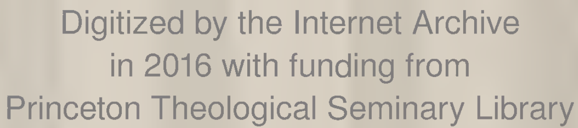

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THE

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Art. I.—*The Spirit of the Fathers of Western Presbyterianism.*

On Tuesday, February 12th, of the present year, a centenary convention was held at Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, composed of representatives of the twenty Presbyteries contained in the four Synods of Pittsburgh, Allegheny, Wheeling, and Ohio, which was designed to commemorate the visit to that region of the Rev. Charles Beatty and the Rev. George Duffield, by the appointment of the old "Synod of New York and Philadelphia." While the interest in the religious history of that region, so important in itself and in its influence upon the Presbyterian Church, is fresh, it is a favourable time to consider some points in the character and labours of its pioneer ministers.

It may be premised that this is a late hour to hold a "centenary" convention. The visit of Messrs. Beatty and Duffield was made in the summer of 1766; and the commemoration of that event is a year too late. But we cannot grant that to have been the kindling of the light of Presbyterianism in that territory. In the early part of the last century large numbers of the people from the North of Ireland were driven by the

intolerance of Episcopacy, and the hardships of the times, to take refuge in the frontiers of Pennsylvania and Virginia. In 1729 alone "there arrived in Pennsylvania from Europe six thousand two hundred and eight persons, for the purpose of settling in that colony," of whom "more than five thousand were from Ireland." (*Foote's Notes on Virginia*, chap. vi.) It was the policy of the *English* powers to push out these brave, free-hearted people, whose religious ideas also they heartily disliked, to be a barrier between them and the Indians. In 1732 we read of a settlement made by Hite and others west of the Blue Ridge. At that time the country west of Laurel Hill was considered by Virginia to be a part of Augusta county in that state. Presbyterian families early pressed further west and northwest. In 1738, "John Caldwell, in behalf of himself and many families of our persuasion, who are about to settle in the back parts of Virginia," obtained from the Synod of Philadelphia an appeal to Governor Wm. Gooch of Virginia, soliciting his "countenance and protection," and "the free enjoyment of their civil and religious liberties," promising to "carry the same loyal principles to the most distant settlements where their lot may be cast." (*Minutes of the Synod of Philadelphia*, for 1738.) And the zealous ministers of that period were not slow to follow their people. Rev. James Anderson, who carried the above-mentioned address to the Governor, and received in reply a promise of favour to the people who should "settle on the western side of our great mountains," went himself and "visited the different colonies of Presbyterians in Virginia." (*Foote*, chap. vi.) And there are hints of others of whom it is also possible that they preached in settlements within the present territories of the four Synods which have joined in keeping this "centenary" occasion. In 1760, the year when Fort Pitt was completed, which established "the perfect security of about *four thousand settlers*, who now returned to the quiet possession of their lands," from whence they had been driven by the Indians and French, (*Smollet*, *Hist. England*, vol. iii., p. 410,) the Synod of Philadelphia instructed "Rev. Messrs. Alexander McDowell and Hector Allison to go as chaplains to the Pennsylvania forces, and that Mr. Kirkpatrick go with the New Jersey forces the ensuing campaign." We are slow to believe

that there had not been other repeated visits paid by ministers, of which we have lost the record, long before the year 1766. And we are still more slow to believe that Presbyterian meetings had not been held by godly elders, faithful unto death, along the *burns* and by the *braes* of the Western Alleghenies and their lovely foot-hills; or that the old psalms that had strengthened them and their fathers in the persecutions of "the old country," did not sound amidst the cabins and block-houses where they endured the equal but more hopeful trials of the new. McMillan, the first settled minister of whom we know, seems to have found organized congregations in 1775, at Pigeon Creek and Chartiers, from which he "accepted a call." (*Sprague's Annals.*) A good many such colonies, we doubt not, existed long before Beatty and Duffield's visit. Those will be prepared to believe this who have seen how a few Presbyterian coals have smouldered together for a whole generation, in some of the present western or southern states, before a minister has come along to stir them into open flame.

Such is the Scotch-Irish nature, thinking so much more of a record in heaven than of any memorial among men, that it will never be known when the Presbyterian Church was planted west of the Alleghenies. Yet we greet with joy this convention as one that may bring to light many precious memorials of departed saints, and awaken a new interest in the preservation of present history as it is created by the events of our own important era. With these introductory remarks let us proceed to give some sketches of the men with whom we are acquainted as the founders of the Presbyterian Church in the West.

The original settlers in western Pennsylvania and the regions near to it were almost in a body the Scotch from the north of Ireland. There was a purpose of mercy in it from above.

The Presbyterians of the wild northern coasts of Scotland and Ireland, the Waldenses of the Alps, and the Moravians of the mountains of Central Europe, possess an interest beyond all of the church besides. They, above all others, stood firm to the original and pure faith of Christ and the apostles, through all the ages of bloody persecution by Roman emperors and popes. The Scotch church was planted by Christian refugees at a period beyond history. When the Romans held western

Europe, many of those who escaped martyrdom fled, as Tertullian says, to "regions inaccessible to the Romans."* Among those dreary mountains and storm-racked islets they found freedom to enjoy Christ. In the middle ages church history becomes luminous from that point. It records that thence preachers of a purer faith poured down in zealous missionary excursions to the lowlands, to Britain, and to the nations becoming overwhelmed by the superstitions of Rome. They were the last to sink beneath that filthy deluge. And they were most glad, in their mountain freedom, to emerge from it and hail the Sun of righteousness, and restore the pure doctrines and worship of the primitive church, which they have handed down to their children.†

Within the past two or three centuries the church in the north of Ireland has differed from that of Scotland in this, that many of the boldest and freest of the Scotch, the most unwilling to submit to the unceasing arrogant and tyrannical interference of the half-reformed English church, kept crossing the channel out of its reach. Thus the north of Ireland became again the home of freedom. The energy and intelligence of these Presbyterians made the province of Ulster the garden of the kingdom. It is this type of Scottish blood and of the Presbyterian creed, free, fervent, bold, zealous, which mainly populated the western portion of Pennsylvania, some of its southern counties, the neighbouring portions of Ohio and Virginia, the valley of the Shenandoah in Virginia, and large portions of North Carolina, South Carolina, and East Tennessee, with those parts to which their descendants have flowed.

* Brittanorum inaccessa Romanis loca, Christo tamen subdita.—TERTUL. *Contra Jud.* c. 7.

† It is the testimony of Dr. Samuel Johnson, in his "Tour to the Hebrides," as well as of many other less unwilling witnesses, that a degree of culture and refinement almost unparalleled elsewhere in Europe among the same classes of society, prevails in those remote coasts until the present day. The Rev. Dr. Norman Macleod testifies that "the one little island of Skye has sent forth from her wild shores, since the beginning of the last wars of the French Revolution, twenty-one lieutenant-generals and major-generals, forty-eight lieutenant-colonels, six hundred commissioned officers, ten thousand soldiers, four governors of colonies, one governor-general, one adjutant-general, one chief baron of England, and one judge of the Supreme Court of Scotland." (*Highland Parish*, pp. 170, 171.)

Here, then, is the first element to be considered in forming a conception of the character of the Presbyterianism of the Synods which lie beyond the western slopes of the Allegheny mountains. Here was a race, the first to leap those barriers into the wilderness, and fight the savage Indians, generously longing and hastening the meanwhile to give them the same blessings of the gospel which themselves possessed—the same race which started the ball of the Revolution, and when the war was ended, most largely infused the constitution of the new republic with their principles of government—the same race that, when confused by sophisms, were just as bold in South Carolina to plunge into a new revolution; or that, in East Tennessee, were unconquerable in resisting it to the death.

But we are to consider another element in forming the spirit of this part of the church. God in his infinite providence of goodness and grace so ordered it that the fathers of it were compelled by circumstances to send the gospel to the Indians.

The very first meed of honour is due not to us as a denomination of Christians, but to the more zealous Moravians. This apostolic people claim to be a branch of the primitive and pure Greek church, and to have remained a comparatively pure and missionary people among the mountains of Bohemia and Moravia, when nearly all Europe had fallen under the dominion of the pope. John Huss and Jerome of Prague were among their many martyrs. They early sent missionaries to the North American Indians. Christian Frederick Post, who came from Germany in 1742, was appointed by the government of Pennsylvania "an ambassador to the Delawares, Shawanos, and Mingos, who lived on the Ohio," to break, if possible, their league with the French; which he did in 1758, and thus rendered an important service, which was one of the steps that led to their abandonment of Fort Duquesne. He, and Heckewelder and Zeisberger soon afterwards, at various times, preached to the Indians as far west as the Muskingum river, where Post built a house. The first visit of the faithful and excellent John Heckewelder was made so soon after General Braddock's defeat that he says, when he passed that memorable field, "skulls and bones of the unfortunate men lay all around, and the sound of our horses' hoofs continually striking against them, made dismal

music." These labours met with considerable success, and several villages of Christian Indians were collected in Ohio.

In the year before the close of the Revolutionary war (1782), a great and terrible crime was committed, that filled the frontier with horror. A band of vicious Americans from Pittsburgh, under a colonel David Williamson, who had been made to believe the falsehood that the Moravian Indian converts at their towns of Gnadenhutten and Salem, on the head waters of the Muskingum river, a few miles from the present town of New Philadelphia, in Ohio, were in league with the English, determined to exterminate the whole of them. They went to the towns, and were hospitably and kindly received. But having collected the entire number of the Indians in two houses, the males in one, the females in the other, they tied them in couples, massacred them with hatchets, and scalped all but two half-grown boys, one of whom crept under a plank into a hole beneath, and the other revived sufficiently to get away and be restored to health. Five of the men were faithful missionary assistants; there were besides them fifty-seven other adults, and thirty-four children, making ninety-six Christians in all. To the credit of the better people of Fort Pitt, it should be stated that they tried to prevent the expedition, and Colonel Gibson, the commander, sent timely word to inform the Indians, who, with the feeling of conscious innocence, declined to fly.

The example of these devoted German missionaries, and the calamities which befell their converts, were one of God's means to kindle the feelings of Christian sympathy and missionary zeal in the hearts of our own ministry. How wonderful and gracious is that providence which works thus for good from age to age! The wicked act of a company of desperadoes, at an Indian village in a western wilderness, is fuel to a flame which a hundred years after is pouring an increasing light upon the walled and populous cities of ancient empires on the other side of the globe. The church has this great lesson ever before her, that in every age God glorifies his name, extends the influence of his truth, and blesses mankind, as much through the sufferings, as he does through the acts and labours of his servants. It is cowardice and a crime for people to run from scenes of disappointment and circumstances of trial. It is often a false

interpretation of providence, that they are to surrender such fields, either at home or abroad. We speak here rather of persecutions than of questions of health, as where a man must soon die if he remain in a certain climate, but would be spared to work in another.

We must take into account, further, the influence of the labours of David and John Brainerd and others, in the employ of the Scotch "Correspondents of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge," upon the seeds of the western church. The anxious interest of the East in the conversion of the Indians appears often in the minutes of the old Synods. And it should be particularly noted that the mission of 1766 by Messrs. Beatty and Duffield seems to have been largely intended for the preaching of the gospel to the Indians. The following is the entire minute of Synod in regard to it in 1767: "Messrs. Beatty's and Duffield's mission to the Indians and frontiers came under consideration. And they report that they performed their mission to the frontiers and among the Indians. That they found on the frontiers numbers of people earnestly desirous of forming themselves into congregations, and declaring their willingness to exert their utmost in order to have the gospel among them, but in circumstances exceedingly distressing and necessitous, from the late calamities of the war in these parts. And also that they visited the Indians at the chief town of the Delaware nation, on the Muskingum, about one hundred and thirty miles beyond Fort Pitt, and were received much more cheerfully than they could have expected. That a considerable number of them waited on the preaching of the gospel with peculiar attention, many of them appearing solemnly concerned about the great matters of religion; that they expressed an earnest desire of having further opportunities of hearing those things; that they informed them that several other tribes of Indians around them were ready to join with them in receiving the gospel, and earnestly desiring an opportunity. Upon the whole, that there does appear a very agreeable prospect of a door opening for the gospel being spread among these poor benighted savage tribes." (*Minutes of Synod of New York and Philadelphia*, for 1767.) This missionary spirit no doubt enlarged the hearts of those who a few years

afterwards began to go to the West as pastors of the rising settlements, and made them look with sympathy upon those who were even more needy than their own kind.

In considering then the character and spirit of these fathers, the *first* thing that strikes the attention is their activity in the spread of the gospel—*their missionary zeal.* The fervour of this will be proved from the minutes of the first meeting of the Synod, when it was formed by an act of the General Assembly in 1802. It adopted the following as the first article of a report in regard to missionary business: "*The Synod of Pittsburgh shall be styled* 'THE WESTERN MISSIONARY SOCIETY.'" This separate name was probably adopted for the sake of the popular impression. It appointed a "Board of Trust," which consisted of seven members of the Synod, whose special duty it was to superintend this business. It declared the great end to be "to diffuse a knowledge of the gospel among the inhabitants of the new settlements, the Indian tribes, and if need be, among some of the interior inhabitants where they are not able to support the gospel." The history of the Synod of Pittsburgh has always been one in character with this remarkable beginning. It has been one of continuous missionary efforts, the last distinctive one being crowned with the honour of being transferred to the General Assembly, and named "The Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church," the Rev. Dr. Swift then resigning the charge of it to the Hon. Walter Lowrie, of Butler, Pa., who for thirty years has continued to be its able secretary, in the city of New York. And it was the effort of Congregationalists and others to crush this missionary society, and to compel its being swallowed up in the American Board of Commissioners, which was one of the chief causes of the great rent in the Presbyterian Church in 1836–'37, that remains until this day.

It does not seem strange then that the Rev. Dr. Ashbel Green, of Philadelphia, in writing, after the latter Board was formed, the history of the Domestic and Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States, should render to this Synod so distinguished a tribute of praise, saying more than once, that "of all the Synods, that of Pittsburgh, was the longest and most efficiently engaged in sustaining missions, both

domestic and foreign"—"that it was always the most forward and active Synod of the Presbyterian Church in missionary enterprise and effort." May such be its ambition and its praise in days to come.

In a sketch like the present, a particular account cannot be given of the labours of individuals, nor extracts from their journals. The most that can be attempted is to convey some general idea of them. Those who went first were most of them pastors of congregations at home, who were sent out by the Presbytery or Synod to spend a few months in missionary work, and return. How great would be the benefits to the ministry, to churches, and to the general missionary cause, were such "commissions" of pastors appointed from time to time by Presbyteries and Synods of the present day. Some such feature as this is the most manifest want of our present system of working through the "Boards" of the church.

Some of the early missionaries to the Indians, and to the remote white settlements, went by land, either singly or two by two. They were accompanied by a hunter and guide, who led the way, and aided them in obtaining, for food by the way, a supply of the meat of the deer, bears, and buffaloes, which abounded in the almost unbroken wilderness, or of fish from the streams. They endured in these journeys dreadful hardships. Their course lay sometimes through gloomy forests, sometimes over great plains or prairies, upon which grew grass so tall as to hide a man riding on horseback, and when it was wet with dew or rain, keep him thoroughly drenched and cold. They plunged through miry swamps and deep streams with difficulty and danger; and groped their way in some places through bewildering thickets by obscure paths, if there were any to be found. There were few white settlers, and these lived at great distances apart, and subsisted by hunting and trade with the Indians. Some of them were renegades more dangerous than the savages, and had little scruple in murdering any white man whom they suspected to be different from themselves, for the few who ventured thither were likely to be traders, or speculators in Indian lands, and so to have money with them.

Their plan upon the field was to seek out the Indian villages, and spend a few days, or weeks if encouraged, at them, preach-

ing the same simple, fundamental, powerful truths of the Scripture, which they found to be the most mighty means to stir, convince, convert, and sanctify souls elsewhere; the truths and only truths that are suited to man's depraved and lost nature, its fears, its cravings, and its hopes; truths as effective in humbling and transforming the polished Hindu or Chinese, as the barbarous Cherokee. Thus some of the heathen were brought to Christ; these pastors became witnesses to the churches as to the wants of the heathen; and thus the way was prepared for the establishment of permanent stations, and the labours of regular missionaries.

The journals of some of these missionaries remain in manuscript, or scattered through various magazines and histories. One of the best exhibitions of their devoted zeal for Christ is to be found in that precious book, which should be in the hands of every minister and candidate for the ministry and Christian family in those Synods, the Life of the Rev. Elisha McCurdy.

Besides the earliest missions to the Indians on the Muskingum, and at Sandusky, Maumee, and elsewhere, ministers, teachers, farmers, and others, were sent subsequently to the distant tribes of the West; and aid was given to missionaries from the Eastern churches going to those tribes.

It was a great occasion when these later missionaries started upon their long and perilous voyage down the Ohio and to their fields of labour. The boat, covered with plain lumber, and with a space on each side to afford a walk for the men who pushed it in shallow or difficult places, by means of very long poles shod with iron, would lie for weeks at the wharf at Pittsburgh, receiving the various freight for the distant South and West. Much of this perhaps was whiskey, that would ruin many of the poor savages, while the gospel with it would save but a few. Alas, how inactive are Christians, compared with the devil and his friends! To make the little missionary company comfortable on the voyage, and supply their wants when at their field, sympathizing and tender Christian hearts would bring blankets, and coverlets, and warm clothing, and salted and other provisions, and volumes of the fervent writers *then* (would that we could say, *now*,) the meat that nourished strong souls—Baxter

and Doddridge, and Edwards, and Erskine, and Davies. And to these was added such articles as would aid the missionaries to improve the temporal condition of the Indians, and commend to them the gospel of mercy; such as ploughs, hoes, harness, grindstones, substantial food, and medicines for the sick. These had been gathered up from the congregations in town and country far and wide, by appeals from the pulpit, and were consecrated with many a prayer that the presence of the God of Jacob would go forth with those who were now taking their life in their hands, and going to spend their earthly existence in reclaiming these lost and wretched souls to their Creator and Redeemer.

The missionaries were accustomed to visit the churches, in order to let the people become acquainted with them, to secure a frequent remembrance in their prayers, without which they had little hope of success in preaching the gospel, and to obtain contributions for the cause in which they were engaged. These farewell services were often very affecting. Their kindred parted from them scarce expecting to see them or their children again on earth, or at most only while upon some visit for objects connected with the mission, after years had passed, and death had cut off some of the number.

It was a period favourable to preparation for their pious labours when, after all this excitement and distress, these families floated week after week down the gentle current of the blue and beautiful river, tieing up probably at night by an island or occasional settlement on the shore, in the day enjoying the tranquil loveliness of the virgin scenery, which was only ruffled by an occasional chase, by means of the skiff, of a deer or bear on the shore or stream, or by the anxiety with which they watched against surprise from the bands of outlawed white men, far worse than the Indians, who spent lives of desperate and fiendish wickedness at certain places along the shore, some of them in concealed caves within the limestone rocks. Still these weeks were a time of deep soul exercise, of search into the motives that actuated them, and of prayer for sanctification, grace, and faithfulness even to death, unto the Saviour, for whom they had forsaken houses, and brethren and sisters, and father and mother, and lands, and taken up the cross, and per-

secution, that they might follow Him. And God so orders it that a similar privilege is allowed to those who now go out to the heathen nations of the East. How precious to the soul of the missionary should be the long months of silent seclusion on the great deep, and of preparation for the giant labours towards the overthrow of those mighty systems of superstition and crime.

It is not within our purpose to speak of the fruits of these labours among the Indians. Some of them are seen till this day. Others were but the Divine training of the church for greater enterprises, and for broader fields which she has gloriously entered, and upon which she has to enter yet.

The *second* great characteristic of the spirit of those fathers was their *childlike, glowing piety.* They kept hold of God's hand, and walked with him, and called to him in their troubles and for their wants, like a little child walking through a dark hall holds to a father's warm and strong hand, and is afraid if it does not hear its father's voice speaking to it. So talked they, and so walked they, with God.

And this was the spirit that excited them to go and preach the gospel of life to the poor, vile, hated, wandering Indians; because JESUS said, "the Son of man is come to seek and to save that which was lost." And it was this spirit which sustained them in their labours and the trials growing out of them. We might give one instance which is said by some of those who knew him to have occurred in the life of the Rev. Joseph Patterson, a man who lived in personal communion with his Master like that of Moses, to whom "the Lord spake face to face, as a man speaketh unto his friend."

Many of the most striking providences in early days were connected with horses, as might indeed be expected of new and unbroken regions. Dr. James W. Alexander is led to trace the marriage of his father with the daughter of Dr. James Waddell up to the theft of his money from his saddle-bags, and a cold which he caught while travelling in the neighbourhood of her father's residence; which led him to stop there and spend a few days in the family. Dr. Daniel Baker's horse fell down and broke the shaft of his gig near Charlotte Court House, in Virginia; to this apparent accident the Doctor devoutly referred

the occasion of a series of meetings, which resulted in the conversion, as he thought, of about "one thousand persons." The Hon. Elias Boudinot was once greatly affected with gratitude to God for a midnight deliverance, in which his horse walked one beam of a covered bridge from which the planks had been taken, while the wheels of his vehicle were guided upon two parallel beams. Mr. Patterson often recognized the hand of his Father in events of a similar nature which occurred in his missionary expeditions. But one of the most remarkable is that of which we speak. On one of his excursions to the Indian country or to some distant settlement, he and his guide, an American hunter, waked one morning, in their camp in the heart of the wilderness, to behold with dismay their horses gone. It was found that they had slipped their tethers in the night, and wandered off in quest of grass. The guide desired at once to go in search of them. "No," said Mr. Patterson, "it won't do to go without eating. Let us get some breakfast first." The man reluctantly consented. "Now," said he, when they were done eating, "I must be off." "Better wait a little," was again the vexatious answer. "We ought first to look to God for direction and assistance." Then he kneeled down, and poured out his heart with as much trust and thankfulness as though they had been comfortable at home. He commended to God all their interests, and prayed, as if forgetful of time and trials, for those things which related to the spread of true religion and the conversion of souls to Christ. The guide heard with wonder, yet with anger and impatience. The prayer drew towards its close. "And now, O Father, (in some such words he pled) here we are in this wilderness, going forth for thy cause. Thou knowest our circumstances of trial. Hinder us not on our way. Give us these creatures that are necessary for our journey. We pray thee help us in our time of danger and need. And we will render to thee all the praise, through Jesus thy Son." The guide uncovered his eyes. He lifted them up. To his utter amazement there were the horses, in the search of which he had expected to spend weary hours or days, visible upon an open space some distance from them, coming rapidly towards the camp. Oh for a baptism of the church, all its ministry, all its people, with the simple, grand,

faith, that believeth all things revealed by God, hopeth all things promised by God, endureth all things commanded by God, unto his glory, not their own, which inspired such men as Archibald Alexander, Daniel Baker, Elias Boudinot, and Joseph Patterson.

A *third* characteristic of the fathers of the churches of these four Synods was that they believed in revivals, expected revivals, laboured for *revivals of religion*, as periods when God displays his power and his saving mercy, and his glorious grace; when he makes sudden and great advances of the armies of salvation; and when he raises up many to be new and effective instruments in making known his gospel, even where it has not before been known.

The history of some of the earlier revivals in the West has been recently presented in a tract sent to all our ministers and candidates for the ministry by the Board of Education, under the title of "Our Fathers' God; an Account of our First National Revival of Religion." We need not therefore speak particularly of them. But we observe that the churches of that region have from the beginning until the present time continually prayed for revivals, and have been granted revivals of peculiar power, and such as have exerted an influence over the whole land, and even over lands far away.

These revivals have often been preceded by conventions of ministers and elders for special prayer. For they knew well that prayer, and fervent prayer of the spiritual guides of the church, is necessary to obtaining such manifestations of God. The wind that rent the mountains and brake in pieces the rocks, the earthquake, the voice, on Horeb, were all preceded by the anguish of the prophet in the cave. And how memorable have some of those conventions been! Few scenes are witnessed on earth like that when Elisha McCurdy, then hoary headed, his earthly work all done, and his loins girded, waiting for the chariot that was to transport him to his Lord, came into that convocation of ministers and ruling elders of the Synods of Pittsburgh, Wheeling, and Ohio, which met in the First church of the city of Pittsburgh in the fall of 1842, to plead with God for a revival of religion. It was as if one of the ancient prophets had appeared again. How solemn his admonitions.

"Forty years ago the piety of the church was of a most vigilant and active kind. Those who were leaders made it a business on all favourable opportunities to converse with those who were yet out of the church. This was not confined to the pastors, but was attended to particularly by the elders. I have in my mind one, who, when brought into the church, could not read the Bible; yet that man did more for the cause of Christ than many ministers. He lay, I think, at the foundation of the great revival which took place forty years ago. He addressed himself to sinners on all occasions. He was a wrestling Jacob, who poured out his soul to God. A hundred times have I knelt with him in a solitary thicket, and implored God to pour out his Spirit upon the whole church. My meaning then, is, that elders and others should do as this man did, if they would have God to pour out his Spirit. *Brethren, wake up!* Talk to sinners kindly, affectionately, frequently, and God *will* pour out his Spirit. *I have no doubt but God is ready to pour out his Spirit, if we will do our duty.*" This convention was followed by large outpourings of the Spirit of God.

These earliest fathers have all passed away. But their God still lives! We cannot dismiss this branch of the subject without adverting, for the encouragement of faithful Christians, to the blessings which flowed from that great convention at Pittsburgh in December, 1857. During the preceding summer and autumn there had been all over the land desires expressed and prayers offered for a general revival of religion. One of the first steps to secure this object was the convention. It is possible that such a scene as it presented has never elsewhere been witnessed upon this continent. The ministry and eldership were convened from a radius of two hundred miles. For weeks previously, prayer had been lifted for the special presence of God upon the occasion. They gathered in the large edifice of the First church, in deepest, awful silence. During some of the sessions the whole assemblage was in tears, and strong men trembled under the influence of a mysterious power that filled the place. Old men, accustomed to address public bodies, broke out into sobbing after a few words of prayer, or of remarks, and were forced, with heads bowed to the ground, to totter to their seats. From that "very house of God" the

ministers went forth to speak to their people. That convention was one of the chief occasions, in the ordering of Divine grace, of that mighty revival which overspread this country during the ensuing winter, and through the following year. The Irish General Assembly appointed two of their ablest ministers* to come and examine personally the work in America, and return and rehearse their observations to the churches there. The flame was kindled in the Old World, and while we write this page, a newspaper paragraph before us states that there are regions where it has "been in continuous progress ever since 1858." Its influence has been felt wherever a Christian pulse beats in all the world. The Lodiana Mission in India, having (as they say) been "greatly refreshed by what we have heard of the Lord's dealings in America," in November, 1858, called upon the Christian world to join in a week of universal prayer in January, 1860. And who shall tell where the glorious power of all this prayer shall end, short of that day when the world shall all be filled with the light of a renewed fellowship between God and man, in the accomplishment of the prayer, "Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven"?

One other great characteristic of the fathers of the Presbyterian church west of the Allegheny mountains, was their *interest in the young*, zeal in training them to be useful Christians, and *efforts to furnish* them with opportunities to obtain *a thorough education.*

There was great faithfulness in their care of children. It was generally recognized as one of the most important duties of the faithful pastor of those days to obey Christ's first injunction to Peter, when he restored to him his apostleship, "Feed my lambs." The children were questioned from the Shorter Catechism at the church, and at houses where meetings were appointed for those in each neighbourhood, and in the pastoral visits made to each family. Religious appeals were then made to them, and the most promising were marked in the thought

* One of them was the Rev. Dr. William Gibson, Professor of Christian Ethics in Queen's College, Belfast, and a Moderator of the General Assembly. His work entitled, "The Year of Grace, a History of the Revival in Ireland, A. D., 1859," is one of the very best of books to warm and to instruct an earnest minister.

of the pastor as those who were to be encouraged and prayed for, with the hope that they might become ministers of the gospel.

There were some pastors who, even at that early day, supplied themselves with little religious narratives, such as the well-known "History of Poor Joseph," and some of the tales of Hannah More, or catechisms and sheet hymns, and carried them in their pockets to give to children. In revivals of religion there was sometimes a precious and beautiful exhibition of God's loving recognition of this fidelity to the Saviour's example and commands, in the conversion by the power of the Holy Ghost of many children, some of them of quite tender age.

This tender pastoral care of the young deserves to be held up for imitation in a time when so much of it is committed to Sabbath-school teachers; men and women, some of them pious, intelligent, and devoted to their work, but not a few of them unconverted, or incapable of appreciating the supreme importance of the trust. The present want of missionary labourers at home and abroad would not exist were pastors faithful in visiting and instructing the youth of their charge, in the Sabbath-schools and elsewhere. The great success of the Moravians in obtaining missionaries, their writers state, is to be attributed largely to their establishment of schools for the purpose of educating the young to that end, and inspiring them there with an ardent zeal. Says a Moravian writer, "Above all things the Saviour and his cross were presented to the infant mind, and the pupils were instructed to be diligent in the acquisition of learning for the sake of the Lord, and in imitation of his example." Count Nicholas Zinzendorf, their great patron, was accustomed to visit the schools, and lay his hands on the heads of the boys and tell them that their principal aim ought to be to preach the gospel to the heathen, and pronounce a blessing upon them. Some of their missionaries say they entered into a covenant with the Lord when they were little children, to go and be missionaries to the heathen.

We turn to the prompt and zealous interest which the fathers of the church west of the mountains exhibited in planting institutions of learning, and educating young men for the

ministry of the gospel. There is a beautiful chain of providential preparation for it, which it were unthankful for us as a denomination of Christians not to own. Two Presbyterian colleges have stood there from the period when peace was established after the Revolution, at a distance of only seven miles apart. Many noble men have toiled in them, and for them. At times rivals, they now are harmoniously made one. The man who deserves most notice, as the first Presbyterian minister to make his home beyond the mountains, and one of the first to commence, before either academy was conceived, the work of instructing (to use his own words) "a few who gave evidence of piety," whom he "taught the Latin and Greek languages, some of whom became useful, and others eminent ministers of the gospel," was John McMillan. Let us observe how God prepared the way for this man, and prepared the man for the work.

