and for creative devotion; whatever creed he had beyond a promise to fear the living God, could have been neither a forgery, nor have contained malediction. Most alien of all from his own mind, would have been an ecclesiastical system without faith in the unseen, or one which broadens religion by depriving it of all which breathes life. He would as little understand the claim of a majority, as that of a priesthood, to decide what only God can make true."

SHORT NOTICES.

History of the Reformation in the time of Calvin. By J. H. D'Aubigné, D.D. Vol. IV.—England, Geneva, France, Germany, and Italy. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers, No. 530 Broadway. 1866. Pp. 491.

The great charm of D'Aubigné is his graphic power. He has the talent of bringing the persons and scenes which he describes clearly before the mind of the reader, and securing his interest in them, even when indifferent to the cause they represent. When to this is added laborious research, fidelity in statement, and cordial sympathy in all that is good and true, it is not surprising that his historical writings have secured so high a place in the estimation of the Christian public. This new volume will doubtless meet with a general welcome.

Superstition and Force. Essays on the Wager of Law. The Wager of Battle. The Ordeal. Torture. By Henry C. Lea. Philadelphia: Henry C. Lea. 1866. Pp. 401.

"The aim," says the author, "of these Essays is simply to group together facts so that, with a slender thread of commentary, they may present certain phases of human society and progress which are not without interest for the student of history and of man." We have seldom taken up a volume more replete with curious and interesting information. The learning and research which it evinces are highly creditable to the writer; and the facts which he has so laboriously collected and arranged, are a most instructive exhibition of the state of society and of the perverted exercises of the human mind in the past ages of the world. The volume will have a permanent value in the estimation of all whose attention is turned to this wide class of subjects.

Asiatic Cholera. A Treatise on its Origin, Pathology, Treatment, and Cure. By E. Whitney, M. D., and A. B. Whitney, A. M., M. D, late Physician and Surgeon to Diseases of Women in the North-Western Dispensary, &c. New York: M. W. Dodd, Publisher, No. 506 Broadway. 1866. Pp. 214.

The cholera is so fearful a disease; its attacks are so insidious, its progress so rapid, and its termination so often fatal, that every intelligent man should know how to treat it. So much depends upon prompt attention to the first symptoms, that

many lives are lost before professional attendance can be secured. The public should be on their guard against mere nostrums; but this is no reason why educated men should not endeavour to learn from the best medical authorities, what to do when an emergency arises. This work of the Doctors Whitney is adapted to general circulation. It gives the information which the public needs, and its prescriptions rest on the authority not of the writers only, but of the practitioners to whom reference is made.

Omnipotence of Loving Kindness: Being a Narrative of the Results of a Lady's Seven Months' Work among the Fallen in Glasgow. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers, No. 530 Broadway. 1867. Pp. 340.

Pauperism and that evil which has earned the preëminence of "The Social Evil," are the two great problems of modern civilization. That they are working the degradation and destruction of thousands; that they are increasing in extent and destructiveness; and that no means hitherto devised to arrest their progress have been successful, are facts generally admitted. There is great danger that philanthropists and Christians, lawgivers and social reformers, may give the matter up in despair. This would be a fatal mistake. With regard to the latter especially much may be done, both in removing the causes of the evil, and in redeeming its victims. So far as the cause is to be founded in the corruption of our nature, there is no cure but that provided in the gospel, and the moral and religious education of the people. Much, however, may be accomplished by wise legislation; much by providing and securing remunerative rewards for female labour; and much by measures taken to prevent a first error being absolutely fatal. As to the redemption of the fallen, this book shows what may be accomplished in a few months by a single devoted Christian woman. If it shall be the means of arousing public attention, and calling forth wise efforts in the work of prevention and recovery, it will accomplish a much-needed work.

The American Conflict. By Horace Greely. Vol. II. Hartford, Connecticut. O. D. Case & Co. 1866.