Among the crowds of thousands of people who followed the feet of that modern apostle Paul, the Rev. George Whitefield, in the month of May, 1739, when he was preaching among the Presbyterian congregations, under the oak groves of Chester county, Pennsylvania, and who were moved to strong outcries and tears by his vehement and pathetic appeals to sinners to "flee from the wrath to come," was a lad of fifteen, named Robert Smith, whose parents had eight years previous to that time emigrated from the north of Ireland. This lad was truly converted to Jesus Christ. Being filled with the spirit of his earthly teacher and model, Whitefield, he became a laborious and successful minister of the gospel, a diligent and eminent preceptor of youth, and a great blessing to the church in his day. He was second Moderator of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, and his sermon at the opening of the one following was from the words: "And the Gentiles shall see thy righteousness, and all kings thy glory: and thou shalt be called by a new name, which the mouth of the Lord shall name." (Isaiah lxii. 2.) These words revealed the soul of the man. It was in full sympathy with Whitefield's aim to carry on (as the words of the latter express it) "the work for which the blessed Jesus came to shed his blood: I mean the renewal of a multitude of souls which no man can number, out of every

nation, kindred, and tongue, by making them partakers of his righteousness, and through the powerful operations of his blessed Spirit bringing them back to, and re-instamping upon them that Divine image in which they were originally created." He was powerfully influenced by the example of Whitefield, who after preaching the royal grace of Christ to the colliers, the rabble, those for whose soul no man cared, in England, seven times visited the far-off wilds of America, and included among others in his labours there the heathen Indians and the degraded negro slaves. And Robert Smith caught Whitefield's zeal for the conversion of young men, and the increase of faithful preachers, as when he cried out in one of his sermons, "Pray, says Christ, pray to 'the Lord of the harvest, that he may send labourers into his harvest.' Pray for students. Pray for those who are tutors to students, that they may be taught of God, that when they come out they may say, 'The Spirit of the Lord is upon me.' When it is upon them, the whole world will be set on fire of love. But this will never be until the Spirit of God is poured out on the sons of the prophets."

Among the young men who came under the instructions and influence of Dr. Robert Smith, then preaching and teaching at Pequea, in Lancaster county, was John McMillan, a young man born at Fagg's Manor, and at that time, 1772, just twenty years of age. This man was licensed to preach the gospel, October 26, 1774, by the Presbytery of New Castle. The following summer and winter he spent in a missionary tour through the new settlements beyond the mountains. In the year of our Declaration of Independence, on April 23, he accepted a call, brought before his Presbytery, for his labours at Chartiers and Pigeon Creek, and on the 19th of June was ordained at Chambersburg, by the Presbytery of Donegal, to be their pastor. A solemn injunction was laid upon him, when he made up his mind to spend his life in those regions, by his old preceptor and spiritual guide, Dr. Robert Smith. "Look out for some pious young men, and educate them for the ministry; for though some men of piety and talents may go to a new country at first, yet if they are not careful to raise up others, the country will not be well supplied." This injunction

Mr. McMillan obeyed. He soon collected a school of pious young men. This was the origin of the academy which was the foundation of Jefferson College. This was the beginning of various educational influences, emanating from numerous institutions, which have spread their blessings all over this land, over this continent from Puget Sound to Rio Janeiro, to Asia, Europe, and Africa, and to the island groups of the Pacific Ocean—wherever their multitude of students, pursuing different professions, have gone.

Thus we see how the spirit of the father in the genealogy of grace, George Whitefield, is conveyed to the son, Robert Smith, to the grandson, John McMillan, and to a posterity of whom it may well be written, in the terms of the covenant, in them "shall all the nations of the earth be blessed."

The institutions which the fathers planted in the West were characterized by an extraordinary glow of piety and zeal. An old catalogue before us has the *star*, which implies that they became ministers, before the names of fifty-eight, or nearly *three-fifths* of the first hundred graduates, and before sixty-six, or almost *two-thirds* of the next one hundred and five graduates, of Jefferson College. Whence these frequent revivals, and that Christian spirit? An old farmer, who used to come into the town to market before daylight in the morning, once told that he repeatedly saw the lamp yet burning in the study of the revered Dr. Matthew Brown, and heard thence a voice as of a man still wrestling with God for a blessing. Could the God of Penuel resist such prayer? Out of the first five classes of the Western Theological Seminary nearly *one-sixth*, and out of the first one hundred students more than *one-eighth*, became foreign missionaries; the number of missionaries to home-fields we have not the means of ascertaining.

This then seems to be the great lesson from the labours of those fathers; that they were prompt and ardent friends of education, but only of education as it fitted men for the service of the Lord. They provided means to temper and to sharpen weapons and tools, but they made sure that the weapons were to be in the hands of zealous friends, not traitors to their King; and that the tools should be actively employed to build, not to destroy, the temple of His earthly glory.

The "centenary convention," to which allusion has been made at the beginning of this paper, we hail as a pledge of the awakening of the churches of the West to a larger measure of the spirit of their founders.

What is first needed is a spirit of prayer like that which once wrought results so wondrous. And here it is most apposite to quote an extract from a sermon of the pioneer, Dr. John McMillan, which he preached the spring before his death, in 1833. It may be received as the testimony of his eminent experience.

"The most eminent ministers that ever appeared in the church have been granted to her in answer to prayer. Samuel, a reforming prophet of the Lord, was obtained by the prayers of Hannah, his pious mother. Hereby was more obtained for the church than by all the priests of the age. In the same manner our church has been blessed with some of the most able and faithful of our day. Oh that mothers in this country would hear and learn an important lesson from hence. Believing prayer hath prevailed to obtain the gospel with purity and with power. The women that met at the sea side for prayer prayed till Paul was sent to them and planted a church in their coasts. Let our pious matrons learn another lesson from hence. Nor was this the last time in which such blessings were procured to the church by such means. I have read of a small select society, who prayed until they obtained one of the most acceptable and successful ministers that has ever been raised up in America. The first year of his settlement with them, the power of God remarkably attended his ministrations, which, like a spreading flame, reached to many places in several States. I might here also observe that this very minister was chiefly raised up for the ministry by prayer, united with pious example and instruction.

"A reverend father once told me, that in early life he knew a man of God, one of the first members of the synod in America, who was greatly devoted to prayer, and promoting praying societies. He encouraged them to prayer and waiting for the coming of Christ's kingdom by saying, 'God will arise to visit his church; I will not live to see it, but you may.' Accordingly they were blessed with the sight before two years

after his decease. 'And I have remarked, (said he,) that sundry branches of those families who readily engaged in this duty, have been noticeable for piety and promoting the cause of Christ in the several States where they have been dispersed until this day.' Some of you, I make no doubt, can remember what a spirit of prayer was poured out upon many in this and the neighbouring congregations, just before and about the time when that remarkable revival of religion took place amongst us in the beginning of the year 1782. How praying societies were set up in every corner, how people flocked to them, and how remarkably the Lord countenanced them with his presence, comforting and refeshing the souls of his own people, and making stubborn sinners to bow to his sceptre, and become the willing subjects of King Jesus.

"Many instances might be given from Scripture and faithful church history of the prevalence of prayer in procuring favours to individuals, to the church in general, and to the states and kingdoms. Never does God bestow a blessing on individuals or societies but he gives his people an heart to pray for them, and thus honours them by giving it as an answer to prayer. Oh how should the consideration of this excite and encourage every one, who has any interest at the throne of grace, to improve that interest, and continue wrestling with God, till he establish, and till he make his church a 'praise in the earth.'"

This is a time when ministers and people are called upon to labour and to pray for the establishment of Christ's power on earth, with a zeal far greater than, we may say in truth, at any other since the first planting of the Christian church. The Rev. Dr. Elisha P. Swift has spread before us the duty of the ministry in language that should wake the dullest soul to anxious and vehement exertion; exertion founded upon love for Jesus Christ, deep conviction of Christ's willingness to advance by the humblest faithful agency his cause, and upon patient submission to him who worketh in us both to will and to do of his good pleasure.

He says: "Oh what a ministry does Christianity need to carry, in defiance of apathy and superstition and ecclesiastical power and perverseness, and moral and mental death, her all-awakening and restoring light to the ends of the earth! Never

truly did the fear of God need to be kept more steadily before the eyes of his servants; the throne of grace to be more earnestly and fervently addressed; faith in his promises to maintain a more vigorous hold; or love to the souls he has made, to be kept burning more intensely in the heart. All the incentives which have at different times urged the gospel ministry on to consecration of life, to constancy of action, and self-denial, and earnestness in the cause of their Master, seem now to have flowed, as it were, into one common torrent, and come down upon us with an urgency and impetuosity never before witnessed. From literary rivalships and immaterial and pointless controversies, and dull inoperative disquisition, we must now turn away; and separating from the researches and stores of the learning of past ages whatever is of sterling excellence, of vital power, and holy majesty, and leaving the politics and projects of this lower world to other men; we must gird up the whole soul, draw near to the fountain of heavenly influence, and speak to the hearts of men of death, and judgment, and eternity, like those who feel that the hour is at hand, when God shall eminently clothe his ministers with salvation, and make every message of his gospel quick and powerful.

"Painful as the fact may be in view of our comparative inactivity and unsuccessfulness, and our deep sense of the want of spirituality, such is the awful crisis to which we have arrived. A solemn appeal to the promises of God has been made. The cry of the watchmen of Zion, *Lo, the day cometh*, has sounded through the widening empire of the Messiah, and new prospects have beamed forth upon the eyes of God's children; and new zeal at the thought of overthrow has kindled up in the camp of the enemy. Battle must be joined, and issue must be had! What, then, but one feeling of intense desire, one rapid march upward in devotedness and courage and apostolic zeal, or a sad and shameful repulse to the army of the living God, is now before the Christian ministry. Oh then, at such a time as this, how lofty must be the destiny, how dread the accountability, that surrounds those honoured servants of Jesus Christ on whom it devolves to instruct and train for the service of the King of kings a ministry, the measure of whose piety must rise higher and higher, in proportion as success is to attend their efforts,

and as victory after victory, more and more extensive and complete, is to follow the marches of the gospel through the world."

This convention it has been hoped would enable those directly interested in the two colleges, "Washington and Jefferson" and "Wooster University," which are within the boundaries of those four Synods, to lay plans by which liberal endowments, sufficient to place them both upon the list of the first-class institutions of the nation, should be secured. This ought not to be a difficult work. Indeed it is not. The one spirited town of Wooster, it is stated, gave one hundred thousand dollars. This ought to be trebled or quadrupled for the University there. There is abundant means in the possession of the Presbyterian Church in Ohio to do it. And, with the immense wealth in the remaining Synods, the older institution should be speedily placed in a position to give a new power to Presbyterian education, and new respect to the Presbyterian name, there and throughout the land.

Nor should the impulse in the channel of education end here. How many minor institutions, male academies, female seminaries, parochial schools, might be fostered where established, or planted upon new soil, by men whom God has bountifully enriched with the gold and silver, and houses and lands, which are necessary to such ends; to whose memory such monuments would be the noblest that could be reared on earth. How much might be done to give the Theological Seminary of that region edifices, a more complete library, and more abundant means to sustain the students who are preparing themselves for the labours of the ministry. These questions will be decided by the spirit with which the pastors and eldership, sympathizing with the advanced ideas and wants of this age, go forward with the faith and energy of the fathers to meet them. They must point, and lead the way.

We have said nothing of the streams that have flowed to more distant regions from the powerful sources in the four Synods of Pittsburgh, Wheeling, Allegheny, and Ohio; nor of how largely they are affected by the character of their fountains. But wherever there is a heart that loves the kingdom of the Lord Jesus, desires its purity, rejoices in its honour, and labours for its prevalence, in faith that the day is coming

when the sea of its glory shall cleanse the earth of all its pollution, and cover "all the high hills under the whole heaven," that heart will hope that a new era is dawning, of more holy zeal, and of more abundant liberality, and of more numerous consecrations of best-beloved sons to the office of the ministry, within the limits where four hundred and fifty Presbyterian ministers and licentiates preach the gospel, five hundred and fifty churches whiten the fertile hills, and sixty thousand communicants have consecrated themselves and their *all* to the Lord. More than double that number of ministers, and churches, and communicants, would be infused with a new spiritual life, like as when the sun of the spring unseals and warms the floods of the new year, through all the boundless courses where those streams have run, westward and southward, and to far off lands.

It is the purpose to prepare a "memorial volume" from the materials collected at this convention. This is a most important subject. It is to be hoped the volume will be one of a spirit and life to benefit the church. And it is still more to be desired that this occasion will inspire the ministry and literary men of the West with a new anxiety to begin to do themselves and their religious history justice; which, alas, it has never yet received. A few valuable books, it is true, have been published. But how few, compared with what ought to have been sent forth.

There is a criminal carelessness among the various branches of the Presbyterian church, to the character and labours of her own mighty men of the past. Until within a few years, the imperial name of John Calvin was almost as remote from the common knowledge as that of the philosopher Confucius; and many good people could scarcely tell which lived first, and what we had to do with the one more than with the other. Compared with Martin Luther, he seems to differ from him as a great deep quiet river differs from the torrent of the spring which, in a wide-spread inundation, sweeps away old rubbish, and deposits with a great deal of rich soil some that is worse than worthless. Yet Luther's name is mentioned alone five times where Calvin's is mentioned once. And John Wesley's, strange to say, is in the lips of some preachers more than either of them; a man whose influence, much as it is felt in one zealous family of the

Christian church in Great Britain and America, is yet but a noisy brook in a narrow channel, compared with either of them.

The same declaration may be made with regard to men nearer to our own times. So unfaithful have we been to the memories of our own most remarkable and zealous men, that when examples of such are required for illustration, our ministers probably mention William Carey, or Adoniram Judson, or Samuel J. Mills, or Harlan Page. They know far more of their history than of the Scotch Presbyterians, William Milne, or Alexander Duff, or William C. Burns; or than they do of Elias Boudinot, or Robert Finley, or John McMillan, or Joseph Patterson, or Gideon Blackburn, or Walter M. Lowrie. They are better acquainted with the history of the Sandwich Islands than with the as interesting one of the Cherokee Indians. They can tell more about the translations of the Bible into the insignificant dialects of Burmah, than about the grand labours connected with the giving of the word of the living God to the empire of China, beginning with those of Dr. Robert Morrison and ending with the last revisions of our own lamented Culbertson. We have popular biographies of almost every man of considerable usefulness among the Congregationalists, and the Baptists, and the Methodists; and they are continually renewed by a multitude of sprightly writers, zealous for the spread and power of their own branches of the church. But, while we have several large and most valuable works of a general character, and very important collections of a biographical nature, for which we cannot be too grateful to their accomplished authors, how small the number of monographs, of definite, fresh, animating sketches of a ministerial life and its achievements, of the labours of this or that individual equally faithful in other callings—books suitable for us to put in the hands of the parent, the student, the man or the woman in the ordinary walks of life, for their imitation and encouragement! God declares, "the memory of the just is blessed; but the name of the wicked shall rot." Can a "blessing" be upon those who permit the memory of his faithful servants to "*rot*"?

And yet there is no branch of the church of Christ which has more abundant subjects for every department of history. There are materials for narratives of missionary labour, domestic and

foreign, of an interest that would stir the hearts of generations to come; indeed, belonging to a period in its nature the most full of incidents, and of an influence the most fundamental of all. Biographies might be prepared of men concerning whom the church of coming generations will be more anxious to know than of any possibly that may live when the institutions of religion and the state have received their abiding cast. Histories of religion in important definite sections of country—of successful educational movements—of the commencement and effects of the revivals of the church through the power of the Holy Ghost—afford topics for many volumes. Why should not the great themes of religion, which are in their nature more important than what relate to any acts or events of the outside world—why should not those topics that are dearest to the heart, those that most deeply excite men to emulation, those that kindle the noblest impulses and aims in the soul of the young—evoke books that would equal, yes, excel, the brilliant and stirring pages of Macauley, or Motley, or Bancroft? Oh for men gifted to employ the labour to collect facts, to analyze principles, to kindle with the march of great events, to beautify with the colouring of correct and fervid imagination the grand subjects of the history of the dealings of Christ with his people, and thus infuse into that which is infinitely nobler, the truth to nature, the vivacity and the energy which now so distinguishes the literature of the world! Would that this century, this part of this century, in this era of transition, might inaugurate a new and mighty impulse to Presbyterian church history!

Art. II.—*The Epicurean Philosophy.*

The Epicurean philosophy was one of the natural developments of an age and condition of political humiliation and moral decay. The public and the private state and relations of Athens were well adapted to suggest and to make popular the system taught for more than thirty-five years in the famous Gardens by Epicurus himself, and on the same attractive spot for successive generations by his enthusiastic disciples. Demetrius Poliorcetes had just become the ruler of Athens, a prince who, in his deep and notorious profligacy, surpassed the mass of Athenian citizens only as greater power and ampler resources increased his facilities for self-gratification. The indulgences of Athens, however, could never be altogether gross and sensual. Literature and science must still be made a means of entertainment. Courtesans as well as statesmen sought recreation, culture, and power of influencing others in such metaphysics as came of and became the age. But as the drama grew wanton and frivolous, so philosophy lost its honesty and dignity.

The conquests of Alexander extended the political supremacy of Greece, and with this her intellectual ascendency, over the whole eastern world. But the liberties of the true Hellenic states were the price paid for this apparent advancement of her power and influence. During the next two centuries she received a still wider extension of her mission and her opportunity as the world's civilizer, when Magna Græcia and Macedonia and the Achæan League fell before the prowess and the destiny of Rome. But the intellectual activity which was now so vastly diffused, had ceased to be fresh, original, and creative. Moral causes too were working out their slow but sure result. Greek genius could not work in chains, either political or moral; whether the sceptre were visibly wielded by Macedonian or Roman lords, or invisibly by luxury and vice.

And philosophy was in a position of peculiar difficulty. The problems brought and left before it by Plato and Aristotle would have tasked the best powers of the Grecian mind when most free, enthusiastic, and inspired. Now conscious neither of spirit nor of power for such a task, the thinkers of the nation

fell back to more congenial work. They attempted little more than the solution of the practical problem, how the most perfect satisfaction might be attained in life. Epicureans, Stoics, Sceptics, Eclectics, all laboured in their various ways upon this problem. A positive happiness or a negative contentment, often in the midst and even in spite of most untoward circumstances, this, and not the beauty and grandeur of truth and knowledge, the excitement of intellectual grappling with the natural and spiritual wonders of the universe, the joy of intellectual discoveries and achievements, became the inspiration of philosophical inquiry.

The objects of philosophy were with Epicurus wholly practical. Science, as such, he studiously disparaged, as he did also all philosophers except Democritus. Philosophy he defined as an activity which by means of ideas and arguments procures the happiness of life; "*ἐνέργεια λόγοις καὶ διαλογισμοῖς τὸν εὐδαίμονα βίον περιποιοῦσα.*" Truth and knowledge are of course under such a system not an end, but merely a means of pleasure. Diligence, enthusiasm, vigorous and rigorous investigation, are useless and virtually impossible. "The Epicurean," says Maurice, "is essentially the unscientific man; it would be more correct to say the hater of science." The only department of philosophy worthy to be pursued for its own sake is Ethics.

The Epicurean system, in the exposition of which the author wrote more than almost any other ancient philosopher, and which he regarded as perfected by himself, is indeed set forth under scientific forms. But this results rather from a deference to the customs of the people and the age, than from any inner impulse or necessity. The system is commonly exhibited under a threefold division, into *Canonic* (their substitute for Logic), *Physics*, and *Ethics*. Of these the first two were altogether subordinate to the third—appendages to the system, incidental necessities rather than essential and vital parts. The logical discussions of Aristotle, who had died sixteen years before Epicurus entered upon his public career as a teacher of philosophy of the school of Democritus, comprised a full investigation of the methods by which man arrives at knowledge. The *Canonic* of Epicurus was merely the doctrine of the criteria by

which truth may be known. These tests it is important to apply, not because of any inherent dignity and worth of truth, nor because the extension of knowledge is desirable, but because, and so far as, falsehood and error directly, perceptibly and seriously interfere with human happiness. The three criteria of truth are sensation (*πάθος*), perception (*αἴσθησις*), and preconceptions (*προλήψεις*), which are the common or general images that we form of objects as the result of repeated sensations or perceptions. The first two correspond necessarily with the objects felt or perceived, and must be true, and constitute our only reliable ground of certainty; the third being reliable only so far as they bear the test of subsequent experiences.

Physics became a distinct and important part of the Epicurean system, not from any desire for knowledge, but because false conceptions of man's own nature and of the world about him had filled all the ages with idle fears, greatly impairing the sum of human happiness. The physical part of the system, moreover, contains nothing original; and its author is so indifferent to it, except as a means to an end, that for the sake of the end he sacrifices symmetry and consistency in his doctrine. He starts with the atomistic theory of Democritus, with whom the doctrine was the result of an honest and earnest endeavour to explain the phenomena of the universe from purely natural causes. Epicurus adopts the system as furnishing the best foundation for his ethical theories. In a few particulars he introduces modifications, the most important of which is fatal to the logical consistency of his system. Lest human happiness should be threatened by the assumption of an absolute necessity in the sequence of cause and effect, he introduces chance as one of the elements determining the movements and combinations of atoms. As he excludes design and an intelligent cause, and chance cannot be included in human reasonings, he makes the explanation of nature an impossibility. But men are saved on the one hand, from the thronging fears and terrors that grow out of any system of nature over which higher force, intelligence, and will preside; and on the other, from the more merciless tyranny of mere physical law.

Creation is an absurdity; providence a device to frighten children with; moral government a terrible power over the

blind, deluded nations, yet the merest phantom. Nevertheless all ages and all lands have believed in the existence of gods, and such beliefs demand the admission of corresponding facts; therefore there must be gods, of human form and more than human excellence, living in the interplanetary spaces, undisturbed by thought or care of earth. The ideal of perfect happiness must have its real counterpart (the *Canonic* of Epicurus being true), and this is found in the blissful satisfaction of the gods.

The *Ethics* is therefore the only part of his system which Epicurus elaborates with any care or enthusiasm. As sensation is the ground of all our knowledge, so it is also the measure of all our action. The most marked characteristic of all our sensations is their relation to our sensibilities, to pleasure and pain. Pleasure is therefore the thing essentially desirable, pain the thing to be shunned. The supreme good is found in happiness, or the happy life. The chief element in happiness, nay, even the supreme good, is pleasure. Pleasures are however to be judged and tested by their relation to the deeper and more permanent happiness of life,—one rejected and another preferred, according to their bearing upon the whole of life—"*τοῦ ὅλου βίου μακαριότης*." Virtue, therefore, while not to be sought as a good in itself, is inseparable from true pleasure, an indispensable means of the happiest life. Bodily pleasures and pains are only for the present; mental states through memory and hope take hold of past and future also, and are therefore of far more account. The pleasurable excitement of the sensibilities is only an element, a factor in the perfect state, which is that of susceptibility for every enjoyment that will promote, or at least not disturb the satisfied rest of the soul, its absolute tranquillity. A fugitive excitement of the sensibilities, however agreeable,—pleasure in motion,—is a less good than pleasure in repose,—calm, equable, and permanent. Temperance, prudence, courage, justice, are necessary conditions of this abiding and satisfying happiness, which may be diversified but cannot be increased by transient enjoyments. The essence of wisdom is prudence, the habit of obeying reason. To this freedom is indispensable. Epicurus, therefore, as he had introduced chance into the sphere of Physics, now again violates the prin-

ciples of the atomistic philosophy by admitting free-will into human action. It were better, he says, to accept the fables of the popular mythology, which allow one to hope for some success from his prayers, than to believe in necessity as controlling human actions, which would be to resign one's self deliberately to despair. And it is worth more to be miserable, acting with reason, than to be happy by chance or in despite of reason.

But in the exercise of this freedom, virtue is to be practised not on account of any independent or abiding power of its own. Justice and right have no existence except on the basis of compacts among men, and do not exist where men have been unable or unwilling to form such agreements. The wise man abstains from injuring others, not from any essential wrong in injustice, nor because of any right by which laws may claim obedience, but for the sake of security and peace. Virtues are therefore only of negative value. Temperance is useful not in its purifying and invigorating power, but because it forestalls the evil effects of violent passion. So of courage, justice, honesty, and other virtues. Weariness and exhaustion follow exertion; therefore the inactive life is the happier. Yet strong natural impulses, like ambition, are to be indulged if, and so far as, the effort to restrain them would cause the greater evil. Above all things avoid pain, and beware of too much activity. Nature requires only things that are easily found. Frugality is therefore an inestimable good, preserving health, quickening our enjoyments, and raising us above the caprices of fortune. The appetites, unregulated, give birth to factitious and superfluous desires, and these to others still more exacting. Experience, if no other teaching, will show that love of riches, of power, of fame, and the like, are only vanity; therefore forego all that does not contribute to that happiness, so simple in its essence, and so fully within the reach of all through nature's bounty, health of body and peace of soul.

There is one apparent inconsistency in this moral system of Epicurus. In one point he permits and even encourages man to look beyond himself for sources of enjoyment, and there limitation and denial are not made indispensable conditions of the desired result. The surest support and sweetest consolation of life are found in friendship; and a friend must be aided

in his distress, consoled in his sorrow, succoured in adversity, although there be no immediate advantage or recompense in sight. Here human sympathies assert themselves, and give to Epicureanism its genial and winning aspect. By precept and by delightful example Epicurus commended friendship, and his followers were renowned for the strength and permanence of their mutual attachments. And yet, says Denis,* from whose attractive pages much of the foregoing sketch has deen derived, "I would have preferred in danger the devotion of the Stoic. with all his stern appearance and his rigid impassibility."

If circumstances are untoward, if the wise man is suffering inevitable pain, he turns his thoughts from present ills, and supplies by memory and hope the lack of the passing hour, drawing always copiously upon the inexhaustible stores of his self-complacency. Pain and misery are transient states, almost never both intense and long continued. As for the fear of death, it is not from nature, but is the result of our own error and folly, in imagining that after death the soul still exists, conscious that it has lost the good things of this life. And what are the dishonour and decay of the body to a spirit that has ceased to be? As for the mortal agony, it is but for a moment. So long as we are, death is not, and when death is, we are not. Death is not an evil, and the fear of it is only a folly.

As for fear of the gods, which has constituted a large part of human misery, that cannot concern us hereafter. With regard to the present, it is the felicity of the gods of Epicurus to know as little as possible of human affairs, and men may surely, with perfect propriety, think as little of them.

Epicurus bequeathed to his disciples for ever, on condition of their fidelity to his doctrine, the Garden where so much enjoyment had been found in the most delightful social intercourse, and pleasure so exalted as the end of philosophy and the end of life. And for a long time, as might be expected, the system continued to be popular and practically influential. We think there can be no doubt of the correctness of the judgment of Denis concerning the influence of the system, where its princi-

* Histoire des Théories et des Idées morales dans l'Antiquité. Paris, 1856.

ple was received with the explanations and limitations of its founder. In an age whose tendencies were so strong in the direction of luxury, and the grossest self-indulgence, even a cold and utilitarian commendation of temperance as a condition of more abiding happiness, was a check upon universal license. Yet the check was but feeble, for many would cite the name of the philosopher, and quote his leading principle, stripped of its careful limitations, in justification of every indulgence that their debased spirits craved. And on the other hand, sturdy natures, conscious of activities and impulses that Epicureanism ignored or suppressed with as much sternness as such a system was capable of, would turn toward Stoicism or some other philosophy that left them men. And many would revolt at the materialism that robbed them of a soul, of religion, and a future life. While one class of men hailed the philosopher and his system as liberating them from all religious fears and obligations, there were others, not a few, who could not disown their deep and strong religious instincts, and to whom it was a sufficient refutation of Epicureanism that it ignored so real and large a part of their humanity.

The system found warmer adherents and more vehement assailants than perhaps any other of the Greek philosophies. Of the numerous works of Epicurus, very little is preserved beyond the fragments found in Diogenes Laërtius. The philosopher might almost have dispensed with his injunction, that his disciples should receive his doctrine as a completed system: for there was nothing in the system that stimulated to intellectual activity; if, indeed, any more exertion than was required in self-defence would not have been a practical abandonment of their doctrine. Cicero found the school existing in duly organized form at Athens in his day. A century later the apostle Paul encountered its adherents. After another hundred years, when the Antonines attempted to revive the literary glories of Athens, Epicurean philosophers were among their stipendiaries. They seem with the rest to have endured and survived the shock of the Gothic invasion of Greece in the third century, and to have been suppressed with the other schools of philosophy by the edict of Justinian in 529, A. D.

Within a few generations after the death of its founder, the

Epicurean system, with other of the abundant products of Grecian thought, was transferred to Rome. On this soil so uncongenial to some other systems of philosophy that implied more power of abstraction, and involved more acute and subtle reasoning, Epicureanism took root and flourished luxuriantly.

The Roman mind was never predisposed to speculative inquiry. It dealt much more readily with concrete facts and duties. And yet Romans were not without appreciation when this, with other fruits of Greek genius, was brought before them. Rhetoricians and physicians had introduced the science and art of Greece, not without a subtle but potent intermixture of speculation, before the appearance of professed philosophers. And the Grecian drama had been working quite as efficaciously upon the Roman mind; and in this there was a large infusion of the ideas and the spirit of Epicureanism. The stern Roman conceptions of right and rights had begun to melt under these unsuspected influences, before the attention of the people had been invited in any formal way to the doctrines of any of the schools of Athens. The Romans were eager and fascinated listeners. Not a few became, before they were aware of it, adherents of one or another of the schools that were competing for popular favour during the second and third centuries before the Christian era. And here and there one became a more intelligent and earnest advocate of the doctrines to which he had given his adhesion.

Epicureanism had no representative in the famous embassy (A. U. C. 599, B. C. 155) which gave so strong an impulse to Greek studies at Rome in spite of the sturdy resistance of the patriotic and indignant Cato. But the system did not need so much as some others an attractive personal advocacy. The Academy and the Lyceum exacted so much thought that only the most popular teachers could draw away listeners from the Porch and the Garden. Moreover, the circumstances of the state were by no means unlike those which had so prepared the Grecian mind for the teaching of Epicurus. Then the East had just fallen before the genius and prowess of Alexander, and the wealth and the luxury and the vices of the East were terribly avenging the triumphs of arms. Now at Rome, the great conqueror's wish for "more worlds to conquer," might have been

repeated with even greater fitness. And the spoils of the nations were pouring in, to exalt the fame and pride, but sap the virtue of the irresistible Republic. The philosophy which made self-pleasing the great aim and duty of life could not have appeared at Rome more seasonably. And while many elements of the true old Roman nature would respond more promptly and surely to the summons of a Stoic's creed, Rome was rapidly becoming less Roman; and in just that ratio would the easy, comfortable, and plausible system of Epicurus be sure of a wide success. Epicureanism in each successive generation could doubtless muster the largest array of adherents, and could always exhibit on her roll some of Rome's proudest names. Of Cicero's contemporaries it is enough to mention his great rival, Hortensius, his most intimate friend, Atticus, Cassius, the conspirator against the great dictator, and Cæsar himself, the marvel of the world.

During the last half century of the Republic, political considerations undoubtedly contributed to the wider prevalence of this philosophy. In the fierceness of party strife, amidst the desperate and unscrupulous contests of personal ambition, patriotism found its sphere greatly limited. Wearied with vain endeavours, not a few patriotic spirits took refuge in the faith of Epicurus, which justified political inaction on the ground of the vanity of ambitious desires and the impossibility that the wise man should always enjoy the favour of the people, or control their caprices. The only instance in which Cicero speaks of Epicureanism with any other tone than that of aversion and contempt, illustrates the point before us. In the *De Oratore*, (iii. 17,) in his discussion of the place which philosophy should hold in the studies of the orator, after speaking concisely but emphatically of the unfitness of the Epicurean system to develope the spirit or the powers of the orator, he adds, "and yet no wrong will be done by us to that philosophy; for it will not be excluded from a sphere into which it desires to enter, but will remain quiet in its gardens according to its wish, where also reclining daintily and at its ease it calls us away from the Rostra, from the courts, from the senate-house, perhaps wisely, especially in the present condition of the commonwealth."

In explaining the prevalence and popularity of this philoso-

phy at Rome, Cicero, in another connection, adverts to the fact that it had the advantage of being put before the people in their own language earlier than its competitors. (*Tusc. Disp.* iv. 3.) Of Amafinius and Rabirius, the first Latin writers on philosophy, he speaks only disparagingly, both with reference to their style and doctrine. Among a people, however, who were little trained to criticism, either literary or philosophical, priority in time gave Epicureanism the greater advantage. Yet the system never gained control of any large proportion of the thinkers of Rome. The Roman nature was too strong and vigorous, too full of impulse and efficiency, to submit readily to a doctrine so listless and paralyzing as the higher Epicureanism. The grosser and perverted system would of course find favour with the enervated and self-indulgent, especially after the decay of the Republic.

In Roman literature the philosophy of the Garden finds its best exponents in Lucretius and Horace. Reversing the order of time, let us first look at Epicureanism as illustrated and applied in the graceful, polished, and popular poetry of Horace, that perfect epitome of the spirit of the Augustan age. Horace is no professed metaphysician. At Athens he had studied in the schools, and at Rome had reflected upon philosophy, especially in its moral and practical bearings, although not with the intense and consecutive interest of a man of science. From each system he could learn something, and each was open to his keen and discriminating criticism. So far as he assigns himself a place among the schools, it seems to be with Epicurus. And yet his adhesion to the doctrine is general rather than rigid and consistent. The philosophy of self-enjoyment is not always solid and earnest enough to meet his own conscious wants, or to satisfy his deep and manly convictions concerning the rights and obligations of his fellow-men. The gods are at times more truly living, ruling powers, than Epicurus would tolerate. Now and then the poet must recognize a providence over himself, and cannot doubt that it concerns itself actively with his neighbours, his age, his land. Life has deeper meanings, human conduct more important issues than were discerned in the Garden. Still, for the most part, he gives himself up to the enjoyment of the present, and commends to others a like

self-indulgence, with little thought or care for gods or future. As Pierron says, (*Histoire de la Littérature Romaine*, p. 410,) "He is an Epicurean by temperament, and not by system; and on occasion he will make sport of the extreme Epicureans, as he makes sport of the too consistent Stoics. His philosophy, if one may here employ the word, is summed up entirely in the principle, 'Nothing in excess.'" If we may make a distinction among his writings as to their moral tendency and philosophical affinities, we should say that the Odes more frequently make the impression that pleasure is his end, and the philosophy of pleasure his guide, while the Epistles and Satires more generally exhibit his sober and earnest views of life, and his independent judgments. And we think the prevailing impression made upon his contemporaries, like that upon his modern critics, must have classed him with the followers of Epicurus.

Lucretius, on the other hand, was a most enthusiastic adherent of this school in its best type. He was the great interpreter and defender of the Epicurean system to the Romans, and the one most accessible to all later generations. Apart from his doctrine, this poet and his work held no doubtful place in the estimation of scholars of every land, for the first two or three centuries after the revival of learning. The interest in him, which had somewhat declined, but had been restored in Germany by Lachmann, has of late been greatly revived in England by the publication of Prof. Sellar's "Roman Poets of the Republic," nearly one-half of which is devoted to Lucretius, and still more recently by Mr. Munro's edition of the poet's work, (Cambridge, 1864. 2 vols. 8vo., pp. 334, 430.) Lord Macaulay had before pronounced his work "the greatest didactic poem in any language." Goethe expressed great admiration for him. He has been by other critics pronounced the most thoroughly Roman of all the Latin poets.

Although a contemporary of Cicero, and a little younger than he, the poet laboured under the double difficulty of being obliged largely to create a philosophic vocabulary, and to adapt it to poetic use. Philosophers before Cicero had done nothing to enrich and extend the language in this direction, and he had written only the *De Republica* and the *De Legibus*, when Lucretius undertook his *De Rerum Natura.* It has always

excited wonder that such a poem should or could have been written in exposition of any metaphysical system. And if one must needs set forth Epicurean doctrine in song, it could be more easily conceived that the ethical system, the commendation of pleasure as the end of life, should move and fill the poet's strain. But how should one feel, how exhibit one poetic impulse in connection with the physical part of the system, the dry, materialistic, atomic theory of the universe? This problem Lucretius has wonderfully solved. To him the system was consistent and complete. And because his fervid spirit was so intensely in earnest, with an aim so practical, he begins at the foundation. Never has modern philanthropist been more absorbed in his work, or more intent upon convincing and persuading men. It is mainly this direct and vigorous grappling with a great subject for a great purpose, that gives the poem its strongly Roman character. What Latin poem besides carries the impression that it was written with a Roman will? To release man from that terror and darkness of the mind which were all-prevalent under false religion and false philosophy, he undertakes to exhibit *The Nature of Things* according to that system which he believes to be alone true and effectual. Epicurus was to him "the true interpreter of nature," whose praise he is never weary of proclaiming. "A god he was, a god, most noble Memmius (we quote from Mr. Munro's close and vigorous version) who first found out that plan of life which is now termed wisdom, and who by trained skill rescued life from such great billows and such thick darkness, and moored it in so perfect a calm and so brilliant a light." (v. 8—12.) "When human life to view lay foully prostrate upon earth, crushed down under the weight of religion, who showed her head from the quarters of heaven with hideous aspect lowering upon mortals, a man of Greece ventured first to lift up his mortal eyes to her face, and first to withstand her to her face. Him neither story of gods, nor thunderbolts, nor heaven with threatening roar could quell, but only stirred up the more the eager courage of his soul, filling him with desire to be the first to burst the fast bars of nature's portals." (i. 62—71.) In the opening of the fifth book he adverts to the alleged services to the human race for which Ceres and Liber and Hercules had

been deified, and pronounces them insignificant if set by the side of Epicurus' service. A quotation here will have additional value as showing the moral type of the poet's Epicureanism, and his estimate of the morality of the founder of his creed. He has just spoken of the monsters from whose ravages Hercules was said to have freed the earth, as after all not able to do much harm if they had been left alive. "But unless the breast is cleared, what battles and dangers must then find their way into us in our own despite? What poignant cares inspired by lust then rend the distressful man, and then also what mighty fears! and pride, filthy lust, and wantonness? What disasters they occasion! and lust and all sorts of sloth? He, therefore, who shall have subdued all these and banished them from the mind by words, not arms, shall he not have a just title to be ranked among the gods? And all the more so that he was wont to deliver many precepts in beautiful and godlike phrase about the immortal gods themselves, and to open up by his writings all the nature of things." (v. 43—54.)

In the fragments from Epicurus which have been preserved, there are no such evidences of depth of nature and earnestness of purpose as abound throughout Lucretius. Even Cicero appears to us to fall decidedly below his contemporary poet-philosopher in deep sincerity and intense earnestness of desire to impress his convictions upon other men. "He seems," says Professor Sellar, "to combine in himself what was greatest in the Greek and in the Roman mind—the Greek ardour of inquiry; the Roman manliness of heart."

In order to dissipate effectually the terror and darkness of the mind, the poet, after a brief and beautiful introduction, lays down as his first principle that "nothing is produced from nothing by Divine power." The first book contains his general exposition of the materialistic doctrine; that nothing exists but space and matter, both infinite in extent. The second book describes atoms, and the modes of their combination and separation in nature's perpetual changes. The third exhibits the nature of the soul, about half the book being given to arguments against the doctrine of immortality. The fourth book treats of the senses, dreams, and some of the other phenomena of life; the fifth sets forth the experiences of the human race

from their first appearance on the earth, the organization of society, the origin of language, and the progress of civilization. The sixth and last book, which is less perfectly elaborated than the rest, although the outline of the projected work appears to have been filled out, discusses various natural phenomena, earthquakes, volcanoes, pestilences, and the like. His theological and ethical views Lucretius introduces incidentally, as his direct argument, or the refutation of contrasted errors gives him opportunity.

"For the nature of the gods," he says, (ii. 646—651) "must ever in itself of necessity enjoy immortality together with supreme repose, far removed and withdrawn from our concerns; for exempt from every pain, exempt from all dangers, strong in its own resources, not wanting aught of us, it is neither gained by favours nor moved by anger." Again with reference to creation, (v. 156 sq.) "To say that for the sake of men they have willed to set in order the glorious nature of the world, and therefore it is meet to praise the work of the gods, calling as it does for all praise, and to believe that it will be eternal and immortal, and that it is an unholy thing ever to shake by any force from its fixed seats that which by the forethought of the gods in ancient days has been established on everlasting foundations for mankind, or to assail it by speech and utterly overturn it from top to bottom; and to invent and add other figments of the kind, Memmius, is all sheer folly. For what advantage can our gratitude bestow on immortal and blessed beings that for our sakes they should take in hand to administer aught? And what novel incident could have induced them, hitherto at rest, so long after to desire to change their life?" With reference to belief in providence as controlling natural phenomena or human affairs, (vi. 68 sq.) "Unless you drive from your mind with loathing all these things, and banish far from you all belief in things degrading to the gods, and inconsistent with their peace, then often will the holy deities of the gods, having their majesty lessened by you, do you hurt; not that the supreme power of the gods can be outraged, so as in their wrath to resolve to exact sharp vengeance, but because you will fancy to yourself that they, though they enjoy quiet and calm peace, do roll great billows of wrath; nor

will you be able to approach the sanctuaries of the gods with a calm breast." The popular mythologies call forth the poet's most vehement denunciation. "O hapless race of men, (v. 1194—1203) when they charged the gods with such acts and made them the slaves of angry passions! What groanings did they then beget for themselves, what wounds for us, what tears for our posterity! Nor is it any act of piety to be often seen with veiled head to turn to a stone, and approach every altar and fall prostrate on the ground, and to spread out the palms before the statues of the gods and sprinkle the altars with much blood of beasts, and nail up vow after vow, but rather to be able to look on all things with a mind at peace."

"The mind at peace"—this is with Lucretius, as with Epicurus, the highest attainment of man. His physical theory of the universe has constantly and predominantly this moral object. And when he comes to speak more directly of human relations and duties, he always insists that it is a great thing to live well in such a world as this. The motives to right living are of necessity all drawn from the present. All hopes and fears that take hold of the future are the dream of the ignorant or the inconsistent. He denounces sensuality in every form; he ridicules avarice and ambition, and all the vices and follies of the mind. Tityos is the prey not of a vulture, but of sensual lust; the never-ending toil of Sisyphus is the hopeless striving of ambition. The difficulties and distresses of the present, and dread of the future, are the result of ignorance or disregard of "the nature of things," which the poet sets forth, not with the intellectual enthusiasm of a philosopher, but with a feeling in which Professor Sellar recognizes "a zeal more like religious earnestness than the spirit of any other writer of antiquity."

It is indeed true that with his whole school, the poet overlooks and unconsciously disowns at the start his fundamental principle, that the senses are the foundation of all our knowledge. Atoms and void, from which all things are said to be made, may be inferences from what we see, but surely they are not seen, nor can any sense take direct cognizance of them. The infinite variety and change which co-exist with universal order and all-pervading law in nature, are explained by the

conception that in these atoms, beside the three qualities of simplicity, solidity, and eternity, there is a certain mysterious force, by the recognition of which the philosopher escapes on the one hand from chance, on the other from fatalism. And when the poet passes from the contemplation and exhibition of all this detail, to the representation of nature as a whole, he discerns a life and power and almost a will, which well-nigh constitute nature a god above the gods. When he speaks of creation and denies it as the act of the gods, among other reasonings he puts the question, (v. 181, sq.), "Whence was first implanted in the gods a pattern for begetting things in general as well as the preconception of what men are, so that they knew and saw in mind what they wanted to make; and in what way was the power of first beginnings ever ascertained, and what they could effect by a change in their mutual arrangements, unless nature herself gave the model for making things?"

It is easy to see how this conception of nature aided the poet. Lucretius had chosen the poetic form, partly, no doubt, from consciousness of a poet's calling; but he says, "since the doctrine seems generally somewhat bitter to those by whom it has not been handled, and the multitude shrinks back from it in dismay, I have resolved to set forth our doctrine in sweet-toned Pierian verse, and to overlay it as it were with the pleasant honey of the muses." It is doubtful, however, whether the poem, even by its vigour of thought and poetic merit, gained any considerable influence. The archaic style which the sturdy Roman spirit of the poet led him to adopt, would throw his work out of the current in which Cicero, and afterwards Horace and Virgil, were directing the popular taste. And Epicureanism of a lower type would become prevalent with those who were inclined to live for pleasure. The morality of the *De Rerum Natura* was far above that of the age in and for which it was composed. Notwithstanding the poet's high endeavour, life would continue, we fear, to be "a struggle in the dark." And we wonder whether he who so distinctly recognized a conscience as one of the great disturbers of man's peace, did not himself feel the insufficiency of the remedies he offered in that icy materialism. A century later a doctrine was preached at

Rome, that could ensure "a mind at peace;" but how different was its exhibition of the nature of things!

Epicureanism continued to be practically popular and influential at Rome, although in literature it found no expositors later than the Augustan poets, whose names have been preserved. It has been noted as a remarkable fact that men of every school of philosophy were found among those who engaged in the final struggle for the Republic. And under the Empire all were alike suspected when showing any disposition to meddle with affairs of state; otherwise, from indifference or policy, tolerated. Yet surely the system of Epicurus, so strongly repressing both personal ambition and patriotic devotion, was least obnoxious to suspicion.

Let us now notice briefly the natural and actual working of the Epicurean philosophy in ancient society. What was its place as a modifier of ancient civilization?

Within the sphere of religion it aimed at and contributed to the limitation and overthrow of the old mythologies and superstitions. Even if the gods whom it offered as a substitute for the popular divinities, were gods only in name, whose existence was recognized only because a popular belief so universal, must, according to the *Canonic* of Epicurus, have its counterpart in fact, still assaults so vehement and just upon many of the enormities of the popular belief and practice, could not fail to accelerate the downfall of the ancient faith.

Within the sphere of private morality, the system of the true Epicureans both of Greece and Rome, doubtless protested earnestly against the growing corruption of the old world. Temperance and kindred virtues were commended by every variety of argument that could be drawn from self-interest. But it is the idle struggle of selfishness against sin. A few whose judgments were clear and calm, and their passions less impetuous, would make the required reckoning, and forego many a present indulgence because it cost too much. But even in Greece, much more then in Rome, the passions of men were too turbulent, temptations and facilities too numerous and persuasive, to allow many to become the sages that Epicurus sought to make all men. The rapacity, brutality, and debauchery of Rome, during the last generations of the Republic and the first of the Empire,

we fear were not perceptibly restrained by Lucretius and all his school.

The civil and political influence of the philosophy of the Garden was not so directly intended, or so speedily perceptible, and yet perhaps this was the sphere of its mightiest and most beneficent working. Denis sets forth with great clearness and eloquence its influence in Greece, in opposing that blind and narrow patriotism which was so often the bane of Greek politics, in undermining national pride and exclusiveness, and in ameliorating the rigours of servitude. Epicurus, according to Seneca, would have the slave regarded as a friend of humble condition; and it was a further argument with this school, that it is only in connection with such indulgence, and a mutual good will, that the slave will cease to be a troublesome possession. The old Roman pride was made of even sterner stuff, and the virtues of the earlier Republic struggled long and desperately, but in vain, against the insidious assaults of foreign manners, foreign doctrines, foreign vices. But the fierce conqueror must needs be taken captive before she could be anything but a despot in the earth. That old national pride which made a foreigner an enemy, and which doled out the rights of citizenship with a niggard hand, must be broken or melted before the nations would rejoice in her sway. And this result the Epicurean system, so far as it had power, would only hasten. While Stoicism contributed its invaluable service to perfect the legislation and jurisprudence of Rome, the rival system was liberalizing the state, and making it possible that a world-wide empire should be maintained by law instead of force. So the Roman became a cosmopolite. A mightier power than Epicureanism took up this work after the civil wars and the reigns of the first emperors had done their part. But Christianity need not ignore any good work which had been already done, though it be by a philosophy so defective and false as that of the Garden.

Art. III.—*Life of Emanuel Swedenborg. Together with a Brief Synopsis of his Writings, both Philosophical and Theological.* By William White. With an Introduction. By B. F. Barrett. First American edition. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1866.

The Divine Attributes, including also the Divine Trinity, a Treatise on the Divine Love, and Wisdom, and Correspondence. From the "Apocalypse Explained" of Emanuel Swedenborg. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1866.

Heaven and its Wonders and Hell. From Things heard and seen. By Emanuel Swedenborg. Originally published in Latin at London, A. D. 1758. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1867.

Observations on the Authenticity of the Gospels. By a Layman. Second edition. Chicago: E. B. Myers & Chandler. Boston: Nichols & Noyes. 1867.

The New Jerusalem Church. The True Eclecticism. Boston: T. H. Carter & Co. Chicago: E. B. Myers & Chandler. 1866.

Swedenborgianism Examined. By Enoch Pond, D. D., Professor in the Theological Seminary, Bangor, Me. Revised Edition. Published by the American Tract Society, 28 Cornhill, Boston. 13 Bible House, New York.

The above publications, issued in a style most creditable to their respective publishers, are evidences of growing zeal and activity in propagating Swedenborgianism. There are few who have not heard of this eccentric system of religious doctrine, and fewer still who know anything about it or its author. We therefore avail ourselves of the occasion and materials thus afforded, to draw up a succinct account of both. All the foregoing publications are by Swedenborg, or his supporters, except the last, by Dr. Pond. His book is a clear and candid summation of facts and arguments against Swedenborgianism. We know of no better thesaurus of its teachings and principles as seen by its adversaries. This little book, together with the first in the above series, viz., the Life and Doctrines of Swedenborg, by Mr. White, presenting the other side of the

case, present a very fair view of the substance of the arguments for and against the system. From this latter work by a friend of the New Church, the material facts and proofs in this article will mostly be taken. We now invite the attention of our readers, first to Swendenborg's life, and next to his system.

Emanuel Swedenborg was born at Stockholm, Sweden, Jan. 29, 1688. His father's name was Jesper Swedberg, his mother's Sarah Behm, both belonging to highly respectable Swedish families. His father was a clergyman, and, at the time of Emanuel's birth was chaplain to a regiment of cavalry. After passing through several offices, one of which was a professorship of theology in the University of Upsal, in the year 1719, he became bishop of Skara, in West Gothland. He was not a brilliant, but a learned and industrious man, upright, patriotic, pious. The following extract from his diary indicates that his son's extraordinary fecundity in book-making was an hereditary trait. "I can scarcely believe that anybody in Sweden has written so much as I have done; since I think ten carts could scarcely carry away what I have written and printed at my own expense, and yet there is much, yea, nearly as much, not printed." When Emanuel was forty years old, the father says, "Emanuel, my son's name, signifies God with us, a name which should constantly remind him of the nearness of God, and of that interior, holy, and mysterious connection, in which, through faith, we stand with our good and gracious God. And blessed be the Lord's name! God has to this hour been with him, and may God be further with him, until he is eternally united with him in his kingdom." All this gives a favourable impression of Swedenborg's parentage, early training, and character.

Few memoranda of Swedenborg's childhood have been preserved. In a letter to Dr. Beyer, he says, "from my fourth to my tenth year my thoughts were constantly engrossed by reflections on God, on salvation, and on the spiritual affections of man. I often revealed things in my discourse which filled my parents with astonishment, and made them declare at times that certainly the angels spoke through my mouth. From my sixth to my twelfth year, it was my greatest delight to converse with the clergy concerning faith; to whom I often observed, that charity or love is the life of faith; and that vivifying cha-

rity or love is no other than the love of one's neighbour; that God vouchsafes this faith to every one; but that it is adopted by those only who practise that charity. I knew of no other faith or belief at that time, than that God is the Creator and Preserver of Nature; that he endues men with understanding, good inclinations, and other gifts derived from these. I knew nothing at that time of the systematic or dogmatic kind of faith, that God the Father imputes the righteousness or merits of his Son to whomsoever, and at whatever time He wills, even to the impenitent. And had I heard of such a faith, it would have been then as now, perfectly unintelligible to me."

His admiring biographer well says, "this confession very vividly shadows forth the future man." The sequel will show that this contains the germ of his future career, and of the religious system which he gave to the world. He knew no faith but charity or rectitude, no merits as a ground of justification but those of self-righteousness, no Saviour but personal virtue. And he then conceived himself to have intercourse with angels.

Emanuel received the best education which his age and country could afford. At the age of twenty-one he took the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the University of Upsal. He showed himself an extraordinary Latinist in the dissertation written for his degree, and in a Latin version of the Book of Ecclesiastes, published in the same year in a work of his father. In this tongue all, or nearly all, his voluminous works were written and published. And this year (1710) finished the educational and strictly scholastic period of his life. He now passed to the duties of manhood.

Henceforward he spent much of his time in travelling. In the year 1710 he started for London via Gottenburg, and before reaching his destination narrowly escaped death four times. He passed nearly a year in London and Oxford. Then he visited the chief cities of Holland, and proceeded through Brussels and Valenciennes to Paris. Here and at Versailles he spent a year, when he hastened to Hamburg, and, after other excursions to places of less note, returned home, having been absent four years. During this journey he published an oration and little book of poems, which, however, evinced but feeble poetical power, although a certain kind of speculative

imagination played an important part in his future development.

Being the son of a bishop, his family connections were high and influential. One of his sisters married an archbishop, another the governor of a province, and other members of his family held leading offices in the kingdom. He was thus able to secure a position in life congenial to his tastes. While travelling on the continent, he had closely examined every novelty in mathematics, astronomy, and mechanics, which came under his observation, and written full accounts of them to scientists at home. On his return he became editor of a new periodical called "Dædalus Hyperboreus," to which Christopher Polheim, a celebrated mathematician, called the "Swedish Archimedes," contributed. This led to his appointment to the office of Assessor of the Board of Mines, which he held for many years, till he withdrew from secular pursuits, while he was allowed to retain its emoluments through life. The periodical, however, like so many others, soon died for want of support.

The king, Charles XII., who had conferred this office upon him, discerning his high powers, advised Polheim to give the rising young man his daughter in marriage. Swedenborg warmly responded to the proposal, for he tenderly loved the fair Emerentia. She, however, did not reciprocate the affection, and refused to be betrothed to him. This blight on his first love prevented all further attempts in this direction, and made him a celibate all his days, while his mind and imagination were ever exuberant on the subject of "conjugial love."

The king had occasion to call to his aid Swedenborg's high powers, at the siege of Frederickshall. He devised ingenious rolling machines, by which several vessels of war were transported overland a distance of fourteen miles. Under cover of these Charles was able to transport his artillery under the very walls of the town; but without avail, as a fatal cannon-ball struck him in the head.

In 1719 the Swedberg family were ennobled by Queen Ulrica Eleonora, and their name changed to Swedenborg. This change of name was about all, however, which the empty honour really conferred. Emanuel Swedenborg was neither Count nor Baron, as he has so generally been called.

Meanwhile he was rapidly acquiring fame as a writer and thinker. In 1717 he published an "Introduction to Algebra," also, "Attempts to find the Longitude of Places by Lunar Observations." In 1719 he published four new works: "A Proposal for a Decimal System of Money and Measures." "A Treatise on the Motion and Position of the Earth and the Planets." "Proofs derived from Appearances, in Sweden, of the Depths of the Sea, and the greater force of the Tides in the Ancient World," and "On Docks, Sluices, and Salt Works." Many of the views advanced in these works were in advance of his age and country. In reference to objections on this account he says, "It is a little discouraging to me to be advised to relinquish my views, as among the novelties the country cannot bear. For my part, I desire all possible novelties; aye, a novelty every day in the year, for in every age there is an abundance of persons who follow the beaten track, and remain in the old way, while there are not more than from six to ten in a century who bring forward innovations founded on argument and reason." While this shows the just recoil of a profound and ingenuous mind from blind and stubborn hostility to salutary innovation, it also betrays a swinging past the even balance of truth to a morbid passion for novelties as such, whether good or evil, right or wrong. This love of novelty appears to have been a ruling passion which will go far to explain the most remarkable phenomena of his subsequent career.

In the spring of 1721 he again visited Holland, and in Amsterdam published the five following works: "Some Specimens of a Work on the Principles of Natural Philosophy, comprising new attempts to explain the Phenomena of Chemistry and Physics by Geometry;" "New Observations and Discoveries respecting Iron and Fire, and particularly respecting the Elemental Nature of Fire, together with a new construction of Stoves;" "A New Method of finding the Longitude of Places on Land or at Sea by Lunar Observations;" "A New Mechanical Plan of constructing Docks and Dykes;" and a "Mode of Discovering the Powers of Vessels by the Application of Mechanical Principles." We quote the titles of these works because they afford a considerable clew to the grade and drift

of Swedenborg's mind. They must, in all candour, be conceded to prove that he was no common man.

The chief object of his journey on the continent, however, was to improve his practical knowledge of mining and metallurgy. For this purpose he visited the principal mines and smelting works in his route. At Leipsic, in 1722, he published Parts I. to III. of "Miscellaneous Observations on Physical Sciences." Also at Hamburg, the same year, Part IV. of the same work. His friends claim that in his application of mathematics to chemistry is found the germ of the theory of definite proportions in that science, and of geometrical forms in crystallography, which modern science has elaborated and verified.

Returning to Stockholm in midsummer 1722, thus furnished for his office, he entered fully upon its duties which he quietly fulfilled for eleven years, suspending for the time his publications on Science Pure and Applied. His abilities were recognized in his election to the Professorship of Mathematics in the University of Upsal, in 1724. This honour, however, he declined. The works thus far published by him had been chiefly in pamphlet form. He however improved the long interval between his last and the next publication to prepare a large and laboured treatise, entitled, "Opera Philosophica et Mineralia." In order to secure its proper publication, and to gain still further knowledge of mining and metallurgy, he went abroad the third time, in May, 1733. He commenced the publication of his work at Leipsic in October, and finished it in the year 1734, in three handsome folio volumes, enriched with numerous copperplates. The Duke of Brunswick, at whose court he was a visitor, with noble munificence, defrayed the expense of the publication. At the same time he issued a little work called "A Philosophical Argument for the Infinite, and the Final Cause of Creation; and on the Mechanism of the Intercourse between the Soul and the Body," a sort of supplement to the former. It is claimed that this great work anticipated much that distinguishes later modern science, in astronomy, magnetism, and chemistry. It certainly increased his fame among contemporary philosophers. It was honoured by the Pope with a place on the Index Expurgatorius, in 1739.

It led to his election as corresponding member of the Academy of Sciences at St. Petersburg in 1734.

In July, 1735, his father died. Shortly after he went abroad "for a sojourn of three or four years to write and publish a certain book," resigning half his salary meanwhile to his substitutes—being the better able to do so, as he had received some patrimony from his father. In Holland he was struck with the great prosperity of the Dutch, and attributed it to their republican government, a kind of civil polity which he warmly extols. He noticed also and denounced the effect of Romanism and of monastic institutions in the countries he visited. In Paris he devoted himself to sight-seeing and amusements, with hearty zest going the round of churches, monasteries, palaces, gardens, museums, and theatres. His temper and life were far enough from asceticism. He went from Paris to Rome, which he left after a sojourn of five months. After various wanderings he at length reached Sweden in 1740. During this and the year following, his "Economy of the Animal Kingdom" was published in Amsterdam; and in 1744—5 the "Animal Kingdom," Parts I. and II. at the Hague, and Part III. in London. These places he visited in the years last named.

One great end of this work was to trace the connection of mind and body, and he was coming more and more to find that "correspondence" between them which his "doctrine of correspondences" enabled him to find every where *ad libitum*, and which led him to look for great results in studying the mind through the body. He made, says his biographer, a "regular study of this ratio between the respiration and the thoughts and emotions; he shows in detail that the two correspond exactly." Swedenborg himself says, "from this summary or plan, the reader may see that the end I propose to myself in the work is a knowledge of the soul, since this knowledge will constitute the crown of my studies. . . . I am, therefore, resolved to allow myself no respite, until I have run through the whole field to the very goal, or until I have traversed the universal animal kingdom to the soul. Thus I hope that by bending my course inward continually, I shall open all the doors that lead to her, and at length contemplate the soul itself by the Divine permission." He again states this design in the fol-

lowing phrase: "I have gone though anatomy with the single end of investigating the soul. It will be a satisfaction to me if my labours be of any use to the anatomical and medical world, but a still greater satisfaction if I afford any light towards the investigation of the soul."

Here we have the key to another false scent in the investigations of this, however great, no less greatly misguided, man. He undertakes to investigate the soul through external observation, zoölogical, physiological, anatomical. Now we undertake to say that this sort of investigation never yet brought to light the first mental fact, or phenomenon. Every such phenomenon is an exercise of consciousness. It can only be learned then by the inspection of consciousness. One might dissect and measure the organs of the body with never so much skill and exactness—what then? This knowledge, however valuable in its own sphere, does not give the first fact of consciousness not otherwise known. It may show that certain corporeal signals accompany these mental phenomena, first and only known through consciousness. This is all it can do. Just here lies the great error of the Phrenologists, in so far as they pretend to construct a science of mind by external observation of bumps, angles, etc. The thing is simply impossible. They cannot learn the first mental exercise which was not already ascertained by the study of consciousness, however they may ascertain any exterior indications which sometimes or usually accompany such phenomena, when otherwise ascertained. It is not inconsistent with the doctrine here laid down, that we gain a knowledge of the mind by the study of history, language, literature, &c. For what are these but the records of those thoughts, and feelings, and actions, which manifest the consciousness of the race? The study of the mind in these is the study of the collective consciousness of mankind. The only rational ground for studying the mind through anatomy and other forms of exterior observation, is the false assumption that the mind and body are in substance one, that either both are body or both mind; in short, that Materialism or Idealism is the true philosophy. This wrong fundamental bias in Swedenborg's thinking and inquiries, will go far to account for the extreme to which he pushed the doctrine of correspondence between the

material and spiritual world, and for the wonderful facility with which he could find any meaning in the phenomena of Nature and the language of Revelation that suited his fancy or taste.

Although at times Swedenborg asserts that body and spirit are radically different from each other, and are separated by discrete degrees so that neither can become the other, yet there is much in the writings of himself and followers which seems to affirm or imply the identification of mind and matter, and to look now towards Idealism, and now towards Materialism. Dr. Pond has fully shown this, as follows, p. 205.

"And what, according to Swedenborg, is the human soul? It is no other than the '*nervous* or *spirituous fluid.*' 'This fluid is *the spirit and soul* of its body.' 'We may take it for certain, that if this fluid and the soul agree with each other in their predicates, *the fluid must be accepted as the soul.*'* Swedenborg rejects the doctrine 'of Descartes and others, that *the soul is a substance distinct from the body*, in which it remains as long as the heart beats.' 'Every thing of the soul,' he says, 'is of the body, and every thing of the body is of the soul.' 'The mind is that element of the body which is in first principles,' &c.†

"These decisions of Swedenborg as to the nature of the soul are accepted by his followers, or at least by some of them. 'The distinction between mind and matter,' says Mr. Clissold, 'lies not *in essence*, but in form.'‡ Mr. Dawson represents it as one of the great uses of Swedenborg's writings, that 'they help to break down *the mischievous man-made distinction between spirit and matter.*'§ And Mr. Wilkinson says, 'We regard body and soul together as *distinctly and inseparably one.*' "||

These works, however, attracted little notice, and soon sank into utter oblivion, from which they have been recently exhumed by his zealous adherents, especially by an admiring

* Economy of the Animal Kingdom, vol. ii., pp. 233, 236.