Our late war in its causes, events, and effects, will prove for years to come a fruitful source of varied productions of the press. The time has probably not yet come when a fair and comprehensive history of the war can be produced. This, however, does not interfere with the usefulness or value of contemporaneous histories. These accounts written by men of different views and prejudices will furnish the future historian with the means of looking at the great conflict in all its aspects.

Mr. Greely is a marked man. He has been a prominent actor in the struggles which preceded the war, and in the discussions which attended its progress. His opinions have always been pronounced, and often extreme. His prejudices are strong, and his judgments can hardly be impartial. But his admitted ability, and general honesty of purpose; the facilities which he has enjoyed for obtaining correct information, and the important documents which are cited or republished in his volumes, give to his work a value which will be appreciated and acknowledged, even by those who do not sympathize with his peculiar opinions.

The State of the Church and the World at the Final Outbreak of Evil, and Revelation of Antichrist and his destruction at the Second Coming of Christ, &c. By Rev. J. G. Gregory, M. A., with an Appendix by Mrs. A. P. Joliffe. Reprinted from the London Edition. Philadelphia: James S. Claxton, successor to Wm. S. & Alfred Martien, 1214 Chestnut Street. 1867. Pp. 256.

The Restoration; or, The Hope of the Early Church realized. By Rev. Henry A. Riley, with Introduction by Rev. J. A. Seiss, D. D. Philadelphia: Smith, English & Co. New York: Sheldon & Co. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. Cincinnati: G. L. Blanchard & Co. 1866. Pp. 288.

The prophecies of Scripture relating to the first advent of Christ were designed to keep the Redeemer promised to our first parents after the fall, constantly before the people as the object of faith and hope; and by their fulfilment to afford clear evidence that Jesus of Nazareth was the promised Messiah. These two important ends they fully accomplished. They did not avail to make the Old Testament believers prophets, or to lead them to right views of the manner of Christ's coming. The predictions of the Second Advent in the New Testament in like manner are designed to answer important purposes in elevating the hope and strengthening the faith of believers under the present dispensation. They have failed to render Christians prophets, as innumerable prognostications have been falsified by the event. This, however, does not lessen the confidence of modern interpreters. The press teems with such productions as those named above; all written with equal assurance of the correctness of the views which they present; and all anticipating a revival of Judaism more or less modified. The principles on which these books are written seem to us radically false, and the results to which they come in direct opposition to the whole drift of the New Testament teaching as to the nature of the kingdom which Christ came to establish, and, therefore, their whole tendency we regard as injurious to the interests of true religion.

Life and Times of John Milton. By W. Carlos Martin, Esq. Published by the American Tract Society. New York.

Most biographies of Milton have been fragmentary, or have failed to do justice to anything but his poetical character. The complete and exhaustive biography of Masson has never been fully republished in this country, and, at best, is too expensive and voluminous for general popular use. The present volume is designed to supply the desideratum which exists, of a life of Milton in a volume of moderate compass, which shall do him justice, "in his fourfold character of Christian, statesman, poet, and man."

Six Months at the White House with Abraham Lincoln. The Story of a Picture. By F. B. Carpenter. New York: Published by Hurd & Houghton. 1866.

Mr. Carpenter had the rare advantage of being in close communication with Mr. Lincoln, while painting his portrait, and those of his Cabinet, in connection with the scene involved in the framing and adoption of the great Emancipation Proclamation. The revelations and sketches it contains give an inside view of Mr. Lincoln's principles, purposes, and character, not elsewhere to be found. As such, it is an important addition to our means of estimating a man whom God has been pleased to make one of the great historic characters of the world. The author's enthusiastic appreciation of his subject infuses a warmth and vividness into his sketches which add greatly to its interest.

Among the Willows; or, How to Do Good. By J. H. Langille.

Lyntonville; or, the Irish Boy in Canada.

Sisters and not Sisters. By Mrs. M. E. Berry.