† See New Church Repository, vol. i., p. 308.

‡ Introduction to Animal Kingdom, p. 54.

§ N. J. Magazine, vol. xx., p. 497.

|| Tracts for the New Times, No. 3, p. 25.

translator and commentator, Mr. Wilkinson. His long series of scientific publications was completed by the publication in 1845, in London, of the "Worship and Love of God." To this, however, his followers attach little value, "as it was probably written as much for an exercise of fancy, as with any serious intent." Here the scientific phase of his life closes. That of an alleged inspired Seer and Revelator begins. Into this let us now look.

In the year 1745, at the age of fifty-seven, at the zenith of his scientific fame and worldly success, an event occurred which gave an entirely new bias to his life. He and his friends appear to have looked upon all his former productions as mere "school-boy exercises," a propædeutic for the august office henceforth assumed by him. And this appears to have been in lieu of far more essential preliminary training. His reading, otherwise extensive, had not touched systematic theology. He had quietly rejected the doctrines of the creeds which go beyond the practice of virtue and piety, as "theoretical and mystical." This by his admirers is set forth as qualifying him for his new office, by leaving his mind unbiassed and impartial. We see in it no higher qualification than so much ignorance and error, disqualifying him to judge between true and pretended or counterfeit communications from heaven. His life, however, and the following rules of life, found in his manuscripts, go to prove him a sincere, upright, and religious man, though they are far from evincing a true knowledge of Christ. These rules were, "1. Often to read and to meditate on the word of the Lord. 2. To submit every thing to the will of Divine providence. 3. To observe in every thing, a propriety of behaviour, and always to keep the conscience clear. 4. To discharge with fidelity, the functions of my employment, and the duties of my office, and to render myself, in all things, useful to society."

It deserves mention here, that shortly before the wonderful visions and revelations which Swedenborg supposed to be given him from heaven, and in close connection with the severe mental application involved in the preparation and publication of the works last mentioned, he, while in London, suffered a severe attack of fever, attended with delirium. For this we have not only the testimony of Wesley, but of Hartley, his intimate

friend and follower. If so, it may have left a chronic affection of his nervous system, which will go far to explain the visions of heaven and hell with which his brain appears to have teemed the remaining twenty-seven years of his life. Certainly it will go far, along with a burdened stomach, to explain the following account which he gave of his first vision to a friend who asked him how he knew what was done in heaven and hell.

"I was in London, and one day dined rather late by myself, at a boarding-house, where I kept a room, in which, at pleasure, I could prosecute the study of the natural sciences. I was hungry, and ate with great appetite. At the end of the meal, I remarked that a vapour, as it were, clouded my sight, and the walls of my chamber appeared covered with frightful creeping things, such as serpents, toads, and the like. I was filled with astonishment, but retained the full use of my perception and thoughts. The darkness attained its height, and soon passed away. I then perceived a man sitting in the corner of my chamber. As I thought myself entirely alone, I was greatly terrified; when he spoke and said, 'Eat not so much.' The cloud once more came over my sight, and when it passed away, I found myself alone in the chamber. This unexpected event hastened my return home. I did not mention the subject to the people of the house, but reflected upon it much, and believed it to have been the effect of accidental causes, or to have arisen from my physical state at the time. I went home; but in the following night, the same man appeared to me again. He said, 'I am God, the Lord, the Creator and Redeemer of the world. I have chosen thee to lay before men the spiritual sense of the holy word. I will teach thee what thou art to write.' On that same night, were opened to my perception the heavens and the hells, where I saw many persons of my acquaintance, of all conditions. From that day forth, I gave up all mere worldly learning, and laboured only in spiritual things, according to what the Lord commanded me to write. Daily he opened the eyes of my spirit to see what was done in the other world, and gave me, in a state of full wakefulness, to converse with angels and spirits."

"Such," says Dr. Pond, "is Swedenborg's account of the manner in which his spiritual senses were opened; of his inter-

views with the Lord Jesus Christ; and of his commission to unfold the hidden sense of the word, and make other important disclosures to men. As to the particular state of his mind while in the spirit, Swedenborg gave no further explanations."

Ever after he proceeds upon the assumption, express or implied, that he is a Prophet or Messenger of God, commissioned and infallibly inspired to reveal his truth and will. He says, "I have been called to a holy office by the Lord himself, who most graciously manifested himself to me, his servant, in the year 1743 (5?) when he opened my sight to a view of the spiritual world, and granted me the privilege of conversing with angels and spirits, which I enjoy to this day. From that time I began to publish and print various arcana that have been seen by me, or revealed to me; as respecting heaven and hell, the state of man after death, the true worship of God, the spiritual sense of the Word, with many other most important matters conducive to salvation and true wisdom."

Again, in the preface to his "Arcana Celestia," he writes, "Of the Lord's divine mercy, it has been granted me now for several years to be constantly and uninterruptedly with spirits and angels, hearing them converse with each other and conversing with them. Hence it has been permitted me to hear and see stupendous things in the other life, which have never before come to the knowledge of any man, nor entered his imagination. I have therefore been instructed concerning different kinds of spirits, and the state of souls after death; concerning hell, or the lamentable state of the unfaithful; concerning heaven, or the most happy state of the faithful; and particularly concerning the doctrine of faith which is acknowledged throughout all heaven."

It is admitted by Swedenborg's adherents that his claim "does appear startling." They must as surely admit that it cannot demand the assent of reasonable and conscientious men, without the most cogent and unanswerable proof, internal or external. As it is not pretended that these claims are supported by miraculous attestation, or by the testimony of other witnesses, (Swedenborg alone having witnessed these visions,) or that his sole testimony would suffice, more than Mahomet's, to vindicate them, unless supported by the internal self-evidence

of his doctrines themselves, it follows that the whole controversy in regard to their truth or falsity is narrowed down to this single question: Do the doctrines propounded by Swedenborg as divine, bear a self-evident divine impress; a stamp of divinity which must be their own attestation to every intelligent and candid mind? And does that mind prove itself perverse and uncandid which cannot, or does not, discern this imprint and self-evident witness of divinity upon them? And to this issue is it reduced by his abettors. They call on us to credit him, "not by any means on account of his own declaration merely, but from *the nature of the truths and statements brought forth by him*, of which our own minds, enlightened, we trust, by reason and God's word, are the judges."* "The Christian has no choice but to acknowledge, or refute Swedenborg's claims on the ground of intrinsic merit."† Here then issue is joined. To this we will soon address ourselves; remarking previously that, in deciding this question, both parties concede the supreme authority of the Holy Scriptures, except so far as certain books are rejected by the Swedenborgians.

Meanwhile it deserves notice that, after this time, Swedenborg displayed the same fertility in authorship as before, the difference being that afterward his works were occupied with his visions and revelations, the statement and indication of his peculiar religious system. He published what would amount to twenty-seven volumes, octavo, of five hundred pages each. Some twenty of these were occupied in developing his view of the spiritual sense of the Holy Scriptures. He wrote much too without printing, which has obtained a posthumous publication. His most important theological work was his "Arcana Celestia," of which most of his later publications, such as those on "Heaven and Hell," the "Apocalypse," the "New Church," the "Last Judgment," &c., are little more than the fuller development and application. His Diary is also an extended work, illustrating the man and his doctrine. He was simple in his habits of life, almost a vegetarian, wore a garment of reindeer skins in winter, and a study gown in summer. He took snuff, with which many of his manuscripts are soiled. He

* Life and Writings, p 64. † *Id.*, p. 67.

seldom attended church, finding the worship and doctrines of the existing churches uncongenial. He was seized with apoplexy and partial paralysis on Christmas eve, 1771. He died in London, March 29, 1772, with his mind apparently calm and clear, at the advanced age of eighty-four. His body was deposited in the Swedish church in Prince's Square, according to the rites of the Lutheran church. There it still lies, without visible monument or memorial.

Thus far Swedenborg's life. Next let us consider his doctrines. What are they? And do they bear such an evident Divine impress as to render us inexcusable for not receiving them as the "oracles of God," and their author as his inspired messenger?

1. As underlying all else, let us ascertain Swedenborg's doctrine in regard to the Holy Scriptures. "The assumption then with which Swedenborg starts, is, that the Scripture is in very truth the word of God; that every syllable and expression therein are his; that Moses, David, the prophets and the evangelists, were simply the inspired penmen, who wrote implicitly according to Divine dictation."* This seems indeed to be a sufficiently high and stringent view of the inspiration and plenary authority of the Bible. But it is completely neutralized by other outgivings in the premises. He teaches that the word has "three senses or meanings; first, a celestial sense apprehended by the celestial or highest angels; secondly, a spiritual sense, apprehended by a lower range of angelic minds, the spiritual; and thirdly, a natural sense, with which we are all familiar, written down to the comprehension of the lowest, most worldly and sensual of men, the Jews. These three senses make one by correspondence."† And it is clearly possible by the magic of this alleged "correspondence" to extract whatever meaning one sees fit from the letter of Scripture. Whatever may be the obvious meaning of the words of Scripture, it easily evaporates into some unknown celestial sense by some turn of correspondence. The plain meaning of Scripture is not its highest meaning. This is left in a chameleon-like variableness or incertitude, to be resolved by the *ipse dixit* of a Swedenborg, or whoever else claims to have threaded the

* Life and Writings, p. 80. † *Id.*, p. 80.

labyrinths of "correspondence," and to have had visions of the celestial world.

It is utterly vain to vindicate this doctrine of "correspondence" on the plea of any supposed analogy to figurative language, or metaphor. Such language, in its legitimate sphere, is just as plain and intelligible as any other, often more vividly accurate than a mere dead, dry literality can be. The human mind is so made as spontaneously to form and to understand such imagery. These Swedenborgian correspondencies, however, are wholly beyond the plane of the normal human faculties, and are quite arbitrary, without rational basis, or intelligible key. How can the Bible be a real message of God to us, if such exegesis as the following be necessary to reach its real meaning. In regard to the account of the ark (1 Samuel v. 6,) Swedenborg says: (See Dr. Pond's book, pp. 66, 67.)

"The Philistines represent those who exalt faith above charity; which was the occasion of their continual wars with the Israelites, who represent those who cherish faith in union with charity. The idol Dagon is the religion of those who are represented by the Philistines. The emerods are symbols of the appetites of the natural man, which, when separated from the spiritual affections, are unclean. The mice, by which the land was devastated, are images of the lust of destroying, by false interpretation, the spiritual nourishment which the church derives from the word of God. The emerods of gold exhibit the natural appetites, as purified and made good. The golden mice signify the healing of the tendency to false interpretation, effected by admitting a regard to goodness. The cows are types of the natural man, in regard to such good qualities as he possesses. Their lowing by the way expresses the repugnance of the natural man to the process of conversion. And the offering them up for a burnt-offering typifies that restoration of order which takes place in the mind, when the natural affections are submitted to the Lord."*

The story of the forty and two children destroyed by bears (2 Kings ii. 24) is thus interpreted. "Elisha represented the Lord, as to the word. Baldness signifies the word, devoid of its literal sense, thus not anything. The number forty-two

* True Christian Religion, § 203.

signifies blasphemy. And bears signify the literal sense of the word, read indeed, but not understood."* No wonder that the Swedenborgians have found it necessary to publish a "Dictionary of Correspondencies," which, however, makes confusion worse confounded by its inconsistency with itself and with Swedenborg; that some of their writers maintain that the Bible, in its literal sense is self-contradictory and comparatively useless; and that one of the greatest lights of the New Church, Mr. Tulk, denies that there "has been a single Swedenborgian writer," who has correctly understood the doctrine of correspondency. Every one, he says, 'has either dropped all notice of *real* correspondency, and treated it as a system of symbols, or has merely stated the fact of there being an intimate connection between the sign and the thing signified, and left his reader to discover, as well as he could, the reason.' This same author—who seems to be a leader among the New Church brethren—affirms that *the language of Swedenborg needs to be spiritualized*,—else, he says, we shall be compelled to receive greater mysteries in the New Church theology, than those from which we have escaped in the Old. Pp. 10, 16—37. We honour the frankness of this Mr. Tulk. At the same time, we are anxious to know where this labour of *spiritualizing* is to end. Swedenborg spiritualizes the Scriptures; and Mr. Tulk spiritualizes Swedenborg, and the next improvement will be to spiritualize him."†

Not only, however, does this process destroy the utility and authority of the Sacred Word as a guide to men; Swedenborg arbitrarily disowns the inspiration of many books of Scripture, and abjures their Divine authority to control our faith and practice. He pronounces the first eleven chapters of Genesis "purely allegorical." He also excludes the books of Ruth, 1st and 2d Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther, Job, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Canticles, and the Epistles of the New Testament from the sphere of inspiration and infallibility. These liberties might just as lawfully be taken with any other books of Scripture. To expunge from the New Testament the Epistles, is to expunge the most doctrinal and didactic part of the Bible, in respect to the distinctive articles of the Christian

* Apocalypse Revealed, § 573. † Dr. Pond, p. 66.

faith — especially those most unwelcome to Swedenborg. Which comes to us with the brightest radiance of Divinity, Paul, "speaking, not in words which man's wisdom teacheth, but in words which the Holy Ghost teacheth," or Swedenborg, telling us that he has not "given them a place in his Arcana Celestia, because they are dogmatic writings merely, and are not written in the style of the Word?" Wherever the writings of the two are compared, ten thousand will recognize a Divine wisdom and truth in the Epistles for one that will see the faintest glimmer of a Divine light in the dark bathos of Swedenborg's endless discursions. We might safely leave the issue here. Swedenborg abjures the authority of a large part of the Bible, and asserts for himself an infallibility of inspiration, which he denies to Job, Solomon, Paul, Peter, James, and John, in his Epistles. Is not this destroying all foundations? And if the foundations be destroyed, what shall the righteous do? Let us look farther into the particular doctrines of Swedenborg, and we shall see strong reasons why he renounces the authority of those portions of Scripture which most expressly militate against them.

2. We will then consider some of Swedenborg's teachings concerning the nature and attributes of God. There is much in his utterances that has a pantheistic sound, and looks towards only one life or substance in the universe. Thus he says, "it is evident that the human soul is not life from life, or life in itself, for there is only one single life, and this is God."*

"The angelic idea concerning the universe created from the Lord, is as follows: that God is the centre, and that he is man, and that unless God was a man, creation would not have been possible, and that the Lord from eternity is that God. Concerning creation, they (the angels) said, that God, by his Divine proceeding, created the universe and all things therein, and since the Divine proceeding is also life itself, that all things were created from life and by life."† "Life viewed in itself, which is God, cannot create another being who shall be life itself."‡ "That God is a man, and that the Lord is that

* Divine Attributes, p. 230. † *Id.* p. 312.
‡ *Id.* p. 43.

man, is manifest from all things which are in the heavens, and which are beneath the heavens."* Mr. White says, the "treatise on the Divine Love and Wisdom . . . . affords a key to the whole philosophy of the New Church, and to a rational understanding of all the writings of Swedenborg . . . The first part sets forth, in the simplest language, the doctrine of the Divine nature. The Lord's essence is shown to be infinite love, and its manifestation to be infinite wisdom. It is proved that the Divine Love is the only life in the universe, and that in God, 'all things live, move, and have their being.' The Lord is also proved to be very and essential man, yet above and independent of all space and time, filling all spaces of the universe without space, and all time without time, and being in the greatest and the least things evermore the same. . . . The end of creation is, that all things may return to their Creator."† That God is man, and that there is but one life in the universe, and that all things will return to God, this, if not pantheism, is surely pantheistic.

3. Swedenborg denies the Trinity, and insists that the doctrine of three persons means the doctrine of three Gods. This abundantly appears from the chapter on the Trinity, in the work on the "Divine Attributes." Mr. White thus represents his doctrine: "To conceive of a trinity of Divine *persons* from eternity, is to think of three Gods, and no amount of word-playing and creed-making can prevent the mind from falling into Tritheism, as long as a Trinity of *persons* and not of *essentials* is thought of. A trinity of persons was unknown in the Apostolic Church." (p. 239). "The doctrine of a trinity of persons in the Divine being, is the keystone of Roman Catholic and Protestant theology. If this doctrine be false, the whole structure totters to its fall. When the faith in three Gods is rejected, then it is possible to receive the true and saving faith, which is, a faith in one God, united with good works." (*Id.* p. 211). With the Trinity, of course, the whole system of evangelical doctrine and experience falls to the ground, and is accordingly abjured.

4. He claims to have "shown the errors of the existing doctrines of justification by faith alone, and of the imputation of

* *Id.* 41. † Life of Swedenborg, pp. 151—2.

the righteousness or merits of Jesus Christ." (*Id.* p. 204.) "An imputation of the merits and righteousness of Christ is impossible." (p. 251.) "The doctrine of the faith of the present church, ascribes to God human passions and infirmities; as, that he beheld men from anger; that he required to be reconciled; that he is reconciled through the love he bore toward the Son, and by his intercession; that he required to be appeased by the sight of his Son's sufferings, and thus to be brought back to mercy; and that he imputes the righteousness of his Son to an unrighteous man, who supplicates it from faith alone; and that thus from an enemy he makes him a friend, and from a child of wrath a child of grace; all which dogmas are the opposite of truth, and repulsive to every wise man."

"The faith of the present church has produced monstrous births; for instance, instantaneous salvation by an immediate act of mercy; predestination; the notion that God has no respect to the actions of men, but unto faith alone; that there is no connection between charity and faith; that man in conversion is like a stock; with many more heresies of the same kind; likewise concerning the sacraments of Baptism and the Holy Supper, as to the advantages reasonably to be expected from them, when considered according to the doctrine of justification by faith alone; as also with regard to the person of Christ; and that heresies, from the first ages to the present day, have sprung from no other source than from the doctrine founded on the idea of three Divine Persons or Gods." (*Id.* pp. 212—13.)

Although this indignant protest against, and repudiation of, scriptural, evangelical, and catholic truth, is aimed at the caricature which adversaries are wont to make of it, it is none the less an utter abjuration of that truth. The bitterness of Swedenborg's unrelenting antipathy to justification by faith through the merits of Christ is conspicuous throughout his writings. It is none the less pronounced and implacable against regeneration by the immediate agency of the Spirit of God, or even the possibility thereof. He tells us, "if man could be saved by immediate mercy, all would be saved; even the inhabitants of hell, and hell itself would not exist. . . . Man's spirit is substantial; and if formed to evil, to change it would be equivalent to anni-

hilation. . . . Ample experience has taught me that it is impossible to implant the life of heaven in those who have led an opposite life in the world." Is it not enough in answer to all this to point to the conversion of Paul, of the dying thief, the thousands on the day of Pentecost, the myriads who from age to age are born into the kingdom of God? Is any thing too hard for the Lord, and can he not out of the stones raise up children unto Abraham?

5. A cardinal doctrine of Swedenborg was that the last Judgment was already past, having occurred in 1757, when the previous dispensation was terminated by the visions vouchsafed to him, which inaugurated the new and final dispensation. (*Id.* p. 95.) The coming of Christ is not personal. It is in the unveiling of the ideas, the light, the truth of the New Dispensation. The last Judgment separated the good from the evil, the false from the true, the hypocrites who overrun the Reformed churches from sincere Christians. (*Id.* p. 156.)

6. "Angels are men, and live together in society like men on earth, therefore they have garments, houses, and other things similar to those which exist on earth." "In heaven, two married partners are not called two, but one angel." For "there are marriages in heaven as well as on earth." (*Id.* chap. xxii.) Space and Time in heaven are purely subjective. They are without objective reality to the angels. Apparent changes of season and passing of time are only an outward reflex from the changes of the soul within. Greater or less apparent distance in space have no objective reality, they only represent degrees of love. If this be intense, there is nearness to the object loved. If feeble, distance intervenes and increases. (*Life and Writings*, p. 109. *Heaven and Hell*, pp. 104—119.)

7. So Swedenborg himself entered or was present in heaven. "By such changes have I also been conducted by the Lord into the heavens, and likewise to the earths in the universe. I was carried there as to the spirit only, my body meanwhile remaining in the same place. Thus do all the angels journey. Hence they have no distances; and since they have no distances, they have no spaces; but instead of spaces they have states, and their changes, change of place being only change of state, it is evident that approximations are similitudes as to

the state of the interiors, and that removals are dissimilitudes. Hence it is that those are near together who are in a similar state, and those distant who are in a dissimilar state." (*Heaven and Hell*, p. 119.) Here the secret is revealed as to the manner in which Swedenborg passed to and inspected the heavens and "the earths in the universe," and the sources of his strange visions and revelations. What he thinks he saw in all these places, and elsewhere, will go far to decide his assumed infallibility as a seer and revelator.

8. It is a consequence of his doctrine of the impossibility of an immediate transformation of the human soul, that there is an intermediate state between heaven and hell, and between death and glory. He says, "The world of spirits is neither heaven nor hell, but an intermediate place or state between both, into which man enters immediately after death; and then after a certain period, the duration of which is determined by the quality of his life in this world, he is either elevated to heaven or cast into hell. . . . Some only enter it, and are immediately taken up into heaven, or cast down into hell; some remain there a few weeks, and others several years, but none, (since the last Judgment) more than thirty years." (*Life and Doctrines*, p. 122.)

9. As a consequence of renouncing the future judgment and general resurrection, the doctrine of the resurrection of the body evaporates. "Immediately after death, which is only a putting off the natural body never to be resumed, man rises again in a spiritual and substantial body, in which he continues to live to all eternity." (*Liturgy of the New Church in England.*) What sort of a body this is, may appear, if we consider that, in the Swedenborgian theology, heaven is a state and not a place.

10. "The whole Heaven in one complex resembles one divine man," otherwise called the GRAND MAN. "Every society in the heavens resembles one man . . . therefore every angel is a perfect human form." "The angels likewise know in what member one society is, and in what another; and they say, that one society is in the member or some province of the head, another in the member or some province of the breast, another in the member or some province of the loins; and so on. In general,

the highest or third heaven forms the head down to the neck; the middle or second heaven forms the breast down to the loins and knees; the ultimate or first heaven forms the legs and feet down to the soles, and also the arms down to the fingers,—for the arms and hands are ultimates of man, although at the sides. Hence it is further evident why there are three heavens."* Let who will see a divine impress on this, we confess we only discern in it the offspring of a distempered or phrenzied fancy. Hell also is pronounced to be one man.†

11. Swedenborg is quite as wide of infallible truth in his visions of and intercourse with Paul, Luther, Melancthon, Calvin, the Synod of Dort, and the Moravians, in the other world. He represents them as debased and unhappy, either in the intermediate state or in hell. Is it to be expected that the Christian world can see in such representations the stamp of Divine inspiration? Those who wish to look further into Swedenborg's defamatory accounts of these great lights of the church, may consult Dr. Pond's book, chap. vii. *Instar omnium*, look at the following account of the Apostle Paul by Swedenborg.

"Paul is among the worst of the apostles, as has been made known to me by ample experience. The love of self, whereby he was ensnared before he preached the gospel, remained with him afterwards. He did all things from the end of being greatest in heaven, and of judging the tribes of Israel. He is such that the rest of the apostles, in the other life, reject him from their company, and no longer recognize him as one of themselves. He associates himself with one of the worst devils, who would fain rule all things, and pledged himself to this spirit to obtain for him his end." Speaking of Paul in another place, Swedenborg says: "He now associated himself with the worst devils, and wished to form a heaven to himself of spirits, to whom he might give joys from himself. This also he attempted, but he became worse in consequence of it, and was cast down. I then spoke to him that this was not heaven, but hell; for such a heaven is turned into a black hell."

In a like summary manner, he claims to have seen the departed of all grades, kings, preachers, and others in heaven,

* Heaven and Hell, pp. 42—52. † Life and Doctrine, p. 127.

hell, or the intermediate state—very much, we apprehend, according to his preconceptions and, especially, his likes and dislikes of their character.

But Swedenborg, so he assures us, saw not only through heaven and hell, but what he calls "earths of the universe," *i. e.*, the planets of the solar system. He found them inhabited, conversed freely with their inhabitants, and has given the most strange and ridiculous accounts of the occupants of each of them. He, however, greatly compromises his claim to infallible inspiration in some of his dicta concerning them, which are in utter contradiction of the known truths of science. He insists that Saturn is the most distant of the planets from the sun. Moreover, he appears to have found no inhabitants outside of the planets which were then known to science. Says Mr. White, "Swedenborg tells us that lunarians are dwarfs, like boys of seven years old, with robust bodies and pleasant countenances; they do not speak from their lungs, on account of the attenuated state of the atmosphere, but from a quantity of air collected in the abdomen." (*Life and Writings*, p. 133.) After this, it is scarcely necessary to quote what he says of the inhabitants of other planets, all of which has a verisimilitude and convictive force about equal to this. But it is not out of place to see how his followers parry the objection to Swedenborg's inspiration, arising from his great and undeniable error in regard to the relative distance of Saturn from the sun. Mr. White says, (*Id.*, p. 134,) "We reply, that it would have been disorderly for him to have become possessed of such knowledge by spiritual means. But how so? Because it would have compelled belief in the spiritual doctrines so taught, without due thought and examination, as soon as science had established the existence of these orbs; because miracles and prophecy are not permitted in these times, for they force and destroy human freedom. . . . Belief so induced would be worthless, because compelled. It may be said that this is mere special pleading, but it is not so."

Perhaps this is ingenious. But it will hardly serve its purpose. If we were to grant that it shows good reason why Swedenborg's revelations should not be attested by miracle, it shows no good reason why he should claim, as an inspired seer

and revelator, to see and reveal as true what is now proved and conceded to be false. He is here proved to have been a false witness, either deceived or a deceiver. How then can he demand our assent, on his mere *ipse dixit*, to alleged facts, which there are no means, no possibility of proving or disproving, beyond his own testimony? We do not mean it in any reproachful sense, or as impeaching Swedenborg's honesty or intended veracity, when we apply the legal maxim, *falsus in uno, falsus in omnibus.* We mean simply, that having proved himself an incompetent and unreliable witness here, he is no more entitled to credit elsewhere, his ways and means of knowledge being alike abnormal and preternatural, and incapable of disproof or attestation from other sources.

But it has been said that the Scriptures are in a like predicament. Things are there declared, which modern science has proved false. To this we oppose a categorical denial. The Scriptures may state phenomena in the common language employed by men to denote those phenomena, which may sometimes be figurative or descriptive of appearances, without assuming to enunciate the scientific form of the truth which underlies those phenomena. As we say the shore recedes, to indicate the increasing distance between it and the boat moving away from it, so the Bible may use the common language of our race, and say the sun rises, to indicate the increasing distance between it and the horizon. But the Scriptures assert no falsehood or error. Whatever they declare to be a fact, rightly understood, in the real sense and intended application of the language, is true. Moreover, the Sacred Word does not teach truth in scientific form, although what it teaches is evermore the truth. Not so in regard to this error of Swedenborg. He was a man of science, accustomed to write upon science, and to state things scientifically. He in this case professed to state a truth of science, as related to other truths of science, not to be stating appearances or using metaphors merely, but to be stating a naked scientific truth, reached by the same preternatural vision by which he discovered all else he undertakes to reveal. He was mistaken in the very region and way of knowledge in which he professed to be infallibly inspired. What then becomes of this infallibility?

Nor is the reason here offered, and so often offered by Swedenborg and his followers, against the propriety of miraculous attestation of such revelations, at all more valid, viz., that they compel belief and destroy man's freedom. For,

1. It is not true that they have this effect. Doubtless miracles, in proportion to the greatness of the Divine power manifest in them, do exercise a powerful convictive force. They furnish evidence fitted to extort the outcry, "this is the finger of God." Yet this evidence may be resisted, and ever has been resisted by vast numbers, who evade their convictive power by attributing them to jugglery, evil spirits, to illusions of the senses or the soul; to subjective impressions substituted for objective realities; or to some occult working and unusual freak of the laws of nature themselves. This was so with regard to the miracles recorded in the Old Testament, as well as those wrought by our Saviour and his apostles. Indeed, our Saviour teaches that the same spirit which will resist the self-evidence of divinity in the word, will resist that of miracles. "If they believe not Moses and the prophets, neither will they be persuaded though one arose from the dead."

2. Not only is this so, but we are abundantly taught in the Scripture, that there are "lying wonders," counterfeit miracles, and charged to beware of false prophets, who shall come with "signs and wonders that would deceive, if possible, the very elect." We are, therefore, required to test the miracle by the doctrine as well as the doctrine by the miracle. As evil spirits may be permitted to simulate Divine miracles, even as they affect to be ministers of righteousness and angels of light, so it is necessary that every criterion of Divine inspiration be furnished by those who claim to speak as they are moved by the Holy Ghost, to distinguish the genuine message of God from its counterfeits. Mere wonders, apparently preternatural, cannot prove immoralities, or the contrary, of the religion given us from heaven. On the other hand, God has seen fit to attest the original delivery of his communications to men, not only by self-evidence of Divine origin, but by God-wrought wonders in the sensible world, such as can be imitated neither by man nor devil. When he gives a new revelation to men, which he commands them to believe, he authenticates it

by both these forms of attestation, external and internal, and makes them, moreover, mutual tests of each other. He requires us to test the miracle-monger, attempting to palm off false doctrine by counterfeit miracles, and to repudiate him if he undertakes to turn us away from the true religion. Deut. xiii. 1—5. Wonders wrought for such a purpose are not from above, but from beneath. It is to be observed further, that when God vouchsafes miraculous attestations of his revelation, they include some, like the drying of the rivers, the stopping of the sun, the resurrection of the dead after putrefaction has begun, which no evil spirit was ever able to simulate, and which show the finger of God beyond a peradventure. Yet even this evidence may be withstood by perverse minds, as the whole Old and New Testament histories abundantly show. It depends on the moral state or disposition of men, how far they accept moral or religious truths, however attested. "With the heart man believeth unto righteousness." This moral element upon which faith depends, or which is requisite to the due appreciation of the evidence of moral and religious truth, is what distinguishes faith or belief from apodictic judgments. These are necessary, and must be accepted by every rational mind that apprehends them, and the evidence of them. Man has no option about receiving an axiom or proposition in geometry. He cannot help it. Hence, to speak of *believing* the propositions of geometry, is a solecism. But he has some option about admitting or rejecting moral and religious truths. With this the heart or will has something to do. Hence the acceptance of them is called belief or faith, and is a proper subject of command and penalty. Their rejection is unbelief. To reject the proposition that two straight lines cannot enclose a space, is not unbelief. It is insanity or idiocy.

3. Furthermore, if Swedenborg's argument against miraculous attestations of his own alleged revelations is valid, then they are good against the propriety of the scriptural miracles, and consequently, against the Scriptures themselves. This proves too much. We conclude, therefore, that there is no weight in his attempted vindication of his failure to support his alleged claims by miracles unquestionably God-wrought,

and that this attempt implies an absolute misconception of their nature, objects, and efficacy. We are, however, very ready to let his alleged revelations be judged of in themselves, and aside of all questions about miracles. We are willing to leave it to our readers to judge, whether the doctrines and sayings of his we have brought to view, are "of heaven or of men." The answer must be what all but the merest fragment of men has ever given. Is it credible that God should have superseded the Christian dispensation over a century ago, by a system so destructive and revolutionary, in regard to the received canon and doctrines of Scripture, and left the new revelation with an attestation which, in the whole of the most enlightened and progressive century in history, has been able to gather only a very few organized Associations or New Jerusalem Churches in all christendom, and all the globe?

A great problem here presents itself, which ought not to be passed by in any general estimate of Swedenborg and his system. How are we to account for pretensions to direct intercourse with and revelations from God, to visions of heaven, hell, and of other worlds and their inhabitants; to be the God-commissioned founder of a new dispensation and new church, involving the destruction and passing away of the church founded by Christ and his apostles, the rejection of a large portion of the received Scriptures, and of the great body of Christian doctrine?

Two hypotheses only are possible. One, that he was an impostor, putting forth claims and pretensions which he knew to be groundless—deceiving others, but not deceived himself. The other is, that he was honest and sincere, really believing what he uttered, deceived himself, but not intentionally deceiving others, mistaking his own subjective states, fancies, imaginations, for objective realities. For ourselves, we have no hesitation, with our present light, in rejecting the former and embracing the latter alternative. We consider his whole life as evincing apparent simplicity, probity, and earnestness. Moreover, his scientific eminence, his taste for philosophy and letters, his social position, everything, militates against the idea of his being a conscious impostor. As a matter of taste, aside of higher considerations, the very idea must have

been revolting to him. While this is so, we think all the phenomena in his case can be accounted for on the other hypothesis. We do not doubt that he seemed to himself to behold all that he declares he beheld in heaven, earth, hell, and the planets. But the whole explanation is, that his own inward imaginations, fancies, dreams, became objectized, through abnormal conditions of his nervous system, and of the mutual interaction of mind and body. Such conditions, resulting in such phenomena, and commonly involving a partial, or total, or monomaniac derangement, temporary or permanent, often occur. It is among the most familiar facts of psychology and physiology, that in certain states of the brain, images formed by the imagination appear objective, while most or all the other functions of the mind remain unimpaired and undisturbed. Sometimes the illusion is, and sometimes it is not, understood by the subject of it. Sometimes it is transient as the cause producing it, sometimes persistent and lasting. The books are full of well-attested cases of this kind of hallucination, arising from febrile delirium, from sudden concussion or other lesion of the brain, from excessive anxiety, study, or other drafts upon nervous energy; and especially from protracted and intense application of the mind to some single topic, or line of topics, in which case the apparitions or visions are very apt to be in the same line, or a natural development of it. And it may be due to a combination of these causes. It may exist, too, in all forms, degrees, proportions, combinations, with all degrees of strength, duration, persistency; begetting monomania, or a more extended and pervading derangement of the faculties. The followers of Swedenborg may indeed reluctate against any such hypothesis in regard to a person of his eminent powers and attainments, who showed such intellectual vigor and activity during the whole period when he is supposed to have been subject to this partial eclipse or hallucination. But such minds have no immunity from such visitations; especially if they have long overtaxed themselves in some pet specialty or one-sided theory. We all have a fugitive experience of unrealities of imagination turned into apparent realities, in dreams. And examples enough occur of persons, in every grade or sphere of life, being in a continuous and life-

long dream on one or more subjects. Without repeating the celebrated case of Nicolai, the German bookseller and man of letters, who found himself troubled with apparitions of persons apparently talking together, which he at first knew to be unreal, but at length became scarcely able to distinguish from realities, and of which he was at length relieved by resorting to a periodical blood-letting, which he had that year inadvertently omitted; or others analogous, which abound in works on mental distempers, we will bring before our readers a case comparatively recent, near, and attested by competent witnesses still living. We refer to the Rev. Daniel Haskell, formerly President of the University of Vermont.* While in this office he was attacked with inflammatory rheumatism, on recovering from which, he was wont to say that "everything looked strange." As he recovered from his disease, his mental disturbance developed into decided and incurable derangement. Prof. Hough says that he regards Mr. Haskell as having "possessed a mind characterized by clear and discriminating views, and uncommon depth of reflection and solidity of judgment. . . . My impression has always been, that it (his monomania) was the result of metaphysical investigations, and particularly of an earnest attention to Berkeley's ideal theory." However this may be, his case is thus graphically described by the Rev. Dr. Samuel H. Cox, who was his pastor during several of the last years of his life.

"Of his antecedents I had occasionally and frequently heard, and with ever-increasing interest. That he was a man of great strength and soundness of mind, with a single exception, of which I shall speak presently; that his liberal attainments in science, literature, general reading, and well-digested thought, with correct and extensive theological erudition, were exemplary and distinguished; and that he was a person of deep and genuine piety, consistent and practical, as well as beneficent and useful, in the whole tenor of his life and actions; I may rationally and sincerely affirm, as better witnesses in multitudes could, without me, fully establish. He was a profound mathematician and astronomer; and occupied much of his leisure

* See Sprague's Annals of the American Pulpit, vol. ii., p. 526.

time, in the almost twelve years that I was his pastor, as well as before, in exploring the wonders of that magnificent science; in preparing and manufacturing globes, planetariums, instruments, and learned helps, for its prosecution; and in reading and studying history, chronology, antiquities, and other learned matters; always engaged, and seeming to abhor idleness or a life inane and useless. His manners ever seemed gentle and obliging. His words were few, his conversation rather reserved. He seemed to court solitude rather than society; though he came sometimes steadily to attend public worship, for months and years together; yet now and then with intervals, professing indeed an attachment to the person and the ministry of his pastor. In all this his affectionate family and friends rejoiced, and did what they could to continue the practice. The reason of his absence, sometimes for months, I am now to state.

"He was, like Cowper, whom in several respects I often thought he resembled, a confirmed monomaniac, even to his death. How it seemed to be induced I would not now inquire. I suppose its proximate cause was physical and cerebral derangement; and that its operation became religious, as in the case of Cowper, incidentally; though exasperated often by intense application to study, profound and anxious thought, and perhaps some mistaken views of Christian doctrine; at least in the way of making himself an exceptional monad, in no wise related to the ordinary truths and promises of the gospel. Perhaps some metaphysical perversions of the gospel, modifying his views insidiously, in some degree, induced the malady.

"The form of it, so far as I can now command it, was in effect this. He thought he was dead since some definite epoch gone by; that he was no longer a prisoner of hope or a probationer for eternity; that it was in some other world, not this, he formerly lived; that he was there a rebel, selfish, disobedient, antagonistic to his God; and that hence God had removed him into another state, where he was then remaining, although it was a wonder and a mystery! Hence he would not pray, no, never. It were wickedness and impiety for him to attempt it. This was exactly like Cowper,—as old Mr. Bull, at Newport Pagnell, son to him who was the friend of Cowper and Newton, at

Olney, I recollect, graphically told me, in September, 1846. He well remembered Cowper.

"Sometimes Mr. Haskell could be made to forget his mania, when interested in an object or topic of conversation. But one reference to it, or recollection of it by himself, supervened only to restore his melancholy consistency; as the solemn contraction of his countenance always evinced. Once in conversation it suddenly thundered, after a very vivid flash of lightning; interrupting the course of thought and speech. As he was full of cheerful interchange of remark, and so abruptly stopped in it, one of the company inquired of him—if that was not very much like real thunder and lightning. The absurdity struck him, and produced an involuntary smile,—saying, 'It seems very like what I remember in that world where I once was.'

"His mania was quite incurable. It was indeed the most perfect illustration of monomania, or insanity on one point only, that I ever knew. On all other subjects, especially when he forgot, he was sane, sensible, learned, instructive, and engaging."

The main points illustrated and confirmed by this remarkable and melancholy case, bearing on our present inquiry, are, 1. The possibility of a superior mind coming under the illusion that it abides in another world or state, while still in the body here. 2. The possibility of being at the same time free from all other mental derangement, and able to prosecute scientific and literary labours with success, and to prepare important publications for the press. 3. That this illusion, with all the sad religious despair implicated with it, was persistent and incurable, except during transient lucid intervals. While the differences between this case and Swedenborg's were great in regard to the scope and extent of his illusion, yet as to its reality and persistency, while his high faculties were unimpaired in other respects, in regard to being present in other worlds and states of existence, there is an essential oneness. The differences so far as our present discussion is concerned, are immaterial. We proceed now to state some reasons for the belief, that Swedenborg was under the sort of illusion in question, when he conceived himself soaring through other worlds,

and in converse with their inhabitants, as an inspired Seer and Revelator.

1. The circumstances under which, according to Swedenborg's account, these visions commenced, all favour this hypothesis. It will be recollected that his first vision was consequent on a heavy meal taken with a ravenous appetite—a kind of appetite which we know is apt to supervene upon recovery from fever. Be this as it may, his whole account of the occurrence indicates distempered mental action, arising from physical disturbance of the cerebral, nervous, and digestive action. "At the end of the meal, I remarked that a vapor, as it were, clouded my sight, and the walls of my chamber appeared covered with frightful creeping things, such as serpents, toads, and the like. I was filled with astonishment, but retained the full use of my perceptions and thoughts." As our readers will remember, he then perceived a man in his chamber, and was greatly terrified on hearing him say, "Eat not so much." "On the following day the same man appeared to me again, and said, "I am the Lord," &c. We do not think it necessary to argue the fair interpretation of this with any who have observed psychological phenomena in such circumstances, or to ask whether it arose from a morbid state of the brain, or was a divine epiphany. His intense study, for a long time previous, of "anatomy with the single end of investigating the soul," and of "the origin of the earth, the birth, infancy, and love, of Adam, and of the soul in its state of integrity in the image of God," in his book entitled the Love and Worship of God, culminating in delirious fever, which involved the brain, all go to support this hypothesis. Dr. Pond collects many opinions of his "contemporaries, that he was a *mentally disordered man.* Such was the opinion of Mr. Wesley; an opinion formed, not from hostility to Swedenborg, nor from any prejudice against him; for originally his prejudices were strong in his favour. "I sat down," says he, "to day to read, and seriously to consider, some of the writings of Baron Swedenborg. I began with *huge prejudices in his favour*, knowing him to be a pious man, one of a strong understanding, of much learning, and one who thoroughly believed himself. But I could not hold out long. Any one of his visions puts his real

character out of doubt. He is one of the most ingenious, lively, entertaining *madmen* that ever sat pen to paper. But his waking dreams are so wild, so far remote both from Scripture and common sense, that one might as easily swallow the stories of Tom Thumb, or of Jack the Giant-killer."

Again, Mr. Wesley says, "In travelling this week, I looked over Baron Swedenborg's account of heaven and hell. He was a man of piety, of a strong understanding, and a most lively imagination. But he had a violent fever when he was about fifty-five years old, *which quite overturned his understanding. Nor did he ever recover it, but it continued 'majestic, though in ruins.'* From that time he was exactly in the state of that man at Argos,

> 'Qui se credebat miros audire tragædos,
> In vacuo lactus sessor, plausorq; theatro.'"

And this seems to have been the opinion widely entertained in England at that time, by those who knew anything of Swedenborg, and were not the receivers of his doctrines.

The same opinion also prevailed extensively in Swedenborg's own country. At Dr. Beyer's first interview with him at Gottenberg, he entertained, he says, "the same sentiments with many others in that country, with respect to his being *a madman.*"

As this is a matter of great moment to the true solution of the problem of Swedenborg's visions and revelations, we give some further proofs drawn by Dr. Pond from Swedenborg's statements regarding himself. One of these is as follows. "I was once seized suddenly with a disease that seemed to threaten my life. My whole head was oppressed with pain. A pestilential smoke was let in from the great city called Sodom and Egypt. Rev. xi. 8. Half dead with severe anguish, I expected every moment to be my last. Thus I lay in my bed for the space of three days and a half. My spirit was reduced to this state, and in consequence thereof, my body. Then I heard about me the voices of persons, saying, 'Lo, he lies dead in the street of our city, who preached repentance for the remission of sins.' And they asked several of the clergy

whether he was worthy of burial, and they answered, 'No; let him lie to be made a spectacle of;' and they passed to and fro and mocked."

He speaks elsewhere of the *changes* in the state of his brain. "Immediately on this, I was made sensible of a remarkable *change* in the brain, and of a powerful operation thence proceeding."

As a fuller confirmation of this view of his distempered psychologico-nervous states, in which subjective impressions are transformed into veritable objective living beings, the manner in which he habitually attributes disease to evil spirits, speaks for itself, and needs no comments. Or, if it be insisted that he was really actuated by evil spirits, this agency will account for his delusions.

"Evil spirits," says he, "have been often, and for a long time, applied to me; and according to their presence, they induced pains, and also diseases." Under the influence of some, "I was seized with heaviness, with pain, with disease, which ceased in a moment, as soon as the spirits were expelled." Other spirits "infuse *unclean colds*, as are those of a cold fever, which also it was given me to know by repeated experience. The same spirits likewise cause *swoonings*." "Other spirits, when allowed to flow into the body, induce pain in *the teeth;* and upon their nearest presence, so severe, that I could not endure it. And so far as they were removed, the pain ceased; which was shown me repeatedly, that no doubt might remain."* Other spirits, when they are present, "induce great pain by weariness, which they inwardly increase even to the highest degree of impatience, inducing such infirmity in the mind, and thence in the body, that the man can scarce raise himself from the bed." "There have been spirits with me, who induced such a heaviness in the stomach, that I seemed to myself scarce able to live. The heaviness was so great, that with others it would have occasioned fainting; but

* Mr. Robsam says in his Memoir, "I once visited Swedenborg, when he complained of a grievous toothache, which he had endured many days. I recommended some common remedy, but he refused to use it, saying, 'My pain proceeds, not from the nerve of the tooth, but from the influx of hypocritical spirits which beset me, and cause this plague." *Hobart's Life*, p. 216.

the spirits were removed, and it then instantly ceased." "On a time, I perceived somewhat of anxiety in the lower part of the stomach, from which it was made manifest to me that such evil spirits were present. I spoke with them, saying, that it was better they should retire." This class of demons seem to have annoyed Swedenborg not a little, as they frequently do other men of studious and sedentary habits. Speaking of them again, he says, "There are certain spirits that are not joined to hell, as being newly departed from the body, which delight in things undigested, such as meat corrupted in the stomach; and they hold their confabulations in such sinks of uncleanness in man, as are suitable to their impure affections."

2. Swedenborg's visions are in the line of his previous studies and speculations, and are but a natural outgrowth from them. As all psychologically distempered persons who think they are lifted up to the heavenly world have visions and give accounts of it, which are essentially the embodiment of their own preconceptions of what that world is, so Swedenborg's visions and revelations are very largely the reproduction and expansion of the views, theories, and doctrines he had previously cherished—even from his childish days. (See *Life and Doctrine*, p. 23, before quoted.) His standards of truth and excellence, before and after his illumination, are essentially the same. Heaven is to him all aglow with the pleasures of 'conjugial' love, a subject on which his own mind was ever excited after his great disappointment. It has often been remarked, as Ralph Waldo Emerson says, "that all the souls with whom Swedenborg held converse, talked Swedenborgese." In reply, says Mr. White, "We would ask, how could they speak in any other way? Swedenborg did not profess to be a mimic; and if Cicero, or anybody else, spoke with him in the spiritual world, and in the spiritual language, Swedenborg, in translating the speech into his own simple diction, would, of course, seize the substance and care nothing for the form. That the language was not Cicero's might be true; but if the ideas were, what matter?" (*Life and Doctrine*, p. 75.) What certainty have we as to the ideas without the language? It is virtually conceded here, that whatever Swedenborg has reported to us, took its form and hue and vesture from his own mind. And this accords with that absolute sub-

jectivity which we have before seen, Swedenborg attributes to the heavenly world, and what pertains to it. Time and space, and objective realities in them, have no place there. Mr. White quotes from Swedenborg a curious instance of the way in which his angels contrive to render the annihilation of space and time subserve the annihilation of other facts. He wrote in an autobiographical letter to a friend, "I was born in the year 1689," when in truth he was born in the year 1688, and said in explanation, "Now, when I put the true year into that letter, an angel present told me to write the year 1689, as much more suitable to myself than the other; 'and you observe,' added the angel, 'that with us time and space are nothing.'" (*Life and Writings*, p. 229.) Indeed we have already seen, that Swedenborg considered his presence in heaven to consist in that congeniality of spirit which makes him at one with it. He himself, as quoted by Dr. Pond, (p. 232) says, "The spirits which attend a man are such as are in agreement with his affections and thoughts. Hence did he openly converse with them, they would only confirm him in his existing state of mind, and add their testimony to the truth of all his falses, and the good of all his evils. Enthusiasts would thus be confirmed in their enthusiasm, and fanatics in their fanaticism." Swedenborg represents his intercourse with the dead as limited by previous acquaintance. Mr. White (p. 90) quotes him as saying, in answer to the question by the Queen of Sweden, "whether he could speak with every one deceased, or only with certain persons?" "I cannot converse with all, but only with such as I have known in this world, with all royal and princely persons, with all renowned heroes, or great and learned men, whom I have well known either personally, or from their actions or writings; consequently with all *of whom I could form an idea; for it may be supposed that a person whom I never knew, and of whom I could form no idea, I neither could or would wish to speak with.*" Just so. Unless divinely inspired, his visions and revelations must be bounded by the horizon of his antecedent ideas and knowledge.

3. Some of Swedenborg's followers recognize an analogy or resemblance between the state he was in, and that abnorma condition known as clairvoyance or mesmerism, also between

the supposed psychological exercises and nervous states involved in each. In regard to his statement, "My respiration has been so formed by the Lord, as to enable me to breathe inwardly for a long period of time, without the aid of external air. . . . I have also been instructed that my breathing was so directed without my being aware of it, in order to enable me to be with spirits, and to speak with them." Mr. White says: "Those who have studied mesmerism and clairvoyance know many facts that confirm and illustrate this position of Swedenborg's with regard to respiration; and it is quite evident that the Hindoo Yogi are capable of a similar state." The difference between the two, however, Mr. White claims, is, that the powers of the former are natural and continuous, of the latter only occasional, and often artificially induced. So Professor Bush said, as quoted by Dr. Pond (p. 215) in reference to an account given by Swedenborg of certain somnambulistic experiences he had suffered: "The state here described is so strikingly analogous to mesmerism, that it can scarcely be regarded otherwise than as an actual development of the interior condition brought about by that mysterious agency." But it is due to Swedenborg to say, that he appears to have understood, better than common spirit-rappers, the value to be put upon these real or supposed communications from the spirits of the dead. Its consistency with his general tone in regard to such communications with the spirits of the departed, and with his whole scheme, it does not devolve on us to show. But we know nothing truer than the following. "When spirits begin to speak with man, care should be taken not to believe them; for almost everything they say is made up by them, and they lie; so if it were permitted them to relate what heaven is, and what things are in heaven, they would tell so many falsehoods, and with such strong assertion, that man would be astonished. Wherefore it was not permitted me, when spirits were speaking, to have any faith in what they stated." (*Id.* p. 69.) We think Swedenborg and his followers would have been wiser, if he had more rigidly kept within the permitted limits.

Indeed, this whole matter of intercourse with the spirits of the departed, consulting them, or ghosts or spirits of any sort from the invisible world, save God, the Infinite Spirit, in prayer

and in his word, is utterly forbidden and condemned in Scripture. And not only so, all preternatural operations and visitations not according to God's word are lying wonders of the devil and his angels. "When they shall say unto you, Seek unto them that have familiar spirits, and unto wizards that peep and mutter; should not a people seek unto their God? for the living to the dead? (*i. e.*, why seek unto the dead in behalf of, or concerning the living?) To the law and to the testimony; if they speak not according to this word, it is because there is no light in them." (Isa. viii. 19, 20.) We have no doubt that whatever of modern spiritualism is not accounted for by sleight of hand, distempered nervous and mental states, and other natural causes, are among the lying wonders of Satan, accomplishing their object upon those who are "given over to a strong delusion, that they should believe a lie." Nor do we put any higher estimate upon Swedenborg's intercourse with the dead, or any of his really preternatural revelations, if any such there were. The Spiritualists, no less than Swedenborg, claim to have ushered in a New Dispensation, and this by the mouth of eminent judges and scientists, ensnared by the delusion. Says Judge Edmonds: "As under the Mosaic dispensation mankind were taught the existence of God, rather than the thousand gods with mortal attributes then worshipped; and under the Christian dispensation they were taught the immortality of the soul and its existence for ever, so now under this new dispensation it is being revealed to them, for the first time, what that state of existence is, and how in this life they may well and wisely prepare to enter upon it." Dr. Hare exclaims, "Praise be to God that has sent us this new way of religious light."*

4. Some of Swedenborg's personal peculiarities in his private habits strongly indicate mental aberration. Mr. White tells us, "Shearsmith gives the same account of his habits of sleep as his gardener at Stockholm. He had no regard for times and seasons, days or nights, only taking rest as he felt disposed. This was naturally to be expected, considering the peculiarities of his seer-ship. At first, Shearsmith was greatly alarmed by reason of his talking day and night. Sometimes

* Quoted in McDonald's Spiritualism, p. 27.

he would be writing, and then he would be, as it were, holding a conversation with several persons. (p. 260.) His house-servants said that their master often spoke aloud when evil spirits were with him, which they could easily hear, their room being adjoining. When asked what caused his disturbance in the night, he answered that it had been permitted evil spirits to blaspheme, and that he had spoken against them zealously. . . . Once it was remarkable, that after such a state, he went to bed and did not rise for several days and nights. This gave his domestics much uneasiness.' At last he awoke, and said he had been very well. Similar authentic accounts are given of his strange ways on shipboard and elsewhere." (p. 180.) Such is our theory of the visions and revelations on which the so-called New Church is founded.

These considerations are not at all neutralized in view of Swedenborg's great intellect. This, as we have already seen, is no security against the greatest eccentricities and abnormities, nor against mania and monomania. "Vanity is the infirmity of noble minds," and no vice is more apt to seize the very citadel of the soul, and make all its faculties, however great, its abject tools. Who has not seen most painful illustrations of this? How are our madhouses tenanted by those who conceive themselves kings, emperors, presidents, prophets, apostles, and in some cases, even Christ himself? Swedenborg seems never to have had a doubt of his high and holy office, as founder of a new dispensation, or of his perfect fitness for it. All his high faculties were not destroyed, but enslaved to this supreme idea and overbearing passion.

But one question remains. Why are the followers of Swedenborg so largely composed of intelligent and cultivated people?

1. Swedenborg's writings, as a whole, are unintelligible—abracadabra—to any other. If received at all, they must be so by the intelligent and educated, and even by these only after long and hard study. If received by others, it must be at second-hand from these, not directly from any personal understanding of these writings. In this respect they differ from the teachings of Him who ordained that, to the "poor the gospel shall be preached," and whom "the common people

heard gladly." It is one criterion of a genuine gospel, and a genuine preaching of it, that it is fitted to take hold of the common mind, not exclusively indeed, but preëminently. Not many mighty, not many noble are called.

2. But an inestimably small fragment of the intelligent portion of religious people have accepted the doctrines of Swedenborg. And there is no guarantee in general intelligence and refinement against the admission of great errors on religious subjects, especially if these errors be congenial to the natural tastes and predilections of the receivers. This must be conceded by religionists of every grade, and on any religious theory whatever.

3. The little volume, by "a Layman," evidently the product of a mind of refined culture, shows how Swedenborg's doctrine of correspondence has a singular fascination for cultivated minds in a certain state. There are many who cannot, and desire not, to evade the evidence of the authenticity, genuineness, and plenary inspiration of some, or all, the books of Scripture, but who disrelish, or find difficulties in the literal or obvious meaning of more or less of their contents. This doctrine of "correspondence" gives an interior spiritual meaning, far more momentous than the literal, and escapes, or offers a way of escaping, all that is perplexing or unwelcome in the latter.. Now, whether or not we couple with this Swedenborg's entire rejection of the New Testament Epistles and several books of the Old Testament, in either case the meaning of the Bible can be accommodated to the most fastidious sentimentalism, and the most sturdy rationalism. Says "Layman," "If they (the Scriptures) are to be regarded as the works of God and plenarily inspired, then the errors, inconsistencies, and weaknesses are evidence against their credibility. But if we adopt the theory, that the works are inspired, and contain a deeper meaning than has yet been found; if we suppose that the errors and inconsistencies are apparent rather than real, . . our doubts will disappear, and we may satisfy the unbeliever himself that his objections are not against the Scriptures, but against the false notions of them entertained by men." (pp. 51—2.) This is the main principle developed with much

ability, taste, and rhetorical skill, in this daintily printed volume—a fit emblem of its neatness of style.

4. We will only add, that, besides providing for the rejection of the great doctrines of Scripture, as accepted by Christendom, this system does not, like common Unitarianism, end in mere negations. It opens, through the medium of "correspondence," a boundless interior spiritual sense, to occupy the intellect and engage the affections. The study of this supposed correspondence, and threading its interior meaning, affords unlimited scope for the play of imagination and the flights of speculation. It may therefore possess an extraordinary fascination for imaginative, speculative, contemplative minds. Says Judge Parsons, the most eminent lay-advocate of Swedenborgianism known to us, in reference to the explanations of the meaning of Scripture thus evolved: "The exceeding beauty of many of these explanations delights the imagination. The profound moral significance thus given to many texts which in the letter 'profit nothing,' touches every heart that has any religious tendency; the emotion of surprise and the charm of entire novelty makes these explanations yet more attractive."* Here we see what, added to its rationalism, gives this system a charm for many imaginative and speculative minds; especially if infected with a disrelish for evangelical truth, and catholic doctrine. This field of "correspondence" between the material and spiritual, the literal and the metaphorical, is boundless and alluring. Here the imagination can roam and luxuriate at pleasure. And what gives it all the greater charm and power, is the substratum of real truth of which it is a lawless exaggeration and distortion. Half-truths perverted and misapplied are the most powerful and seductive forms of error. It is true that there is, within certain limits, a correspondence between the material and spiritual world, whereby the former is typical and emblematic of the latter. This fact underlies not only figurative language, but even language itself, as applied to spiritual phenomena, which is originally borrowed from analogous sensuous phenomena. This is true of the very word, spirit, itself. And it is also true, that the tracing of these types and

* Quoted by "Layman," p. 90.

correspondencies is among the most fascinating occupations of the mind. It has all the charm of poetry. On this the parables, figures, and metaphors of Scripture are founded. But these, except in prophetic imagery, which must receive a part of its interpretation in its fulfilment, readily speak their own meaning, to the plain and sincere reader, more accurately and powerfully than mere naked literality. This is heaven-wide of that correspondence of Swedenborg, which melts away the obvious meaning into some interior angelic significance that requires a new seer and revelator to unfold it. This obliterates all metes and bounds, all articulate sense, in the meaning of Scripture. Such an exaggeration and perversion of a beautiful truth makes it a monstrous error. But still it affords boundless scope for imaginative soarings, ecstasies, and revelries. And therefore to those who are Unitarians, or entertain the repugnance of Unitarians to the faith and practice obviously taught in Scripture and embraced by the church of Christ, while they nauseate the barren negations and dead husks of mere Socinianism, Swedenborgianism has presented an enchanting side.

Further still, the Swedenborgians maintain a more positive, earnest, strict type of practical religion than the Unitarians; thus often satisfying consciences that could not be quiet under the religious indifference and inanity of Socinianism. Eminent integrity, gentleness, charity towards men, with a strict observance of the Sabbath, and a tone of reverence and devoutness in the public worship and services of that day, have drawn towards them many, who, finding the cross a stumbling-block or foolishness, yet crave a more earnest religion than they find among the adherents of liberal Christianity. So they espouse this system which, in its own fashion, is alive with a zeal for God, though not according to knowledge.

Thus we have a partial explanation of the power and prevalence of this system among a select class, in spite of its unscriptural absurdities and enormities. But though an explanation, it is no justification of it, or of adhesion to it. The attitude it assumes in regard to the person and work of Christ, and all the fundamentals of Christianity, stamp it as one form of

Antichrist. "Being ignorant of God's righteousness, and going about to establish their own righteousness, they have not submitted themselves unto the righteousness of God. For Christ is the end of the law for righteousness to every one that believeth." Rom. x. 3, 4.

ART. IV.—*The Position of the Book of Psalms in the Plan of the Old Testament.*

THE Old Testament is in several respects a unit. As it is contemplated in literary history and in diplomatic criticism, it has an external and mechanical unity, inasmuch as it constitutes onc volume, its sundry treatises having been collected at a very ancient period, since which time it has had a common history, the record of its preservation, circulation, and interpretation, is the same for all its parts, and the principles and methods by which the state of its text is to be ascertained or its true text restored, are the same throughout. In the question of the canon, or the evidences of a supernatural revelation, or the doctrine of Divine inspiration, we recognize beyond this external unity, and lying at the basis of it, a formal oneness of its several parts, a unity of source, and, in so far as this determines it, of character, the whole being inspired of God and divinely authoritative, constituting the sum of the inspired writings belonging to the former dispensation. Such a unity, however, might be little more than negative, distinguishing the Old Testament Scriptures as a body of writings to be classed by themselves, because diverse in this important particular from all others, but without establishing any positive relation or intimate connection between themselves. Again, systematic theology attributes to the Old Testament a real and essential unity, inasmuch as the whole is occupied with one great theme, the will of God, in regard to man's duty and salvation; and this is consistently treated throughout, so that entire harmony reigns everywhere, and each part agrees perfectly with every other.

But beyond all this, deeper than all, and comprehending all, the Old Testament is possessed of a structural and organic unity, exhibiting not only harmony, but arrangement and skilful disposition. Not only do the revealed teachings contained in it agree perfectly together, but there is a method in their communication. The unity, which we discover, is not that of a tame uniformity. There are endless diversities in detail; yet with all, there is not only no jar or discord, but nothing fortuitous or at random. Everything is designed agreeably to a well-considered, prearranged plan and purpose, so that nothing is superfluous, nothing lacking, and nothing out of place. Above the human agents yet controlling them and operating through them, we trace a Divine scheme unfolding from first to last. Each part has its specific function in the plan of the whole, and contributes in its measure to fill up the general design. And there is a reason and a fitness, which determines not only the aggregate amount and purport of its revelations, but which graduates the proportion of its several parts and fixes their relative position. There is a propriety in each being what it is and standing where it does. So that to alter the disposition of its parts, even if the whole mass were retained in its integrity, would be a dislocation and dismemberment, impair its organism, disturb its well-adjusted relations, and obliterate some of the traces of His wisdom, who arranges all things by number, weight, and measure.

We propose now to take an individual book of the Old Testament, and inquire into its position and meaning in this general scheme. With this design we have selected the book of Psalms, on account of its intrinsic interest and importance, as well as because it will afford a sufficient specimen of the method of study to be pursued in such inquiries, and supply a test of the correctness of the views already indicated.

Looking at the Old Testament in its organic character, three things are necessary to the due appreciation of any book that it contains, viz., a knowledge, first, of the constitution of the book itself; secondly, of the place it holds and the function it fulfils, in that more general division of the Old Testament to which it belongs, that is to say, in the inspired writings of its own class or period; and thirdly, of the relation in which it

stands to the Old Testament as a whole, and the part assigned to it in the work of that entire dispensation or economy.