Leaves of Life. Striking facts and poetry, illustrating select passages from God's word.

Food for Lambs; or, A Selection of Texts for Young Children.

Hours with Mamma. By Mrs. S. E. Dawes.

The foregoing are recent issues of the American Tract Society, New York, for the young. The first three belong to its series entitled "Life Illustrated."

Pastoral Reminiscences by the late Rev. Martin Moore, of Boston, Mass. Published by the American Tract Society, New York.

Such reminiscences of the striking incidents in pastoral life are always interesting and profitable for ministers and private Christians.

The Reign of Grace. By Thomas Chalmers, D. D. Published by the American Tract Society, New York.

This is an Essay originally prefixed to Collins's edition of Booth's Reign of Grace. It has since been published as a separate tract, and has been of great service to distressed and inquiring souls.

LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

GERMANY.

V. L. Biasi, Introductio in Sacram Scripturam. Vol. I. Archæology. 8vo. pp. xii. and 527.

Testamentum Novum Triglottum, Græce, Latine, Germanice. A. F. C. Tischendorf. 4to. pp. xlviii. and 930.

P. Butmann has published a collection of all the readings of the Codex Sinaiticus, which differ from his edition of the New Testament. 8vo. pp. viii. and 123.

H. Ewald is preparing a new edition of his Poetical Books of the Old Testament. The first half of Part I. has appeared, on Hebrew Poetry and the Book of Psalms in general. 8vo. pp. 301.

F. Delitzsch, Biblical Commentary on the Prophet Isaiah. 8vo. pp. xxiii. and 668. This is part of a continuous Commentary on the entire Old Testament prepared in concert by Professors Keil and Delitzsch. The latter has also written upon Job. Keil has published upon the Pentateuch, Joshua, Judges, Ruth, Samuel, and Kings: and a volume on the Minor Prophets is announced as shortly to appear from his pen.

T. Klieforth, The Book of Ezekiel Translated and Explained. Vol. II. Ezekiel's vision of the temple. 8vo. pp. 390.

J. P. Lange's Bibelwerk. Old Testament. Part V. Judges and Ruth, by P. Cassel, 8vo. pp. xx. and 242. New Testament. Part XV. The three Epistles of the Apostle John, by K. Braune. Pp. 149.

A. Maier, Commentary on the second Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians. 8vo. pp. 248.

F. Bleek, Lectures on the Epistles to the Colossians, Philemon, and the Ephesians. 8vo. pp. 308. A posthumous publication.

G. Volkmar, The Origin of our Gospels. 8vo. pp. 166.

L. M. Roth, De Stella a Magis Conspecta. Exegetical Comment on Matt. ii. 9. 8vo. pp. 26.

P. Scholz, The Marriages of the Sons of God with the Daughters of Men. Treatise on Gen. vi. 1—4. 8vo. pp. 123.

E. Pressensé's Jesus Christ, His Times, Life, and Work, (in reply to Renan) has been translated into German. 8vo. pp. 504.

H. Sevin, The first three Gospels synoptically compared. 8vo. pp. 240.

A. Billroth, The Resurrection of Jesus and Dr. Strauss. A lecture delivered before a literary society. 16mo. pp. 34.

F. Delitzsch, Jesus and Hillel. A comparison made with reference to Renan and Geiger. 8vo. pp. 40.

C. Tischendorf, When were our Gospels composed? 4th materially enlarged edition. 8vo. pp. 130.

J. Kayser, On the so-called Epistle of Barnabas. 8vo. pp. 150.

A. Hilgenfeld, Novum Testamentum extra Canonem Receptum. No. 1. 8vo. pp. 116. Containing the Epistles of Clemens Romanus, with a critical commentary and annotations; also all that is extant of the Assumption of Moses.

J. H. Kurtz, On the Theology of the Psalms. 8vo. pp. 173.

Commentary of Japhet ben Eli the Karaite on Prov. xxx. in Arabic, with a Latin translation and notes by Z. Auerbach. 8vo. pp. 47.