In regard to the first of the points suggested, the constitution of the book of Psalms, we shall confine ourselves to such a general consideration of its character as will prepare the way for the second and third points which form the main topic before us, its relation to other books of its own period or class in the Old Testament, and its position and value in the scheme of the whole. It would be impossible in the limited space at our disposal, as well as foreign to our more immediate purpose, to characterize the individual psalms or even to discuss the internal structure and divisions of the book and the mutual relations of its several parts. We are, however, concerned to inquire into the formative principle of this book, by which its contents and extent are determined, which gives it its specific character and constitutes it an organic part of the Old Testament revelation.

Each of the books of the prophets represents the work performed by one inspired servant of God, an individual organ employed in the communication of his revelation. The specific task committed to each, by the Divine author of the revelation, defines the function of the book in the economy of the whole. But the Psalms not only consist of one hundred and fifty distinct compositions, varied in their style and subject, each complete in itself and unconnected with any other, but these have besides proceeded from different authors and even belong to different ages. There are psalms from Moses, David, Solomon, Asaph, Ethan, Heman, and the sons of Korah, besides forty-one whose authors are unknown, and even the time when they were written can only be doubtfully conjectured. Some critics have entertained the opinion that there are psalms of as late a date as the period of the Maccabees, which describe the troubles and triumphs of that eventful and glorious epoch. But although this conclusion is at variance with the well-established fact that the canon of the Old Testament was definitively closed before that time, there can be no doubt that some of the psalms were written during and after the Babylonish exile. This book was accordingly prepared at intervals extending over the entire period of the composition of the Old Testament itself.

Shall we then seek to ascertain the organic relations of this book and its function in the revelation of the Old Testament, by sundering the psalms which belong to different periods, and then in each period distinguishing the psalms of each different author, presuming that each psalmist has his specific function to perform, and each successive age of psalmody has its peculiar mission? But whatever advantages may accrue from the adoption of this method, and however it may contribute to a better knowledge of the history of sacred song, and to a fuller acquaintance with the mutual relations of these inspired lyrics, this belongs properly to the study of the inward structure and organization of the book itself. In respect to the general structure and plan of the Old Testament this book must, like the rest, be contemplated as a unit.

For, 1. The form and compass of each book is authoritative as well as its contents. And in this particular instance there must be a reason why all these various compositions from different authors and different ages were included in a single collection instead of being dispersed in several. The principle of unity which presided over the collection and brought it together into one whole, will indicate to us its specific character and its organic relations.

2. It is impracticable to divide the psalms with certainty and accuracy either in respect to their age or authorship, so that we must either seek another mode of fixing their organic relations, or we must content ourselves with the results of a vague approximation and abandon the hope of obtaining anything more. The latest and best results of criticism concede the correctness of the titles to the psalms, to which it was at one time the fashion to refuse all credit, thus turning everything topsy-turvy, and throwing the whole matter open to wild conjecture, with no fixed or reliable criteria on which to base it. Still one-third (50) of the whole number have no titles, or none which afford any hint of the author or of the occasion upon which they were composed. If the absence of titles could be compensated by proofs or evidences of any other sort, this objection might be removed; but the wide divergence in the results of those, who have presumed to speak oracularly on the

subject, only show how fruitless and vain is the attempt, except in a few individual cases.

3. Fortunately it may be added, that such a division of the psalms is unnecessary for the purpose we have in view at present. Whatever minor diversities and individual peculiarities are due to the various authorship of the Psalms and the period of their composition, these are not of sufficient magnitude to mar the essential unity of its character or the general homogeneity of its contents. The fact is, that in spite of all the admitted diversity of age and authorship, a substantial truth is conveyed by the name popularly given to the book and which it has borne for ages, if not from the beginning, the Psalms of David, and there is a just foundation for this appellation. More than half of the entire number, embracing some of the most striking and important of the whole, were written by him. These set the example and gave the key-note for the rest. Those which were written by others, his contemporaries or successors, though far from servile imitations or indolent repetitions, are yet altogether in his vein. They are conceived and written in his spirit. There is such a general sameness as to justify us in saying that those which are not properly David's, are nevertheless Davidic in character. The sweet singer of Israel was the leader of the whole choir of inspired singers; and we would have little difficulty in imagining from the contents of the psalms that they might all be from the pen of David, if it were not for occasional allusions to later events and minor qualities of thought and diction which indicate differences of individual style and manner.

And this affords, as we think, the only satisfactory solution of the fact already adverted to, that many of the psalms are destitute of titles indicating the author and occasion. This circumstance on the one hand tends to confirm the originality and truth of the titles, where we do find them, showing that they are not prefixed by arbitrary and unfounded conjecture. Why should they be confined to a limited number of psalms, when gratuitous conjectures, if they were such, could be multiplied without restraint, and could have been applied with the same ease to all the rest? On the other hand, this fact cannot be accounted for by the assumption that the author and occa-

sion of such psalms were unknown to the collectors of the canon.

For, 1. It is the oldest psalms and those most remote from the time of the collectors which have titles. It is confessed that, with very few exceptions, those only which are later than the time of David, are without them. Some of the psalms were plainly written after the exile, and yet their authors, though contemporaries of the collectors of the canon or but little removed from them, are never named. If the fact were the reverse of what it is, and the earliest psalms were destitute of titles and those of later date were attributed to their respective authors, it might with some show of reason be explained on this hypothesis; but the actual state of the case precludes it.

2. The contents of some of the post-Davidic psalms plainly indicate the occasion on which they were composed; *e. g.* Psalm 137, "By the rivers of Babylon there we sat down," &c. It is not supposable that there could have been any question in this case as to the circumstances under which the psalm was written. Again, Psalm 83 speaks of a confederacy "of Edom and the Ishmaelites; of Moab and the Hagarenes; Gebal, and Ammon, and Amalek; the Philistines with the inhabitants of Tyre; Assur also is joined with them; they have holpen the children of Lot." They had combined with the view of cutting off Israel from being a nation; "that the name of Israel may be no more a remembrance." God is earnestly invoked to persecute them with his tempest and make them as stubble before the wind. All these circumstances point to the invasion by these combined powers in the reign of Jehoshaphat, and their miraculous overthrow recorded 2 Chron. xx., the historian making explicit mention of psalms sung on that eventful day. And yet although the occasion is so directly inferrible from the psalm itself, there is no allusion to it in the title, which merely mentions Asaph as the author. If the collectors had felt at liberty to introduce any titles that they pleased, of whose correctness they were satisfied, and had aimed to include in them all that they could ascertain of the origin of each individual psalm, some of these titles would not have been so meagre and others would not have been wanting.

3. The analogy of the rest of the Old Testament. No

prophecy, however brief, is anonymous. Even Obadiah, though one of the oldest and at the same time the shortest of the books of prophecy, is ascribed to its proper author. On the other hand, the books of history are as a general rule anonymous. The reason of the distinction manifestly lies not in the ignorance of the collectors of the canon. The fact is too uniform to have a casual or contingent origin. It is founded in the nature of these classes of writings respectively. The history is sufficiently authenticated by being a true record of events, of which the people at large were cognizant. Prophecy depends for its authentication on the knowledge of the person of the prophet and that he was a duly authorized and inspired messenger of God: If anything can be inferred from this analogy, it would be that the names of the psalmists have been preserved so far as any important end could be answered by it. And where they are omitted, it is not because they could not be ascertained, all knowledge of them having been lost through lapse of time or accidental causes, but simply because it would serve no valuable purpose to record them.

4. It also deserves to be noted in this connection that the only psalmists, whose names have been preserved to us, with the single exception of Moses, the author of Psalm 90, were David and a series of persons more or less connected with him and dependent upon him, viz., his son Solomon and various Levitical singers appointed by David to conduct and oversee the music of the sanctuary or their descendants. Psalms by others than these great masters of song are inserted in the collection anonymously, for the names of their authors would really have no significance. They introduce no element entirely new; they indicate no fresh stadium in the unfolding of Divine revelation. They but continue the work of those who have gone before them. They have no individuality that it is of consequence to preserve. Their personality is absorbed or lost in that of David and his sacred singers, in whose character they are acting and in whose track they follow.

5. It is further to be observed that the psalms of different writers and of different ages are not kept distinct and arranged in regular order in this book, but are to some extent at least mingled promiscuously together. It is true there is not an

entire absence of arrangement. The remark at the close of Psalm 72, "The prayers" *i. e.*, psalms, "of David, the son of Jesse, are ended," reveals this by calling attention to the fact which is true in a general sense, that the body of those that precede (62 out of 72) were written by David, while comparatively few of his are found in those that follow (17 out of 78). Whether there was any principle of arrangement beyond this general one, by which the deviations from this may be accounted for, and a fixed plan or method can be shown to have been pursued throughout, it does not concern us at present either to deny or affirm. We only remark, without inquiring into the reason of it, or whether it has any reason, that the psalms of David, after being gathered into a solid nucleus at the beginning of the book, continue to be scattered along throughout the remainder to its close. If these, agreeably to the hypothesis of Hengstenberg and Dr. Alexander, form texts upon which other psalms are based, or centres around which they are clustered, our conclusion will be thereby confirmed, though the truth of this hypothesis is not essential to our argument. In other parts of the canon, where the chronological arrangement and the distinction of authors are needed to mark the progress of revelation and preserve its various steps in their integrity, these are not neglected. The minor prophets, for example, in early catalogues of the canon form a single book. They are so named and enumerated. And yet the writings of each prophet are kept distinct, and the arrangement is chronological from first to last. This has, it is true, been disputed, but we believe it to be capable of satisfactory proof, and we may be allowed to assume it here. Now if it had been of similar consequence in the Psalms, the same method would undoubtedly have been observed. That it has not been, fortifies the conclusion before reached by various independent considerations, that the function of the Psalms in the economy of revelation is to be sought in the general character pertaining to the whole book, rather than in the personality of their separate authors and the distinct periods of their composition. They all stand upon essentially the same platform, and represent the same stage in the progress of Divine communication.

What is then the uniting principle or specific character of the

book of Psalms? It is very obvious that they are not a heterogeneous miscellany. The most superficial inspection shows them all to belong to the same species of composition. They are all poetical; and although we know little of Hebrew versification, and this is not the place to develope what we do know of it, we have little difficulty in assigning all to the same species of poetry, the lyrical. It is equally plain, however, that this book does not include all the lyrical compositions of the Hebrews. The one thousand and five songs of Solomon found no place here, and all but three have been suffered to perish. Nor does it contain all their extant lyrics. Not to mention the antediluvian fragment from the mouth of Lamech, David's lament over Saul (2 Sam. i.) though written by the sweet singer of Israel himself, was never inserted. Nor does it embrace all the Hebrew lyrics on sacred subjects, not even such as were inspired and canonical. Witness the numerous poetical compositions in the historical books or passages of the Old Testament from the song of Moses at the Red Sea, to that of Hezekiah upon his recovery from mortal sickness. Witness also the lyrics written by the prophets, as the prayer of Jonah, that of Habakkuk, and the triumphal songs of Isaiah: and besides, the Song of Solomon and the Lamentations of Jeremiah, which, though purely lyrical are ranked as separate books. These are not included in the book of Psalms, and could not properly have been put there. The Psalms were inspired songs designed for permanent and public use in the worship of the temple.

The two essential qualities of these inspired lyrics, which adapt them to a place in this book are, first, their public, and second, their devotional character. They are, in the first place, not mere private formularies of devotion. However individual the occasion by which many of them were suggested, to wit, such as sprang directly out of the psalmist's personal experience, and though all of them were born of the devout feelings of individual hearts, they are adapted and designed to guide and express the devotions of the people of God. And in the second place, they are not merely meditations on sacred subjects, but worship, the soul speaking to God or before God, of whatever possesses the thoughts or affects the heart. They

were designed for public solemn utterance at the temple, the house of God, in his immediate presence, as an act of devout worship to him.

The combination of these two elements gives to the book its unity or specific character. First, they impart to it the negative unity of segregation or distinction from all other portions of divine revelation.

They form the most marked contrast with the books of the prophets, whose posture is precisely the reverse of that of the psalmists. The latter speak to God in their own name and that of their fellow-worshippers in the attitude of lowly adoration, pouring forth their inward experience in the language of praise and thanksgiving, or struggling after conformity to the will of God or the sensible manifestation of his presence and favour. The prophets, on the contrary, speak to men in the name of God, with Divine authority making known his will and commanding obedience or submission. Correspondent with this difference of attitude, this altered relation to God is the respective difference of the function allotted to each in the work of Divine revelation. The chief function of the prophet is the objective enlargement of this revelation; he is charged with fresh communications on the part of God, sent directly, immediately from him, originated by him without any human agency or intervention. The prime function of the psalmist is subjective appropriation, of what God has already revealed; but with this is connected an expansion of the Divine revelation from this inward or subjective side on the principle announced by our Lord, "To him that hath, shall more be given, and he shall have abundance." As he pours out his heart before God, and struggles into a realizing apprehension of what has before been made known to him, new views are imparted by the Holy Spirit, not in the way of his illuminating energy merely, but by a direct revelation. So, however, that this connects itself uniformly with trains of thought or states of feeling in which his soul had been pouring itself out before God. The Divine supernatural suggestion comes to him in the line of his own wrestling and spiritual struggles. Or to express the distinction in another form, the communication made to the prophet has primary reference to the necessities of others, mostly a national

necessity of fresh Divine guidance. That which is made to the psalmist has direct and primary reference to his own individual needs.

The Psalms are further clearly distinguishable from those books which, though poetical are not lyrical, but aphoristic. These belong not to the sphere of feeling but of reflection. They represent the struggles of the individual man to master the problems of the word and works of God, to comprehend the harmony of the Divine law with the course of the world. They aim to satisfy the reason respecting the conformity of God's revelation with the external facts of human life; while the aim of the psalmists is to realize this conformity as an internal fact in their own hearts and lives.

The Psalms are also distinguished from all the rest of the lyrical poetry of the Old Testament. This is either not the direct language of worship, but simply of elevated feeling awakened by themes drawn from God's truth and his providence, as the Song of Solomon, the Lamentations, and most of the lyrics scattered through other books; or else like the private and individual songs or supplications of Jeremiah, Jonah, and Hezekiah, or the national song of Moses, though the utterance of devout worship, they were not intended to be employed as such on any other occasion than that upon which they were originally used. In either case they did not belong to the public and permanent devotions of the sanctuary.

But in the second place, besides this negative unity of uniqueness, the possession of a marked character peculiar to itself, by which it is sundered from all other books and parts of Scripture, and as the ground of which, it must be contemplated apart and as forming a class by itself, it is also possessed of the more positive unity of a self-contained completeness. It is the religion of the Old Testament pouring itself out before God; it is the devotion which it breathes in the full circle of its utterances in the presence of the great object of its worship. It is the embodiment of the devout spirit of the ancient economy in holy song, in fitting words of roused and elevated feeling. It is that spirit, uttering itself on all sides in every variety of outward situation or inward frame, in the contemplation of God, his attributes, word and works—of man, his origin, condi-

tion, duties, sins, and wants; in fine, of all the great themes which the religion of Israel supplies. It must consequently have the unity and the completeness of that religious spirit, the sum of whose devotional utterances it is.

Having now reached the conception of what the book of Psalms is in itself considered, and found in it a principle of unity which redeems it from the semblance of being an aggregation of disconnected compositions and gives to it organic completeness, we proceed to inquire further respecting its place in the greater organism to which it belongs. What is the precise function of this book in the scheme of Divine revelation? As the Old Testament may be contemplated under two principal aspects as a divinely conducted expansion of the Mosaic law and as a preparation for Christ, we shall have to look at the task assigned to this particular book from both these points of view.

In regard to the former, or the advance made by the Psalms upon the antecedent portions of Divine revelation, we remark,

1. There is a progress in the mode of communicating truth. In estimating God's great scheme of instruction conveyed in the Scriptures, and judging of the relative effectiveness and value of its several parts, we must not leave out of sight the variety of methods employed in the presentation of these heavenly lessons, with their various measures of attractiveness, clearness, force, and vividness. Besides the fact that these are mutually supplementary, one supplying the deficiencies of another, there is a noticeable advance from first to last in the mode of teaching as well as in the teachings themselves. The volume of inspiration opens with the lessons of fact recorded in the stately march of history. Then follows in the Mosaic law the train of sacred rites and symbols, not only transacted once, but publicly repeated again and again in mute pantomime, until they were perfectly familiar. And then these hallowed songs, adding to association with the solemnities and pomp of the temple service the charm and power of national ballads, with their vivid imagery, and glowing thoughts, and spirited language, and harmonious periods, adapted to the melody of music. These have an influence, not like that of the facts of

history gathered from what has been once transacted, nor like that of the ritual, dependent on its public repetition at a single central spot, but extending to all times and every place, reaching every domestic circle and every individual breast.

In the onward progress of revelation, the Psalms were followed by Proverbs embodying the highest practical wisdom in brief sententious sayings, which are easily lodged in the memory and become household words in everybody's mouth, verified by daily observation, and potent guides in the conduct of every-day life. And then to complete the cycle of Old Testament instruction, discourses uttered at important crises by the prophets, to which belong not only the added emphasis and earnestness of public delivery, but all the weight and authority due to these men of God, to whom it was given to survey the future and, as the immediate messengers of God, make known his will for human guidance. While the proverbs merely give general rules for the direction of human conduct, the prophets are the immediate voice of God pointing out the specific duty of each particular occasion.

There is thus a continuous series in the methods of teaching, which become ever more definite and particular, from the lessons wrapped up in the facts of history in their solitary occurrence, through the rites perpetually repeated afresh but only at the sanctuary, and the psalms, which, learned at the sanctuary are repeated and sung in every habitation, and the proverbs more brief and pointed, and hence more familiar and oft repeated, but nevertheless general in their application, to the prophets, whose specific lessons for individual emergencies conclude the whole. Particularity is thus carried to its final term, its farthest possible limit. The lesson is brought to every time, and place, and person, and emergent necessity. And the result is a vast accumulation of details, a storehouse of materials provided ever as the occasion demanded it, a help for each particular need as it was developed, a supply for every want as it was felt. And yet, with all this growing minuteness of specification, the Old Testament as a whole is incomplete, for there is no general summing up of these particulars, no comprehensive glance thrown over the whole, redeeming them from their apparent isolation and incoherence, presenting them all in com-

bination and mutual relation, and constructing with or developing out of this chaos of confused details a harmonious and symmetrical unity. This task is reserved for the New Testament, which is thus in its methods of instruction, as in every thing else, the complement of the Old.

The New Testament opens with a delineation of that all-perfect life in which all the types and prophecies, however apparently conflicting with each other, find full accomplishment, in which every line of the Old Testament, however irregularly drawn and viewed apart from its end in seemingly inextricable confusion, is yet seen to converge in one focus of celestial light. Then this light is traced as it begins to radiate and diffuse itself amongst men in the founding and spread of the early church and the labours of the apostles, after which follow the Epistles. And in them we have, for the first time, what was now first in its proper sense possible, since the needed basis had been given in the actual manifestation of the Son of God and his atoning death, the seal of vision and prophecy, and in itself the sum of all revelation,—in them we have the first formal elaboration of doctrine and the unfolding of a system of ethics in its principles and its applications. And the volume of inspiration closes with a sublime vision of this church, into which the gradual accumulations of former ages have been poured and gathered up, founded on the death of Christ, and instinct with the life of his indwelling Spirit, guarded by his apostles both in doctrine and in practice, itself the consummation of the past as it marches on to its own consummation in the future. The Apocalypse is just a panorama of the divinely conducted course of the church from its incipiency through its militant to its triumphant state.

And thus the Bible completes its circuit, ending where it began with a new heaven and a new earth wherein dwelleth righteousness, with man in the full enjoyment of the communion of God. The blessed place in which he dwells, has its tree of life and its river of the water of life, only the garden which the hands of man were to till is replaced by the strong foundations and the solid walls of that magnificent city, whose builder and maker is God.

2. In addition to this advance in the manner of teaching

there is a progress in the medium by which instruction is conveyed. The revelation of the Bible is not an abstract but a historical revelation. Its doctrines rest upon a basis of fact which at once lends them confirmation and assists to an understanding of them. The Most High makes himself known, not by the way of mere description, but of progressive manifestation. What description could convey such a notion of the supramundane God or of his infinite attributes, as the simple story of the creation, with its products spread out before the eyes? or such a conception of his wrath against sin, as the fact of the flood? or of his forbearance and gracious care, as his dealings with Israel in the desert?

Accordingly in this system of Divine instruction the lessons of history hold the first place, the record of those facts which display the attributes of God, which give intimations of his will and purposes, disclose the principles of his administration, or in which visible and earthly relations are the counterpart of the unseen and the heavenly. But facts are, after all, mute instructors. They may be beheld, and yet the lessons involved in them not be discerned or apprehended. The phenomena of nature have been before the eyes of men from the beginning, and yet the untutored never suspect the laws and principles which underlie them; and science, with all the thoroughness of her investigations, has not yet penetrated to the bottom of them, and never will. And if this is the case with sensible things, how much more with spiritual things. They require an interpreter, that their bearing may be distinctly seen and their hidden meaning be evolved. This function the psalmists perform in relation to antecedent as well as current history. They recite the facts recorded in the Pentateuch and the book of Joshua, God's wonders of old, not only making these instructive memorials more familiar to the mind and impressing them upon the heart, but they deduce in verbal formulæ the lessons they convey. They do the same with subsequent facts and those of their own day. They do it with individual as well as national experiences, the psalmists' own personal history as well as the history of Israel. They do this with the permanent objects and relations of history as well as with its transient facts; everywhere they detect the spiritual

hid under the veil of the sensible. He who took David from the sheepfolds was himself the Shepherd of Israel, leading Joseph like a flock. The mountain fastnesses that protected him in time of persecution were emblems of the Rock of his salvation, his refuge, and his hiding-place.

The same function of verbal interpretation is performed for the ritual symbols of the law. The worship of the sanctuary was a divine pantomime full of sacred meaning; every object and act was expressive of religious truth. But there was no accompanying explanation. The worshipper was left to penetrate the hidden sense of these mysteries as he was able. Now the psalmists were steeped in the spirit of the Mosaic institutions. The law was their meditation all the day; and their constant prayer was, "Open thou mine eyes, that I may see wondrous things out of thy law." The relation between the Mosaic ceremonial and the Psalms is the most intimate possible. The words of the one are identical with the tangible objects and visible acts of the other. The one uses symbols of speech, the other symbols addressed to the eye, but both are the direct offering of worship, formulating and externizing the same conceptions and relations. Accordingly the language of the Psalms is often borrowed from or moulded by the ceremonial. They do not enter largely into formal expositions, like the Epistle to the Hebrews, but they abound in instructive allusions. They speak of the sanctuary and its holy hill, the privilege of dwelling in the house of the Lord, and being hid in the secret of his tabernacle, of Him who dwelling between the cherubim shines forth, of the multitude keeping holy-day, the clean hands and the pure heart demanded, the purgation with hyssop, the anointing with oil, the table spread in the presence of enemies, the lighting of the candle, the prayer set forth as incense, and the lifting up of hands as the evening sacrifice. They guard against material and gross conceptions. Will God eat the flesh of bulls and drink the blood of goats? The sacrifices of God are a broken spirit. Sacrifice and offering thou didst not desire; in the volume of the book it is written of me.

And where the allusion is not direct and explicit, still the great ideas of the ritual are those that breathe everywhere in the glowing words of the psalmists. This intimate connection

was expressed by joining the psalms with the ritual in the temple worship, and perhaps even by the outward formal division of the Psalms into five books like those of Moses, so that they form as it were another Pentateuch.

The value of the book of Psalms as an interpreter of the law, both in its history and its ritual, however, is not limited to its positive expositions, whether formally or incidentally given, or by a parallel unfolding of the same ideas and principles in a different form and connection. We must also take into the account its suggestive and stimulating effect. It furnishes starting-points and opens up lines of thought, which can then be followed out, though no authoritative exposition is provided for all the details. It supplies a clue by which the labyrinth can be threaded, gives a key by which doors, which else would have remained closed, may be unlocked. By lifting the veil, though it be only partially, and giving a glimpse of what is hid behind it, it not only imparts new ideas, but excites inquiry, rouses investigation, leads men to ponder what yet remains, and penetrate into what is unexplained with greater or less success.

3. We have seen that the Psalms employ a method of instruction which comes closer to the individual man than preceding methods of Divine teaching, and that they expound to the understanding what had previously been less clearly taught in other ways. It remains to be added in the third place, that they also apply it to the heart. The lessons unfolded in the Psalms are not drawn out in cold didactic statements and formulas of doctrine, but uttered as the language of devotion. The truths of religion are vitalized and exhibited in their due influence on the soul and its inward life. The ritual was a service of external forms, valueless indeed, unless accompanied by the state of heart which it was designed to awaken and express, yet as far as the positive statute was concerned, purely external. The history taught its lessons of God, but it was in facts apart from the personal experience of those who read or heard it. The Psalms are uttered from the depths of the heart, with a sense of God's nearness and a conviction that his favour is the one indispensable necessity. They are filled with expressions of the most solemn awe of God, devout thanks-

givings for his mercies, earnest supplications for his pardon, and fervent breathings after communion with him. He is seen in every experience of life, every trouble wings a petition to him, every joy calls forth accents of praise. The Psalms are just the religion of the Old Testament practically realized in the heart and the life.

We have now seen in what several ways the Psalms are an advance upon the forms of revelation that preceded them. The inquiry next arises, what is the positive increment to the sum of Divine knowledge thus made? To what extent are germs of truth expanded which were previously latent or undeveloped, or what accession is made of truths not before imparted? This is substantially equivalent to the question, which, as has already been stated, we were to consider in the last place, What preparation is made in the Psalms for Messiah's coming?

That this is really the same inquiry stated in a different form, will appear from the consideration that the only development of doctrine to be found in the Old Testament respects the Messiah and such truths as are dependent upon or intimately related to this great central and cardinal doctrine. Every thing else was made known with as much clearness and explicitness in the earliest as in the latest stages of Divine revelation. Thus the unity and spirituality of God, his self-existence, eternity, and infinity, his holiness, his moral government, his claim to the supreme affection of the soul, man's original state and his fall, are taught no more distinctly in any part of the Scriptures than they are in the books of Moses. But the doctrine of a Redeemer and of the redemption which he was to effect was gradually unfolded, beginning with general and vague intimations, and ending with the fulness of gospel disclosure. This naturally involved a similar procedure in respect to all associated doctrines. Hence the same progressive disclosure attaches to the subject of the Trinity on account of the distinct office assigned to each of the sacred persons in the economy of redemption; the future state and the resurrection, since these belong to the completeness and glory of Christ's redemption; the greatness of the love of God, since its highest evidence is the gift of his Son; and the mysteries of Divine providence, since the last elements of the problem could only be furnished

by the cross of Christ. The entire development of doctrine is controlled and conditioned both in measure and manner by the direct revelations made respecting the Messiah. These afford the key to all the rest. It is ever the central figure, without which nothing can be properly understood or duly estimated. As he is lifted into greater prominence or made better known, a corresponding progress follows as of course in the entire system of doctrine concatenated with his person and work. And on the other hand, every fresh step taken in the communication of any of these concatenated doctrines is an indirect advance in the knowledge of Messiah, and is attended by a corresponding progress in the direct revelations respecting him. And as in the onward movement of a circle, where the centre acts on the periphery and the periphery reacts upon the centre, and these cannot be sundered the one from the other, nor their mutual relation disturbed, the true motion of the whole is measured by the centre, whose steady progress invariably sums up the particular velocities of every individual point; so in this grand circle of revealed truth the proper measure of the total advancement is found in the doctrine of the Messiah, which regulates and governs all the rest, and the particular progress of any other individual doctrine must find its explanation in its bearings from this.

The positive accession made to the knowledge of the Messiah in the Psalms, and indeed in all the poetical books taken together, is less considerable than in the prophets. This arises from the general design of these portions of the Old Testament respectively. The leading aim of the poetical books is not so much to make new disclosures of truth never before revealed, as to bring home to the heart and understanding what had already been communicated in God's word and providence. It was to place clearly before the inner consciousness of God's people what had been previously revealed either explicitly or implicitly; nevertheless new elements of truth are not wanting. For this process was conducted not by the human reason or the unaided religious sense, but by the Spirit of God, who inspired the psalmists as truly as the prophets, and fitted each for the precise task in the general scheme of his revelation, which he allotted to them. And even the legitimate unfolding of germs

previously bestowed was not possible without his immediate superintendence and direction, nor without the addition of fresh materials. For this growth, if we may call it so, or expansion of divinely imparted ideas, must not be confounded with a mere logical development of principles, whose last result is in every case implicitly embraced in the original proposition from which it is deduced. The process of which we are speaking proceeds regularly from stage to stage, but there is ever an increment as well as an evolution; and the former is essential to the latter. The forcible and untimely tearing open of the bud will not produce the flower. It requires a continuance of the same process and the same vital agency to convert the bud into the flower, as was concerned in the original production of the bud itself. And so in each successive stage of Divine revelation. The same spirit of truth, who imparted the earliest and most elementary lessons respecting the coming salvation, communicated every succeeding lesson, until the series was complete, each attaching itself nevertheless to that which went before and growing out of it, though not identical with it, since it contains both a fresh deduction from the preceding and an addition of elements and materials entirely new. In the revelation made through the prophets the new predominates; and that which was made through the psalmists and other inspired poets the remodelling of the old; and yet both new and old are found in both, though in varying measure and proportion.

Extreme opinions have been held respecting the Messianic teachings of the Psalms. On the one hand it has been contended that no direct and explicit reference to the Messiah occurs in the entire book. And on the other, that such references are to be found in every individual psalm. The middle ground is here the true one. There are explicit references to the Messiah in this book, and these are limited to particular psalms, not spread over the whole number. And yet there is this element of truth in both the erroneous conceptions of the book above referred to, that those psalms which are in the strict and proper sense Messianic, are not to be sundered entirely from the rest, as though they stood alone by themselves, were totally distinct in character from the others, and had no links of connection with them. The unity, which we have

already seen to belong to the book of Psalms as opposed to the superficial notion of its miscellaneous and unconnected character, asserts itself here also. It is important to a proper understanding of the book as a whole, that this should be seized and rightly apprehended. It consists of a great number of separate productions, but these have their mutual relations and connections, and form together one whole.

This unity, however, does not establish a uniformity. And herein lies the error of the extreme views above cited. It cannot be argued that since some psalms are Messianic, therefore all are Messianic; nor, on the contrary, since some manifestly do not relate to the Messiah, therefore none do. The unity, which prevails, is consistent with diversity. It is that of distinct but intimately related parts, which we have already seen to spring from a common root, and which, as we are about to show, coöperate to a common end.

The Messianic psalms instead of being reduced by forced interpretations and gratuitous assumptions to a level with the rest, or, on the other hand, discriminated from them too sharply and thus entirely isolated, are rather to be regarded as an integral part of a connected system of thought and feeling. These constitute the crowning portion of the pyramid, resting upon and sustained by all that lies beneath it, while the same lines traverse the whole from base to apex, determining its figure and dimensions. They are the foci, to which every ray more or less directly tends, and into which it ultimately falls; luminous points into which the brightness diffused over the whole is gathered up and concentrated. They form not merely the most important portion of all, but that to which the rest in their measure contribute; the advanced lessons to which the rest are preliminary and preparatory, paving the way for them step by step. The teaching regarding the Messiah is not suddenly or spasmodically injected, as it were, without antecedent explanation, or anything to account for its introduction, standing apart from its own context and all its surroundings, and disconnected from all other objects of religious thought and meditation. It is interwoven most intimately with the whole, and forms in fact its centre and heart, the seat of its life, whence vitality is derived to all the rest. And it is by the entire complex system

of Old Testament teaching, not by a few isolated predictions having direct, immediate, and exclusive reference to Christ, that the preparation for his coming is made.

It is here just as it is in the prophets. Their predictions of Messiah are never isolated passages, sundered from the body of their ministry and having no connection with it, sudden glimpses into the distant future, but standing quite apart from the rest of their disclosures. The Messianic revelations are the centre and heart of each prophet's work, bound indissolubly with every fibre of the whole. The mode and manner of his exhibition of Messiah is shaped by the tenor of the entire prophecy in which it is found. While on the other hand the estimate set upon each book of the prophets, and its proper classification and position in the scheme of the Old Testament, is regulated by its Messianic contents. It has been greatly, as we think, to the prejudice of the Christological study of the Old Testament that Christ has been sought and found only in detached parts and passages; that what is directly Messianic has not been viewed in its vital connection with the entire dispensation in which it is found. Hence the failure to see the *whole* Old Testament just in that light in which it chiefly presents itself, and should be principally regarded, as one continuous scheme of preparation for the coming of the Son of God.

It is very easy to trace currents of thought throughout the book of Psalms, which set in the direction of the Messianic idea and finally issue in it, showing us how the whole body of their religious ideas tended to this point, culminated in it and formed a preparation for it. We shall also discover, if we look at the subject from this point of view, a completeness in the Messianic teachings communicated through the inspired poets, which so far from being fragmentary or incoherent, are just the consistent development on all sides of a definite scheme of thought, leaving no aspect of it untouched, and yet never passing beyond it. This, too, will enable us to see the relation which subsists between the Messianic preparation of the Psalms and that of the other poetical books, since each fulfils its own specific part in the scheme of which we have spoken. This is most largely, but yet not fully, unfolded in the book of Psalms. It still needs the others for its complement; and the integrity and

symmetry of the whole is only then ascertained when all are viewed together.

We have already seen that the Psalms are in their fundamental character utterances of worship. The worshipper feels himself to be in the immediate presence of God, and all distracting thoughts are excluded. God and man confront each other: everything else fades out of sight. God's relations to man and man's relations to God are the two domains within which the thoughts are rigidly confined. These domains, though distinct, are correlative. For every aspect under which the one can be contemplated, there is a corresponding aspect belonging to the other. Now man in his relation to God may be regarded passively or actively, that is to say, in his privileges or his duties. In other words, he may be conceived as a creature endowed of God, or as his servant subject to his law. In the latter case he has obstacles to surmount, and foes to contend with. This suggests a twofold aspect, under which, as God's servant, he may be contemplated, viz., in the heat and fury of the conflict, or after he has passed successfully through it, that is to say, as struggling with evil, physical and moral, and as victorious over it. For the man, in the attitude of the psalmist, whose aspirations go forth toward God, and who is striving to realize in his soul what his relations to God involve, there are these three aspects under which he may consider himself. And since the Psalms are not designed for private and individual devotion merely, but for public worship, the psalmists associate with themselves the entire class of those whom they represent and for whom they speak.

1. Man as a creature endowed of God.
2. The righteous man struggling with his foes.
3. The righteous man victorious over his foes.

Now each of these categories suggests a contrast in the correlative sphere of God as related to man. To the first stands opposed God as the creator and benefactor of man. To the double aspect under which the righteous may be contemplated in respect to his contest with his foes, stands opposed a twofold contrast, one lying on either hand. First, the positive contrast of God, who will deliver or has delivered him from the power of his foes. Secondly, the negative contrast of the absence of

God as a deliverer, in which case evil dominates and man is vanquished.

For the sake of greater clearness, although at the risk of tiresome repetition, we will now place these triple correlates together. They are,

1. Man the creature endowed of God, and God the creator and benefactor of man.

2. The righteous beset by foes and God his deliverer.

3. The righteous victorious by God's delivering aid, and he who is without God utterly failing though possessed of every earthly advantage.

This we take to be the foundation structure of all the Messianic teaching communicated through the psalmists and inspired poets. Each of the six ideas represented in this simple scheme of triple contrasts, culminates either positively or negatively in the Messiah, in one or other of the poetical books, and if we are correct in our opinion of the matter, there is not another idea in these books which does. Messiah is not in this portion of the Old Testament represented under any other aspect, nor reached directly or indirectly by any other process of thought.

Messiah, in whom God became man, the Word was made flesh, is thus approached at once from the Divine and from the human side. This was the case likewise with the typical teachings of the antecedent history. There is, on the one hand, a series of human types, men raised up to discharge important functions or accomplish great deliverances, and prefiguring Messiah in some aspect of his work or some feature of his character. Along with these we find another series of works and deliverances wrought by the immediate hand of God, or by his messenger, who is identified with himself, the angel of Jehovah, which also prefigure the ultimate salvation. These two lines converge and meet in him, who is at once God and man.

The factors of the sacred history are thus the very same as the parties to every act of worship, God and man. And the Messianic lesson of the history is so far virtually identical with the lesson of these songs of worship, that both point forward to him who unites the Divine and human natures in his single person.

The Psalms, nevertheless, make a great advance beyond the teachings of the history in both clearness and fulness.

1. They utter in intelligible and unambiguous language, what in the types was expressed more darkly and doubtfully in symbols, whose prospective design and bearings may not have been known and in many cases perhaps not suspected.

2. They explicitly combine what in the types of history stood as yet unconnected side by side, the human and the Divine in the person of the Messiah. The psalmists develope distinctly to their own consciousness and that of others, the deep and pregnant meaning of the prediction by the prophet Nathan concerning a son of David, who was at the same time to be the Son of God. This earliest intimation of the union of the two natures in Messiah is couched in language not wholly free from ambiguity and doubt. But it is corroborated and expanded by the psalmists in such a way as not to leave the shadow of a question how it was understood by them. In rising to the doctrine of the Messiah from the human side they ascribe to him titles, attributes or works, which evidence divinity. And this is in fact the most certain indication that Messiah is in such cases the person intended. A man is described in human relations but with Divine qualities, and the latter are expressed in terms, which could by no exaggeration or flattery be applied to a mere man.

Those psalms which approach the doctrine of Messiah from the Divine side appear to be less certainly Messianic in the consciousness of their writers. They contain undoubted Messianic elements, they form part of the preparation for the full doctrine of the Messiah, part of the process of thought by which the mind of the chosen people was led up to the complete disclosure of the truth upon this subject. But it is not clear that the writers connected them with Messiah in their own minds. They speak of God under those aspects, which, as we learn from the New Testament, belong in the economy of the Trinity distinctively to the Second Person; but they do not exhibit a distinct apprehension that their words apply to the Messiah.

After these suggestions respecting the fulness of teaching in the Psalms on this point, as compared with that of antecedent

Scriptures, we proceed to show that the scheme of thought already presented precisely covers the Messianic contents of the Psalms, and the associated poetical books.

I. Man as a creature endowed of God is lifted into the Messianic sphere by attributing to him gifts or endowments which transcend the measure of what is merely human. When the limitations of our nature are lost sight of; and the bounty conferred is not bounded by the capacity of man to receive, but takes its dimensions only from the power of God to give, then the theme rises above the level of God's grace to ordinary men, and the subject of such an experience must be the Messiah. The eighth psalm affords an example of this. It is a devout meditation upon God's goodness to his creature man, in the midst of which occur the following expressions: "Thou hast crowned him with glory and honour. Thou madest him to have dominion over the works of thy hands; thou hast put *all things* under his feet." Whether the psalmist had Messiah distinctly in his thoughts as the bearer of universal sovereignty, when he penned these lines, may not be very clear. These universal terms might be so limited by the context as to bring them down to the level of God's bounty to our race at large. But at the least the psalm trembles on the verge of the Messianic idea. It presents a thought which leads directly to it; and which, whether fully developed to the consciousness of the psalmist himself or not, is seized upon and developed into full Messianic dimensions by the apostle Paul, who repeatedly recurs to it in that view. And we are inclined to think that the argument for the direct and conscious Messianic character of this psalm may be made stronger than is commonly allowed by those who view it as an isolated production, by taking into view the three following considerations. 1. The doctrine of Messiah's universal dominion is plainly and repeatedly taught by David elsewhere. 2. His constant method in such cases is the same that is adopted here, to rise from the human to the Divine by simply removing all limitations. And this, it may be remarked by the way, is the very method which we employ in striving after a just conception of the Divine attributes. 3. The first seven psalms form a connected series, dwelling upon the same thought in its different aspects and applications and culminating in the

second psalm, which is an explicit assertion of Messiah's universal dominion. This series is immediately followed by Psalm viii., which describes the honour put upon man and his universal dominion. Now why must the highest possible illustration of this subject, the dignity of Messiah sprung from human race be lost sight of, especially when the very position of the psalm seems to link it directly with the second, where this theme is made prominent?

The correlative idea is that of God the creator and benefactor of man. It has been said already that Messiah as approached from the Divine side does not appear to come as distinctly before the consciousness of the inspired singers, as when arrived at from the human side. We may add here that while the Psalms furnish elements, and so to speak initial points in each of the lines of thought that lead from the contemplation of God to the Messiah, it is distinctively the province of the other poetical books to develope these and carry them out into higher forms and to a more distinctly Messianic character. The Psalms, which are predominantly practical in their nature, come to the doctrine of Messiah chiefly though not exclusively from the human side. The other poetical books, which may be characterized as predominantly speculative, start chiefly from the Divine side.

God considered not as the absolute Godhead, but relatively to his creatures and particularly to man, brings the line of thought within the range of what distinctively belongs to God the Son. An example may be found in Psalm cii., "Of old hast thou laid the foundation of the earth; and the heavens are the work of thine hands. They shall perish, but thou shalt endure; yea, all of them shall wax old like a garment; as a vesture shalt thou change them, and they shall be changed. But thou art the same and thy years shall have no end." And again in Psalm 97, beginning, "The Lord reigneth, let the earth rejoice," and proceeding, verse 7, "Confounded be all they that serve graven images, that boast themselves of idols; worship him all ye gods." That these passages offer elements for the development of Messianic thought is plain from the use made of them in the Epistle to the Hebrews, where they are applied to Christ. And this is not merely in the way of

accommodation, as appears from the fact that the claims of Messiah are argumentatively deduced from them.

The Psalms proceed still further in this line of Messianic development, when they distinguish the divine angel of the Lord, or the Word of the Lord, from God himself, and attribute to them a sort of separate agency relative to the creation or to man. The same thing, it may be remarked in passing, is done in respect to the Spirit of the Lord, thus laying the basis for the New Testament doctrine of the Holy Ghost. The inward distinction in the Godhead, thus cursorily suggested in the Psalms, is however developed into new prominence and at considerable length in the book of Proverbs, which in chap. viii. erects the Wisdom of God into a separate person, and attributes to him an agency which belongs appropriately to God the Son. Able commentators have, from the earliest periods, found here explicit reference to Christ.

II. The next tract of thought, which slopes upward into a Messianic region is that of the righteous beset by foes. The decisive test here again that Messiah is the subject, is the ascription of attributes to the sufferer, or the anticipation of results from his prospective deliverance, which transcend the limit of what is merely human. The freedom from imperfection and removal of limitations are absolute, and extend through the entire psalm in the case of the 22d, beginning "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?" and which Strauss, of mythical notoriety, pronounced "the programme of the crucifixion." At other times there is only a partial infusion of the supernatural, which is confined to particular expressions, and mingled with others in which confession is made of sin, or the merely human is implied. Thus in Psalm xvi., to expressions that any suffering saint might employ are added the words, "Thou wilt not leave my soul in hell; neither wilt thou suffer thy holy one to see corruption." The apostle Peter declares that this was fulfilled in its full sense only in the resurrection of Christ. In Psalm xl., "Sacrifice and offering thou didst not desire . . . then said I, Lo, I come: in the volume of the book it is written of me," which is so far Messianic that the Epistle to the Hebrews developes from it the intrinsic superiority of Christ's sacrifice. And yet the same psalm con-

tinues, verse 12, "Mine iniquities have taken hold upon me so that I am not able to look up." The same phenomenon recurs Psalm lxix. and cix. Such psalms have mingled reference to Messiah and to the entire class of righteous sufferers, to which he belonged and of which he was the most conspicuous example. They accordingly serve to mediate, as it were, between those psalms which relate exclusively to a merely human subject and those which are exclusively Messianic, linking this entire department of thought in all its applications and modes of expression into one connected whole.

The psalms which portray the Messiah as a sufferer and as an object of hostility to wicked men, set forth mainly his priesthood upon one of its sides, and connected with this his prophetic office. His priesthood, or rather his sacrificial character, is shown in the unparalleled intensity of the sufferings which he endures. But though these are declared to issue in good to others and in the salvation of the whole world, they are not explicitly stated to be vicarious. And even the personal offering which he presents as distinguished from the merely animal sacrifices of the law, is not spoken of as a substitution or expiation, but simply as obedience and submission to his heavenly Father's will. "Lo, I come: in the volume of the book it is written of me. I delight to do thy will, O my God." The full doctrine of Messiah's vicarious sufferings for the sins of men is reserved for Isa. liii. His prophetic office is shown in such expressions as "I will declare thy name unto my brethren." Ps. xxii. "I have preached righteousness in the great congregation." Ps. xl., etc.

The correlative idea to that of the suffering righteous is that of a delivering God. The psalmists in their distresses constantly call upon God as their Saviour and Redeemer, an office which belongs specifically to God the Son. But it is in the book of Job that this idea rises most conspicuously into the Messianic region. Job, as the prince of sufferers, was himself a distinguished type of the suffering Son of God. But his triumphant burst of faith, though it may not have been consciously directed to the Messiah, has been recognized in all ages as containing an evident Messianic element. "I know that my

Redeemer liveth, and that he shall stand at the latter day upon the earth."

III. The seed of the woman was condemned to struggle with the serpent and his seed, and suffer the bruising of his heel. This struggle would be most intense in the case of the great champion, by whom the final and decisive victory was to be achieved. Messiah was, therefore, identified with the cause of all who steadfastly fought this battle with evil. His estate of humiliation and suffering would be generically the same in its character and results with the persecutions and sorrows endured by the righteous as a body, only of unexampled intensity, free from sin and followed by results of unlimited magnitude and glory. The particular form and drapery of the representation were borrowed chiefly from the experience of David, for the double reason that this was more vividly present to the psalmist's mind, and that the types of history belonging to this specific class for the time culminated in him.

The strife was not to end, however, with the bruised heel of the seed of the woman. It had been promised that it should terminate in the crushing of the serpent's head. This brings us to the third and last phase of thought, which takes on a Messianic colouring, viz., the triumphant righteous together with the converse of the picture, these being the positive and negative poles of the same idea, the issue of the contest with evil, first, as waged by God's help, and secondly, as carried on without him.

The most conspicuous type was here again afforded by the experience of David, to which that of Solomon was added by a natural sequence. The appropriateness of making this the starting point from which to rise by the usual method of removing all limitation and imperfection to the splendour of Messiah's triumph, lies not merely in their individual, but also in their official relations. David was advanced from the midst of sore trials and malignant persecutions to a throne, which in Solomon attained a yet loftier measure of magnificence and renown. But they were besides the divinely constituted heads of God's earthly kingdom at the zenith of both its temporal and spiritual prosperity and power, apt emblems, therefore, of Him in

whom that same kingdom, under a different form, should reach its final consummation.

The kingdom of David, with his successful wars, affords the model, which in Psalm ii. is heightened into an impotent and unavailing combination of all the kingdoms of the world against the King, whom God had set in Zion, and whose hands wielded a sceptre of iron, which could dash to pieces the most formidable opposition as easily and completely as a potter's vessel. In Psalm lxxii. the image is drawn from the peaceful and prosperous sway of Solomon, which is expanded to the full dimensions of the earth and made to endure for all time. But as the subjection of the nations is not merely a forced but a voluntary one, it is represented in Psalm xlv., under the additional emblem of a marriage alliance with a beautiful princess, attended by a retinue of kings' daughters and with bridal presents brought from rich and powerful states. The Song of Solomon is simply an expansion of this same idea to a more extended allegory. In Psalm cx. a new dignity is added to the monarch. Like Melchizedek, who reigned in Jerusalem ages before either David or Solomon, he is not only king but priest; he not only rules a willing people and is victorious over his prostrate foes, but has in addition the sacerdotal privilege of near approach to God, and this too in the most unrestricted and unlimited sense. The high priest himself could only come once in the year into the most holy place, and stand before the symbol of the throne of God; Messiah takes his permanent seat at God's right hand. Other priests were not suffered to continue by reason of death; Messiah is a priest for ever.

We have before seen how Messiah was set forth in his estate of humiliation, together with his prophetic office and his priesthood upon one of its sides. This is now completed by his estate of exaltation, the other side of his priesthood and his office as king.

But the kingdom which has thus far served as a type of Messiah's exaltation and glory, is capable of being considered from a different point of view, as worldly and transitory, and as such fitted to illustrate by contrast what it has hitherto been employed to represent by comparison. This is the aspect under which it is regarded by the remaining two poetical books, which

are therefore negatively Messianic. Ecclesiastes sets forth the unsatisfactory nature of all the splendour even of Solomon, when enjoyed without God. And the book of Lamentations at once completes the series and links this with the lessons of the succeeding period by bewailing its overthrow in consequence of its ungodliness, a result which it required centuries to develope.

To sum up the results at which we have arrived. The Psalms unfold the doctrine of the Messiah for the most part consciously and from the human side. They portray him as the man raised to sovereignty over the universe, as the righteous sufferer whose unparalleled sorrows result in the salvation of the world, as the triumphant monarch who subdues all opposition, rules peacefully over the whole world and to the end of time, is wedded to his people in holy love (an idea expanded likewise in the Song of Solomon) and who is a priest as well as a king. The other poetical books develope the doctrine of the Messiah for the most part unconsciously and from the Divine side. He is the Wisdom of God celebrated in Proverbs, the Redeemer in whom Job declared his confidence, the founder of an empire which has neither the unsatisfactory nature of worldly grandeur set forth in Ecclesiastes, nor its transitory character as shown in the Lamentations.

Art. V.—*The Philosophy of Mathematics.*

Whilst there are few who have not some knowledge of this science, fewer have ever asked themselves, What is Mathematics? and when the question is proposed a less number still are able to give a satisfactory answer. Unlike most other sciences, the name of this is not distinctive. Mathematics—τα μαθηματα—literally means, *things to be learned.* Accordingly, when the Greeks used the expression in a technical sense, they meant all the then known sciences. The subsequent use of the word in the restricted sense in which it is now always employed, is arbitrary, except so far as this usage may

be justified by the fact that the particular science to which it is appropriated lies at the basis of all physical science.

Another reason doubtless why so few have a clear conception of mathematics as a well-defined science is, that the term is a plural. This would seem to imply that it denoted, not a single science, but a number of sciences, analogous yet distinct and independent—in some respects similar yet without any logical connection—rods of the same bundle rather than branches of one vine.

Moreover, the several branches of mathematics do actually differ greatly from each other—so much so that an individual may be thoroughly familiar with one branch and yet entirely ignorant of even the elements of others. A higher division of this science is not always a mere extension of a lower. The distinction between some at least is a difference not merely in degree, but in kind. It is not without meaning, therefore, that the more advanced branches are called, not merely higher, but transcendental. The same mathematical problem may be solved by entirely different methods, each involving ideas and processes peculiar to itself. In the study of different branches of mathematics entirely different faculties of the mind are exercised, so that not unfrequently the same individual may master with ease certain branches, and yet have no aptitude for others.

For the reasons mentioned, not only is the conception which most have of mathematics as a science vague and unsatisfactory, but the fact is, the true idea of the science as a systematic whole and the precise logical relation of the several parts, were not until within our own day, even by the mathematicians themselves, accurately determined.

Comte's great work, his "Cours de Philosophie Positive," is alike remarkable for its profundity and its shallowness, its truth and its error, its wisdom and its folly, according as it treats of natural and of spiritual things. In all that relates to the former, there is exhibited a breadth of knowledge as to facts, a depth of penetration as to principles, a subtlety in discrimination, a skill in generalization, and withal a facility in expressing truths the most abstruse and profound in language rigidly accurate yet readily intelligible, that has seldom if ever

been equalled. All that relates to the latter is but a notable illustration of the language, if not the precise idea of the apostle, "the natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God: for they are foolishness unto him: neither can he know them, because they are spiritually discerned." Remarkable clearness and extent of vision as to natural things is combined with total blindness in regard to all that pertains to man's spiritual nature and relations.

The classification of the Physical Sciences given in "the Positive Philosophy," has been justly styled by Morell, "a master-piece of scientific inquiry." With the skill of an expert topographer, the author presents a synoptical view—alike remarkable for its comprehensiveness and its minuteness—of the whole domain of Physical Science, the proper limits of each department distinctly traced, its peculiar features graphically sketched, and the true relations of the several departments to each other exhibited so clearly as to be apprehended at a glance.

But it is in his analysis of Mathematics—the science which he justly regards as "holding the first place in the hierarchy of the sciences"—the "scientia scientiarum"—that the remarkable powers of his intellect above referred to, are most strikingly illustrated. Strange as it may seem, the task he here undertook to perform was one which previously had scarcely been attempted. The very definition of Mathematics as a distinct science was undetermined, and the accepted classification of its several branches was largely arbitrary and based upon superficial rather than profound logical considerations. The explanation of this fact which Comte himself suggests is, that "the different fundamental conceptions which constitute this great science were not, until the commencement of the last century, sufficiently developed to permit the true spirit of the whole to manifest itself with clearness. Since that epoch the attention of mathematicians has been too exclusively absorbed in the special perfecting of the different branches, and in the application of them to the investigation of the laws of the universe, to allow of due attention to the general system of the science."

Entering upon this almost wholly unexplored field, Comte

has succeeded in giving so complete and accurate a survey that little remains for those who come after him but to follow in his footsteps, or, as in the future the domain of the science may be enlarged, to advance along the paths whose direction he has indicated. So original and exhaustive is the work which Comte has here performed, that the language of Mill is not extravagant when he attributes to him the honour of "having created the philosophy of mathematics."

In availing ourselves of the labours of Comte in our attempt to answer the question proposed at the commencement of this paper, we do not feel at liberty to do so without the distinct avowal that however valuable that portion of "the Positive Philosophy" which relates to physical science, we regard it as but a small compensation for the accompanying error which it is the main design of the work to inculcate and to which the author would make all that is really valuable subservient. Weighing the evil against the good, we have no hesitation in deploring, that "this greatest work of the age," as it has been styled by some of its admirers, should ever have been written. The light which it throws upon science could not have been much longer obscured, whilst under the guidance of its teachings in regard to spiritual things many doubtless will be led into regions of everlasting darkness.

What then is Mathematics?

The answer commonly given to this question—and which is objectionable on account of its incompleteness rather than its incorrectness—is, that it is *the science of quantity.* To arrive at a clear idea of the true and complete definition it may be well to start with this defective definition.

Mathematics then is the science of quantity. And what is *quantity?* The etymology of the word indicates its precise meaning. Derived from the Latin, *quantitas*, and that from *quantus—how much?*—the word *quantity* denotes, that which is referred to when we ask with respect to anything, *How much* is there of it? The question does not refer to the form, structure, value, uses, or any other quality or attribute of the thing than its *how-much-ness*, if we may be allowed to coin the synonym. This is the strict and primary meaning of the word *quantity.*

By a very slight metonymy the word is used to denote any *thing*, or any *quality* of any thing, in regard to which the question may be asked, How much is there of it? It is used in this sense when we speak of a quantity or of *quantities*.

The idea expressed by the word *quantity* carries with it the idea of *measurement*. Until a thing is measured it is impossible to give a precise answer to the question, How much is there of it?

And what is meant by *measuring* a quantity? The idea is familiar to all—how may it be defined? It is determining the ratio between the quantity to be measured and some other quantity of the same species, regarded as a unit. The choice of the quantity used as the unit is entirely arbitrary—or rather, conventional. Whatever be its greatness or smallness, if it be of the same species with the quantity to be measured there is between the two a definite ratio, and the determination of this ratio measures the quantity in question. What particular quantity shall be taken as the unit, is a matter of convenience rather than of accuracy.

We are now prepared for a somewhat more precise answer to the question, What is Mathematics? It is that science which has for its object the *measurement* of quantities.

But in many instances measurements may be performed simply by the actual application of the unit of measurement to the quantity to be measured—as, for example, when with a graduated rule we determine that a given line is so many feet and inches in length. This would be the measurement of a quantity, and hence would come within the terms of the above definition, and yet it is evident that such an operation would be purely mechanical—not a scientific, and hence not a mathematical, process. The above answer to the question under consideration needs therefore to be still further amended.

To understand precisely wherein it is defective, and what is the amendment necessary to make it complete, consider, that comparatively few of the almost infinite number and variety of the quantities we may wish to measure admit of measurement by the actual application to them of a unit. Take the simple case of determining the length of a given line—the line may too long or too short to admit of actual measurement; it may

be in an inconvenient position; it may be wholly inaccessible; or it may be a curved line, in which case the exact application to it of the linear unit would be impracticable. So to determine the area of a circle, or even of a triangle, the superficial unit being a square, it would be impossible, however small the unit, to apply it actually to the area to be measured. And further, in regard to many quantities the application or superposition of a unit of the same species, is not only impossible but inconceivable, as, for example, such quantities as time, force, velocity, &c.—quantities the most common, involved in many of the most interesting phenomena of nature, and whose exact measure it is often of the highest importance to know.

Now as to all quantities, except the very few that may be measured by the actual application of a unit, how is measurement to be effected? We answer, it can only be done *indirectly*, and indirectly only in this particular way, by means of some definite relation between the quantity to be measured and some other quantity or quantities that admit of actual measurement. For example, to determine the height of a vertical object—if a straight line be measured from the base of the object to any convenient point in the same horizontal plane, and at that point the angle of elevation of the top of the vertical object be measured, its height may be readily determined by means of the measurements made and the definite relation between the height of the object and the quantities actually measured.

We are now prepared to give the precise and complete answer to the question, What is Mathematics? It is that science which has for its object the *indirect* measurement of quantities, that is by means of the relations of the quantity to be measured to some other quantity or quantities that admit of actual measurement.

The object of mathematics as here stated, may seem at first sight to be a very simple one, of comparatively little moment, and requiring for its attainment but a moderate exercise of our intellectual faculties. It needs however but little reflection upon the terms of this definition to enable us to appreciate the comprehensiveness of this science, its immense importance, and

the large demand it makes upon the highest powers of the human intellect for its successful prosecution.

As to its comprehensiveness, it has to do with whatever may be called *a quantity.* Its domain therefore is the whole sphere of nature. It includes in its scope the investigation of the form, position, and magnitude of all bodies, their weight, their density, their colour even—for what is colour but the velocity of an undulation? It has to do with the number of every aggregate, the proportions of every chemical combination, the value of every article of commerce, even the pitch of every sound. It is involved in the investigation of all actions of forces, and hence all the phenomena of motion, as well as many of the phenomena of light, of heat, of electricity, of magnetism, of galvanism. It deals with all problems involving the idea of time, for time is but measured duration. In short, it has to do with every thing, and every quality or attribute of every thing, in regard to which the question may be asked, How much is there of it? In the language of the son of Sirach, "God hath made all things by number, weight, and measure." How comprehensive then is that science which includes in its scope whatever may be numbered, weighed, and measured?

To appreciate the *importance* of this science, we have but to consider that until a quantity is measured we cannot have a distinct knowledge of it. Any conception of it that we may previously have, is necessarily incomplete, vague, and for any scientific purpose, valueless. We may, for example, have the idea that the earth as compared to bodies on its surface is large, but we have no proper knowledge of its size until we are able to say it is a sphere of so many miles in diameter. We may know that a body if unsupported will fall toward the earth, but we have no proper, or at least, scientific, knowledge of gravitation until we are able to say that the attraction of matter for matter varies directly as the mass, and inversely as the square of the distance.

We see at once therefore why it is that mathematics lies at the foundation of all true physical science. Without the exact knowledge which it furnishes, the very material for such science will be wanting. Science is facts systematized, that is generalized, and generalization is impossible if our knowledge of the

facts themselves be indefinite. It is not an accident, therefore, but a necessary logical consequence that physical science in its progress has always followed and never preceded mathematical science. A complete history of mathematics together with its various applications, would contain a history of the progress of the race in the knowledge of the phenomena of nature.

Certain savage tribes have been found unable to count beyond a hundred. No other fact than this is needed to satisfy us as to their utter mental degradation. It of itself indicates the absence of those precise and accurate conceptions, which both as cause and effect ever accompany intellectual development. For the elevation of such savages, it would be a primary and indispensable requisite that their minds be informed with mathematical ideas, and just in proportion as they should make progress in the knowledge of this science would they be elevated in the scale of intelligence.

By a due consideration of the terms of the above definition of mathematics, it will be further abundantly manifest that it demands the exercise of the highest powers of the human intellect for its successful prosecution. The object of the science, as has been stated, is, the measurement of whatever may be called a quantity, and this, *indirectly*—that is, by means of the relation of the quantity to be measured to other dependent quantities which admit of actual measurement. If then we consider the number and variety of quantities, the exact measure of which it is both interesting and important for us to know; if we consider further how manifold and complex the relations of many quantities to other quantities dependent upon them, and that out of these relations those are to be selected that may be made to answer the end in view; if we consider still further that in many cases the dependent quantities themselves can be measured only indirectly, that is, by other quantities depending upon them; and these again, it may be, only in like manner by others, we may begin to appreciate the magnitude of the difficulty of many of the problems which present themselves to the mathematician for solution.

His first difficulty is to obtain a mathematical expression of the relation of the quantity to be measured to other quantities depending upon it which admit of measurement directly or in-

directly. This difficulty having been overcome, another—and in many cases, the greater—difficulty still remains, namely, to reduce the complex expression so that the *precise* mode of dependence of the quantities involved may be exhibited.

The performance of the intellectual task here proposed involves a vigorous exercise of the imagination in the true sense of that oft misused term—the faculty of forming distinct and correct mental images of objects not present to the senses. It requires moreover protracted attention, intense thought, clear conception, and subtle discrimination. Out of all the quantities which are dependent upon, or by the introduction of others, may be brought into relation to, the quantity to be measured, the judgment is exercised in selecting such quantities, and such relations of them, as are suitable to the end in view. The reasoning faculties are exercised in detecting and exhibiting the connection between dependent truths—sometimes the process being synthetic, that is, so *placing together* (συντιθημι) known truths as to demonstrate a new truth; sometimes analytic, that is unfolding or *unloosing* (αναλυω) the several truths that are involved—wrapped up, as it were—in a general truth or proposition; the former process being analogous to that which is of so much importance in all scientific inquiry—the work of generalization, induction, passing from particulars to generals—the latter, an exercise no less important, that of deduction, or passing from generals to particulars.