Jacut's Geographical Dictionary from MSS. at Berlin, St. Petersburgh, and Paris. Published at the expense of the German Oriental Society, by F. Wüstenfeld. Vol. I. 1st half 8vo. pp. 492. To be completed in eight half-volumes.

Several numbers have appeared of the Monumentæ Sacra et Profanæ, mostly from the MSS. of the Ambrosian Library.

J. Levy, Chaldee Dictionary for the Targums, and a large part of the Rabbinical Writings. Nos. 1—3. 4to. pp. 288. To be completed in 8 or 9 numbers by the close of the present year.

Talmud Babylonicu[illegible]th all the ancient and some modern Commentaries, edit[illegible]. Soloman in the original Hebrew. Vol. 12. 8vo. pp[illegible].

S. A. Wolff, Mishnah Readings, or Talmud texts of a religious and moral character. No. 1. 8vo. pp. 76. The original is supplied with vowels, and accompanied with a German translation and explanatory remarks.

J. Wunderbar, Biblico-Talmudical Medicine. 8vo. pp. 178.

Zunz, Literary History of Synagogue Poetry. 8vo. pp. 666. The list of Jewish writers, whose poetical productions are described in this volume, amounts to nine hundred and fifty.

A. Dillmann, Ethiopic Chrestomathy with a Glossary. 8vo. pp. 291. This contains, besides the book of Baruch, extracts from homilies and ecclesiastical writings never before published. The Ethiopic Grammar of Dillmann and his complete Lexicon already issued, afford facilities for the thorough acquisition of this twin-sister of the Arabic.

F. Müller, On the Origin of the Himyaritic-Ethiopic Writing. 8vo. pp. 8.

J. B. Wenig, Schola Syriaca. Part I. containing a Chrestomathy and Grammar. 8vo. pp. lxxx. and 270. The second part is to supply a lexicon adapted to the Chrestomathy.

H. Brugsch and J. Duemichen, Recueil de Monumens Egyptiens. Part 4. Geographical Inscriptions of the ancient Egyptian Monuments, with an Appendix containing the notices found in the Temple of Edfu in the years 1863—5, collected on the spot, and illustrated by J. Duemichen, with 100 lithographs.

H. Barth, Collection of vocabularies of Central African Languages. 4to. pp. 295.

Bibliotheca Tamulica. Vol. IV. Kural of Tiruvalluver, High Tamil text, with a translation into common Tamil and Latin, notes and Glossary. By Dr. Charles Graue. Published after the author's death. 8vo. pp. 335.

Gallia Christiana in Provincias Ecclesiasticas distributa; an account of the Archbishops, Bishops, and Abbots of all the territories embraced in ancient Gaul from the origin of the churches to the present time, from authentic documents. Vol. XV. De Provincia Vesuntionensi. Vol. XVI. De Provincia Viennensi. Folio. Paris, Didot fréres.

A. Stöckl, History of the Philosophy of the Middle Ages. Vol. II. Reign of Scholasticism. 8vo. pp. 1159.

G. Frank, History of Protestant Theology. Part 2. From George Calixtus to the Wolfian Philosophy. 8vo. pp. 410.

C. A. Torén, Evangelical Religious Instruction in Germany, Great Britain, and Denmark. 8vo. pp. 171.

Facciolati, Forcellini et Furlanetti [illegible]on totius Latinitatis, auctius, emendatius, melioremque in [illegible] redactum, curante F. Corradini. Vol. II. Nos. 1 and 2. 4to. pp. 160. Patavii.

J. A. Hartung, The Religion and Mythology of the Greeks. Part 2. The Kingdom of Kronos. 8vo. pp. 250.

H. Kellner, Hellenism and Christianity, or the Spiritual Reaction of Ancient Heathenism against Christianity. 8vo. pp. 454.