It is not strange, therefore, that both in ancient and modern times, men who have been preëminent for superiority of intellect—the master-minds of their age—such men as Pythagoras and Plato, Descartes and Newton—have been attracted to the study of mathematics, and have found therein scope for the exercise of their highest powers. It is not strange that in the progress of the race in intellectual development, the most brilliant achievements—those which most exalt our conception of the capacity and power of the human mind—have been performed on the field of mathematical science. Nor is it strange that a science, the study of which requires the exercise of so many and so important faculties of the mind, and a knowledge of which—to some extent—is indispensable to any intelligent conception of the various phenomena of nature, should occupy

the prominent place it does in the course of study pursued by those who seek mental discipline and a liberal education.

Keeping in view the special object of mathematics, as stated in the above definition, we proceed to exhibit the divisions of the science, the distinctive character of each, and their true relation to each other as parts of a logically connected system.

It may be well at this point to define a term which frequently occurs in the philosophy of mathematics, and in a somewhat technical sense—the term *function.* One quantity is said to be a *function* of another when it depends upon the other for its value. The force of a cannon-ball is a function of the quantity of powder and the length of the cannon. The range of the ball is a function of the quantities just mentioned, the elevation of the cannon, the attraction of gravitation, and the resistance of the air. The sine, cosine, &c., of an arc are functions of the arc. The power, root, logarithm, &c. of any number are functions of that number.

Further, functions are said to be *explicit* when the *precise* mode of dependence is expressed; otherwise they are said to be *implicit.* For example, let $x^2+y^2=25$. It is evident that here the value of y depends upon the value of x, but so long as the equation remains in this form, the *precise* mode of dependence is not expressed—the function is implicit. If, however, by the proper algebraic processes the value of y in terms of x be determined, the *precise* mode of dependence would then be expressed—the function would be explicit.

Using then the term function in the sense just mentioned, the complete definition of mathematics previously given may be put in this form—it is the science which has for its object the *indirect* measurement of quantities, that is by means of the relations of the quantity to be measured to some function or functions of it which admit of actual measurement.

By reflecting on what is involved in this definition, it will be manifest that the solution of a complete mathematical problem includes two entirely distinct operations or processes. The first is, determining what function or functions of the quantity to be measured are suitable to the end proposed, and then obtaining a mathematical expression of the relation of the quan-

tity to be measured to the function or functions involved. This result will ordinarily be an implicit function. The second process is, reducing this implicit function to an explicit. The precise relation of the quantity to be measured to quantities that admit of actual measurement will thus be exhibited—that is, the measurement in question will be effected.

These two operations are, as has been said, entirely distinct in character. The first has to do with the nature or species of the quantity in question; also, with the nature or species of the functions involved. The second has nothing to do with the nature or species of the quantity in question or of its functions. It is simply an application of the rules for transforming and reducing an implicit mathematical function; in other words, it has to do, solely, with the relations which are peculiar to *numerical* quantities—the rules referred to being determined entirely by these relations. In reducing the implicit function the process will be the same, whether the quantities involved be lines, surfaces, velocities, forces, or quantities of any species whatsoever. For example, whether the problem involve the proportion that the areas of parallelograms of the same altitude are to each other as their bases, or the proportion that the sides of a plane triangle are to each other as the sines of the angles opposite, or the proportion that the squares of the times of revolution of the planets are as the cubes of their mean distances from the sun, in either case, three of the terms of the proportion being known the fourth would be determined by the same mathematical process.

We have here then a basis for a logical division of the science of mathematics into two great branches, differing from each other as to their immediate objects, methods, and the nature of the quantities involved. The distinctive characteristics of each branch are also clearly indicated.

The division to which the latter operation in the solution of a complete mathematical problem belongs—in logical order the *primary* division, in that it has to do with the relations of numerical quantities only—Comte designates, *Abstract* Mathematics. The other division, which has to do with the relations of quantities of any other species whatsoever, he calls, *Concrete* Mathematics.

It may be proper to remark that this principal division of the science into Abstract and Concrete Mathematics, should not be confounded with the common unscientific division of the science, into Pure and Mixed Mathematics. The two branches in the one case do not correspond either in nature or extent to the two branches in the other, the division in the one case and the other being determined by entirely different considerations. For example, Geometry, according to the ordinary division, is a branch of Pure Mathematics—according to the division abovementioned, it is a branch of Concrete Mathematics. The division of the several branches of the science into Pure and Mixed Mathematics is a kind of mechanical classification, based on superficial considerations. The division into Abstract and Concrete Mathematics is based upon a clear and fundamental distinction between the two branches, as to their elements, methods, and immediate objects.

Before proceeding to specify the *subdivisions* of mathematics, it will be necessary to determine accurately the limitations of the science.

Whilst every conceivable quantity is related to certain other quantities which may be called its functions, it is evident that there are many functions that cannot be used for the object proposed in mathematics, namely, *measurement*. For measurement, as we have already had occasion to remark, being the determination of the ratio of the quantity to be measured to some other quantity of the same species regarded as a unit, the result in every case is a *numerical* quantity. Now this result can never be obtained if the implicit function involve any other relations than those which admit of numerical expression—or expression by means of algebraic symbols of numerical quantities. If other relations than those just mentioned are involved, the processes for transforming and reducing the implicit function—having respect as they have to the relations of numerical quantities only—will be inapplicable. The first limitation therefore to the science of mathematics is, that it is restricted to the use of functions whose mode of dependence admits of numerical expression, or expression by means of algebraic symbols of numerical quantities.

Again, the relations between the quantity to be measured and

its functions may admit of algebraic expression, yet so abstruse in character and complicated in form that the reduction to an explicit function cannot, in the present state of mathematical science, be effected. This gives rise to another limitation—if not in theory, at least in practice. Only such quantities are practically within the scope of the science as have functions whose relations admit of a reducible algebraic expression.

To indicate therefore the limits of the science positively, it will be necessary to determine what are the different relations that may exist between *numerical* quantities—in other words, what are the different ways in which one number may depend upon other numbers for its value. The different forms of *implicit* numerical functions are infinite in number and variety. An implicit function is but a combination of several simple or elementary functions, and there is evidently no limit to the number and variety of such combinations. The number of simple or elementary numerical functions, however, is quite limited. In the present state of mathematical science there are but ten simple, abstract functions—strictly speaking, but five, since the ten referred to are in fact five *pairs* of functions, one of each pair being the inverse of the other. Moreover, the last pair are not purely abstract. In certain respects they are of the nature of abstract functions or may be treated as such; in other respects they are concrete.

The five pairs of simple or elementary abstract functions are: 1st. The Sum and Difference; 2d. The Product and Quotient; 3d. The Power and Root; 4th. Logarithmic and Exponential functions; 5th. Direct and Inverse Trigonometrical—or, as they are frequently called, Circular—functions. All possible relations of numerical quantities—or rather all relations that in the present state of mathematical science admit of algebraic expression—are but combinations more or less complicated of these ten simple functions.

The science of Mathematics is, therefore, for the present at least, limited to the investigation of quantities having functions which are dependent in some one or other of the ten ways just mentioned. Even with this limitation it need scarcely be said, that no other science is to be compared with mathematics, with respect to the extent of the field which it embraces.

We are now prepared to consider the subdivisions into which the two great branches of mathematics is divided.

The *subdivisions* which Comte proposes, are—like his principal divisions—determined by an analysis of the solution of a complete mathematical problem. Fundamental distinctions having respect to the nature and especially to the particular object of the different processes involved, are made the basis of classification. He accordingly divides Abstract Mathematics into two branches, which may be designated as Arithmetic and Algebra, if we are careful not to confound the particular sense in which these terms are here employed, with the indefinite, unscientific sense in which they are ordinarily used.

To present clearly the distinction between these two branches, and the precise nature and object of each, suppose it be required to determine the number which being multiplied by 3 will produce 12. The problem may be solved by writing 12 and dividing it by 3; or we may write $x =$ the number required—then by the hypothesis $3\,x = 12$, hence $x = 4$. Now according to the ordinary acceptation of the terms the former operation would be called *arithmetical*—the latter, *algebraic.* And yet it is evident that the two operations are essentially the same. They have precisely the same object, and this object is reached by precisely the same mental process in either case. The two operations differ only in form, that is in appearance. The distinction between them is therefore entirely superficial, and does not furnish a sufficient basis for a truly scientific classification.

Suppose, however, that the *general* problem had been given, to find an expression for the number which multiplied by a shall produce b?—a and b denoting any numbers whatsoever. Here if we denote the required number by x, then by the hypothesis $ax = b$ and therefore $x = b$ divided by a. Now here whilst the *form* of the process is identical with the preceding, the *object* and the *result* are entirely different. The result $x = b$ divided by a, is not a *value* of x, it merely exhibits *the mode of dependence* of x on a and b—in other words, it exhibits *what* function x is of a and b, whatever values be attributed to these latter symbols. If we wish to know the particular value of x, when $b = 12$ and $a = 3$, it may readily

be determined by substituting the given values in the general expression and performing the division indicated. This operation is entirely different from the preceding both as to its nature and its object. In these respects it corresponds exactly with the problem first proposed.

We have here then the distinction between Arithmetic and Algebra, in the strictly scientific sense of those terms, clearly indicated. That part of Abstract Mathematics which has for its object to determine *what precise function* one quantity is of another or of others with which it has the relations expressed in the conditions of the problem, is Algebra. That part of Abstract Mathematics which has for its object to determine *the precise numerical value* of the quantity in question, is Arithmetic. The former has respect only to the *relations* of the quantities involved, the latter has respect to their *values*. It may be remarked that as every purely algebraic problem includes all possible similar arithmetical problems, so every purely arithmetical problem may be regarded as but a particular case of a general algebraic problem.

As the terms Arithmetic and Algebra are ordinarily used in a less strict sense than that above-mentioned, and moreover are not etymologically significant, the two branches of Abstract Mathematics may be more precisely designated as the Calculus of Values, and the Calculus of Functions.

Arithmetic, or the Calculus of Values, from its very nature, does not admit of logical subdivision; not so, however, with Algebra or the Calculus of Functions.

We have seen that the number of simple abstract functions—that is, those which may exist between numerical quantities—is very limited. On the other hand, the number and variety of concrete functions is so great that they may be said to be unlimited. Now, as the ultimate object of mathematics is the *measurement* of quantities of any species whatsoever, and as measurement is the determination of the *ratio* of two quantities of the same species, and, moreover, as every such ratio is a *numerical* quantity, it is evident that only such concrete functions can be employed as have relations which admit of algebraic expression—an expression, moreover, that is reducible to an *explicit* function, and to an explicit function of such a form

that its numerical value for given values of the symbols involved may be obtained by the processes of arithmetic. It follows, therefore, as has been before remarked, that the selection of appropriate concrete functions and the obtaining a suitable expression for their relations, often presents to the mathematician a most formidable difficulty.

It might seem at first sight that this difficulty might be lessened by simply increasing the number of elementary abstract functions. A little reflection will show that this is almost wholly impracticable. The possible relations of numerical quantities is evidently quite limited, and whilst we may not say that in the future progress of mathematical science no new abstract functions will be recognized, it is difficult for us at present to conceive of any others—at least any others available for the end in view—than the ten simple functions above mentioned.

The difficulty in question has however been very ingeniously encountered in another way, namely, not by attempting to increase the number of simple functions, but by making use of certain *functions of these functions.* Theoretically there are several different functions of the simple functions that might be employed, but it is found that practically the most suitable by far for the end in view, are the infinitesimals or differentials of the simple functions. By *an infinitesimal* (according to the theory of Leibnitz, which, though not so rigidly accurate, is more readily intelligible than the theories of Newton and Lagrange,) is meant a portion of a quantity less than any assignable fraction of it—in that sense, *infinitely* small—relatively, though not absolutely, equal to zero. A *differential*—which in the theory of Leibnitz corresponds to what Newton calls a *fluxion*, and Lagrange a *derivative*—is the infinitesimal of a *variable*, or the difference between two successive values of a variable.

It is found that in dealing with many of the most interesting yet otherwise insoluble problems of Concrete Mathematics, these infinitesimals are admirably adapted to overcome the difficulty referred to above. Relations of Concrete Functions, which it would be impossible to express immediately in terms of Abstract Functions, may frequently be readily expressed in terms of the

differentials of Abstract Functions. From the equation thus obtained—that is, an equation which expresses the relation between the *differentials* of Abstract Functions—an equation expressing the relation between *the abstract functions themselves* may, by established rules for such transformation, be readily obtained—thus bringing the quantity in question within the grasp, as it were, of that branch of the science by which alone its measurement can be effected.

As the true scientific conception of the Infinitesimal Calculus is that which has just been presented, it may be well to illustrate the idea by a simple example. Suppose the problem to determine the area of a plane curve. Now, whilst the area of some few curves may be obtained by special processes, different in the case of different curves and always cumbersome in application, no general method—applicable to any and every curve—involving the use of the functions of the curve *directly*, can be given. By using, however, the differentials of the quantities involved, the *differential* of the area may be expressed by a very simple formula, namely, the differential of the area is equal to one rectilinear ordinate of the curve into the differential of the other. By means of this formula an expression for the *differential* of the area of any given curve may be readily obtained. Then by strict mathematical processes this equation in terms of the differentials, may be transformed, and the value of the area itself, in terms of one of its functions exhibited.

It should be remarked that the solution of a number of the most interesting problems of mathematics is immediately effected, whenever an equation expressing the relation of the differentials of the variables involved is obtained. For example, to determine the angle which a given curve at a given point makes with the abscissa or abscissa produced—the ratio of the differential of the ordinate of the point to the differential of the abscissa expresses at once the tangent of the angle required.

From what has been said, the logical division of Algebra, or the Calculus of Functions is evident. It is divided into two branches—one deals with functions themselves and hence involves finite quantities only, the other deals with the differentials of functions and hence involves infinitesimals. The former is ordinary Elementary Algebra, the latter Transcendental

Algebra. To distinguish these branches by designations that shall be significant, the former may be called the Calculus of Direct Functions, the latter, the Calculus of Indirect Functions.

The Calculus of Indirect Functions includes two entirely different mathematical processes, the one the inverse of the other and yet its logical complement in a conception of this branch of mathematical science. These processes are known as differentiation and integration. The relation of two quantities which are functions of each other being given, *differentiation* is determining the relation of the differentials of these quantities. Again, the relations of the differentials of two quantities —functions of each other—being given, *integration* is determining the relation of the quantities themselves.

The Differential *Calculus* in the strict sense of the expression—namely, that branch of Abstract Mathematics which has for its object the differentiation of any given function—is quite limited in its scope, and may be said to have reached its perfection. Convenient rules for the differentiation of all the recognized simple abstract functions have been determined; and any complex function, being but a combination of simple functions, may always be differentiated by applying successively the differentiation of the several simple functions involved. The *application* of the Differential Calculus, however, to the solution of problems in Concrete Mathematics, is unlimited in extent.

The scope of Integral Calculus proper—that is the integration of any given relation of differentials—is much wider, and its development is comparatively quite imperfect. The limits of this branch of the Calculus of Indirect Functions are—and probably must always remain—indefinite. A relation of the differentials of functions may be given such that the relation of the functions themselves will not admit of algebraic expression. Or the immediate result of the differentiation of a complex function may be so transformed by legitimate algebraical processes that the derivation may be entirely obscured.

To complete our synopsis of Abstract Mathematics two Calculi remain to be noticed. First, the Calculus of Variations, invented by Lagrange and largely used by him in his "Analy-

tique Mechanique." This branch of mathematics Comte fitly characterizes as "hyper-transcendental." It is so abstruse in its nature and complicated in its processes that it has received but little attention from mathematicians, and remains in about the same state in which Lagrange left it. The object of the Calculus of Variations, as stated by Comte, is, to determine "what form a certain unknown function of one or more variables ought to have, in order that the value of a given integral within assigned limits shall, for that function, be a maximum or minimum in comparison with the values of the integral for functions of any other form whatsoever." What is meant by this, the reader who has some knowledge of the Differential and Integral Calculus may understand by the following illustration. In an ordinary problem in Maxima and Minima, a function is given, and it is proposed to determine what is that value of the variable which will render the function a maximum or minimum in comparison with either of the values immediately adjacent, that is in comparison with either of the values the function would have if the value of the variable were either increased or diminished. The Differential Calculus furnishes a ready method for the solution of all such problems. Now suppose instead of a function being given, a general expression for the value of the integral of a certain differential expression is given —for example, the area of a plane curve = the integral of ydx—and it is proposed to determine the equation of the curve whose area is a maximum in comparison with the area of any other curve between the same limiting ordinates,—in other words, what must be the relation of the function y to the variable x that the integral of ydx shall be a maximum. This problem is of an entirely different nature from an ordinary problem in Maxima and Minima. Here there is no function given—the very problem is to determine the function, in other words, the equation of the curve whose area is a maximum. Moreover, the maximum referred to in an ordinary Maxima and Minima problem is that value of the function which is a maximum as compared with either of the values the function would have if the value of the variable were either increased or diminished. Here the maximum referred to is a maximum, not as compared with the values which the quantity in question would have if

changes were attributed to the variable, but a maximum as compared with the value which the quantity in question would have if any change should be made in the form of the function. It is with the class of problems of which the one just mentioned is a simple example, that the Calculus of Variations deals.

The remaining branch of Abstract Mathematics above referred to, is the Calculus of Finite Differences, invented by Taylor and exhibited in his "Methodus Incrementorum." This Calculus is but an extension of the fundamental idea—or rather a new application of the *method*—of the Differential and Integral Calculus. This latter has for its primary object to determine the change in any function corresponding to an *infinitely small* change in the variable upon which it depends. The immediate object of the Calculus of Finite Differences is to determine the change in any function corresponding to a particular *finite* change in the variable; or more generally, to determine the successive changes in any function corresponding to successive finite changes attributed to the variable according to a given law—as for example, when the values of the variable increase (as they are ordinarily, in this Calculus, assumed to do) in Arithmetical Progression. Like the Infinitesimal Calculus, the Calculus of Finite Differences has two branches—the Direct and the Inverse—the latter being sometimes called the Integral Calculus of Finite Differences. In its form and notation the Calculus of Finite Differences is analogous to the Calculus of Indirect Functions, yet as it deals entirely with *finite* quantities it is logically a branch of the Calculus of Direct Functions.

Having completed our survey of Abstract Mathematics, it may not be amiss to give a summary of the points that have been presented.

Mathematics is that science which has for its object the indirect measurement of quantities, that is by means of the relations of the quantity to be measured to other dependent quantities—called its functions—which admit of actual measurement.

The science is divided into two branches—Abstract Mathematics which treats of the functions of numerical quantities,

and Concrete Mathematics which treats of functions of any other species. Abstract Mathematics is divided into two branches—Arithmetic or the Calculus of Values, and Algebra or the Calculus of Functions.

The Calculus of Functions is divided into two branches—the Calculus of Direct Functions or ordinary Elementary Algebra, which deals with finite quantities only; and the Calculus of Indirect Functions, which investigates the relations of infinitesimal quantities.

The Calculus of Indirect Functions is divided into two branches—the Differential and Integral Calculus, and the Calculus of Variations.

The Calculus of Finite Differences investigates the relations of corresponding finite increments of functions, by the methods of the Infinitesimal Calculus.

It remains for us to notice—which we can do only in a very summary manner—the Philosophy of Concrete Mathematics. As this branch of the science has to do with functions of any species whatsoever, its scope, in theory at least, is coextensive with the material universe—or rather, with so much of the material universe as lies within the sphere of our knowledge. As the phenomena of nature are infinite—not only in number but in variety—it might seem at first sight that any subdivision of Concrete Mathematics into distinct branches would not—however great their number—be exhaustive. Upon a more profound view however of the functions with which this branch of mathematical science has to deal, it will appear that there are but two really distinct divisions of Concrete Mathematics.

The phenomena of the material universe, however manifold and varied in form and appearance, are all ultimately resolvable into two constituent elements, so to speak, namely, matter and force. Every particular phenomenon is but a particular modification or combination of these elements.

Whilst we know not what *matter* is in its essence, it may nevertheless be defined as that which occupies space—in other words, a distinctive essential property of it is *extension.* Whilst we know not what *force* is in its essence, it may be defined as that which produces, modifies, prevents, or tends to produce modify or prevent, *motion.* It is evident therefore

that Geometry—the science which has for its object the measurement of extension—and Rational Mechanics—the science which has for its object the measurement of the action of forces—include, theoretically, within their scope all the problems of Concrete Mathematics. If the material universe were immovable the only phenomena of nature would be the magnitude, form, and position of bodies—that is, the problems of Natural Philosophy would be exclusively geometrical. As the universe is constituted, however, matter is continually subject to the action of forces—the phenomena therefore actually presented involve mechanical as well as geometrical problems.

Of these two divisions of Concrete Mathematics, the primary —in logical order as well as with respect to the simplicity of its elements—is Geometry. To understand the true spirit of this branch of Mathematics—which has for its object the measurement of extension—and to appreciate the bearing and ultimate destination of all geometrical inquiries, it should be remarked, that extension may be in *one* direction, in *two* directions, or in *three* directions. Geometry accordingly has to deal with three entirely different kinds of quantity, namely, lines, surfaces and—what are popularly called, solids—in the more exact language of science, volumes. The limit of any material body is a surface; the limit of a surface or the intersection of two surfaces is a line; the limit of a line or the intersection of two lines is a point. A point having position only and not magnitude, does not admit of measurement. A more explicit definition therefore of Geometry than that given above would be, it is that branch of Mathematics which has for its object the measurement of lines, surfaces, and volumes.

These quantities are not only different in kind, but the kind of *measurement* of which they are severally susceptible is entirely different. Under favourable circumstances a line may be measured *directly*, that is, by the application to it of a unit of measure. The direct application of a unit of measure to a *surface* is ordinarily impracticable; to a *volume* it is ordinarily —from the very nature of the case—impossible. The measurement of surfaces and volumes therefore is to be effected only *indirectly*, that is, by means of their relations to some quantities that admit of actual measurement. Now the magnitude of

any surface or volume is always dependent upon the magnitude of certain *lines* pertaining to it, for example, the area of an ellipse upon the lengths of its principal axes, the capacity of a cylinder on the diameter of its base and its height. The general object therefore of Geometry as it respects surfaces and volumes, is to determine a definite relation between the quantity in question and some linear function of it.

But further, as to the measurement of *lines*—whilst a *straight* line under favourable circumstances may be measured by the application to it of a unit, if a line be *curved* the exact application to it of a rectilinear unit is impracticable; its measurement accordingly can be effected only indirectly, that is, by means of its relations to some straight line that admits of measurement either directly or indirectly. The general object therefore of Geometry as it respects *curved* lines, is to determine some definite relation between the line in question and some *straight* line.

Once more, but few of the *straight* lines whose measure we may wish to know admit of measurement by the application of a unit. The general object therefore of Geometry with respect to *straight* lines is to determine some definite relation between the line in question and some other straight line that admits of direct measurement. To this precise destination then all geometrical inquiries tend. This ultimate object of the science is the immediate object of that branch of it called Trigonometry. From the relations of the sides and angles of a plane triangle, simple rules are established by means of which any three parts —one being a side—of a plane triangle being known the other three may be determined. Hence to measure indirectly any given straight line, it is only necessary to regard it as a side of a triangle of which three parts admit of actual measurement.

The above definition of Geometry may at first sight seem to be defective, inasmuch as a large part of the actual science is the investigation of the *properties* of lines—not their measurement. By taking, however, a comprehensive view of the whole subject, the important bearing of such investigations on what we have stated to be the true object of Geometry, may readily be traced.

All properties of a line, a surface, or a volume, are not

equally suitable for the purpose of its measurement. Some properties—and it may be those most readily recognized—are wholly unsuitable. Had Archimedes known no other property of the parabola than that it was a section of a cone parallel to the opposite slant side, he would never have been able to effect its quadrature. It is evident, therefore, that just in proportion as the number of known properties of a line is increased, its rectification, quadrature, and the curvature of the volume generated by its revolution, will be facilitated.

Again, the ultimate object of geometrical science is the measurement of material bodies as they exist in nature—that is, the measurement of *concrete* lines, surfaces, and volumes. To effect, however, the measurement of any given concrete line, surface, or volume, its correspondence or similarity to some one or other of the theoretical lines, surfaces, volumes—the abstract types, so to speak—which Geometry has investigated and determined a method for the measurement, must first be recognized. For example, the size of the earth could not possibly have been determined before it was known that the earth was—approximately at least—a sphere. Now the correspondence of any given concrete geometrical quantity to some particular abstract type can be detected only by recognizing the existence of some characteristic property common to both. Sometimes this correspondence is detected by means of one property of the type, sometimes by means of another. It is evident, therefore, that just in proportion as the number of known properties of the several lines and surfaces investigated by Geometry is increased, will the recognition of the similarity of any given concrete quantity to its corresponding abstract type be facilitated; or, as it is expressed by Comte, "the study of the *properties* of lines and surfaces is indispensable to organizing in a rational manner the abstract and the concrete in geometry."

An interesting illustration of the above is furnished by Kepler's memorable discovery that the orbits of the planets are elliptical. Had he known no other properties of an ellipse than that it is an oblique section of a cone, or that the sum of the distances of any point on the curve from two fixed points is constant, he would never have been known as "the Legislator

of the Heavens." But observing that the relation of the distance of Mars from the sun to the direction of the planet was the same as the relation of the length of a radius vector of an ellipse to its direction from the focus, the character of the orbit was indicated, and once indicated the suggestion was soon incontrovertibly confirmed.

As to the subdivisions of Concrete Mathematics—Geometry is divided into two branches, Synthetic (or Elementary) Geometry and Analytical Geometry. The characteristic distinction between these two branches, as to their *methods*, is indicated by their respective names. The method of the former is the demonstration of a new geometrical truth by the synthesis or combination of truths previously known. The latter is not simply the application of Algebra to Geometry—algebraic characters may readily be used in strictly synthetic demonstration. Analytical Geometry in the strict and proper sense is that particular use of algebraic symbols which consists in representing a line (or surface) by an algebraic equation expressing the relation between the variable functions of the line (or surface) and then determining the properties of the line (or surface) by an analysis of its equation. Synthetic Geometry always deals *directly* with the line or surface investigated; Analytical Geometry investigates the quantity in question *indirectly*, that is by means of its functions.

There is, however, a still more fundamental distinction between these two branches of mathematical science. Geometry, in theory at least, includes within its scope all imaginable figures, and all the properties of each. In view of the distinction between these two classes of subjects into which the material, so to speak, of the science is divided, it is evident that in the study of Geometry two different plans of procedure may be pursued. One plan would be to study each geometrical *figure* separately and independently—determining all its properties, without any consideration of other figures, even though they might have many analogous properties. The other plan would be to study, separately and independently, each geometrical *property*, determining all the figures which have this property in common, and investigating its peculiarities in each, without any consideration of other properties of the figure in question.

The result, according to the former plan of procedure, would be to exhibit the whole body of geometrical truth as made up of a series of *groups* of facts, having no logical connection with each other. According to the latter plan, the phenomena, so to speak, of the science, would be generalized, and the whole body of truth exhibited in a systematic form. It is scarcely necessary to say which of these two plans of procedure is the more truly scientific. The former was the plan adopted by the ancients, and is a distinctive characteristic of Synthetic Geometry. The latter is that which has been pursued by the moderns since the time of Descartes, and is a distinctive characteristic—and the most fundamental one—of Analytical Geometry. In text-books on Geometry—where the difference between these two branches with respect to *method* is the distinction which should be made most prominent—the ordinary designations are to be preferred. In the Philosophy of Mathematics—where the more fundamental distinction should be made the more prominent—the appropriate designations of the two branches of Geometry are, Special and General Geometry.

The limits of our paper forbid any more extended notice of the philosophical character of the subdivisions of Geometry, as well as any attempt to exhibit the Philosophy of the other principal division of Concrete Mathematics—Rational Mechanics. For a full discussion of Analytical Geometry—that branch of Mathematics, the invention of which marks a new era in the history of physical science, we might say, in the history of the intellectual development of the race—we refer our readers to a very able and interesting Article from the pen of the late Professor Dod, published in the October number of this journal for the year 1841. We would also commend to the notice of such of our readers as are especially interested in mathematical studies, an admirable translation of so much of Comte's "Cours de Philosophie Positive" as relates to the Philosophy of Mathematics, by Professor Gillespie, of Union College, published by the Harpers.

SHORT NOTICES.

Discourses of Redemption, as revealed at "Sundry Times and in Divers Manners," designed both as Biblical Expositions for the People and Hints to Theological Students of a popular method of exhibiting the divers Revelations through Patriarchs, Prophets, Jesus, and his Apostles. By Rev. Stuart Robinson, Pastor of the Second Church, Louisville, and late Professor of Church Government and Pastoral Theology at Danville, Kentucky. New York: D. Appleton & Co. London: Sampson Low, Son & Marston. Louisville, Ky.: A. Davidson. Toronto: Rollo & Adams. 1866. Pp. 488.

The organic union of the Old and New Testament, or the regular development of the same scheme of redemption, as gradually unfolded in the Scriptures from Genesis to the Apocalypse, is a familiar and most important truth. This is the idea on which these discourses are founded, as is set forth in the extended title-page to the volume before us. To this subject great attention has of late been given by many distinguished German writers, and it forms an important topic of instruction in most of our theological seminaries. The subject is handled with clearness and force by Dr. Robinson, and we doubt not his book will be read with interest, and with much profit. The volume contains so much important truth as to give it a permanent value. Dr. Robinson, however, writes too much in the tone of one who alone possessed the truth. He seems to assume that no one before him or beside himself saw what he sees. And with this there is an overwhelming confidence of statement, on all subjects, great and small. He does not appear to admit that there can be any room for doubt, when he has decided. The greatest blemish of the book, however, we think, is its tone of exaggeration and overstatement. Thus, for example, he makes the kingly office of Christ overshadow his office as prophet and priest. On p. 152, he says, "The doctrine of Jesus as King, and the Founder of a government, constitutes the last and highest development of the Mediatorship of Messiah, and the chief burden of all the prophets concerning him from the time of the covenant with David and forward." We should not much object to this if it be understood in the spirit of our standards, which teach "that Christ executeth the office of a king, in subduing us to himself, in ruling and defending us, in restraining and conquering all his and our enemies." But Dr. Robinson applies what is said of Christ's

functions as king to the establishment of a commonwealth, a government, with officers, laws, rules of proceeding, &c.; that is, to the visible church. He directs his arguments against the "unchurchly" principles of the present age. The spiritual commonwealth, founded by Christ, is declared to be the last and highest organization of the covenant of grace. It is completed, organized. Everything in it and about it is determined by divine authority.

"The no-churchism," he says, "which recognizes no divinely appointed church government with its laws and ordinances, is scarcely less fatal to the truth of Christ, than the High-churchism which makes the authority of the church and obedience to the church, the sum and substance of Christian faith and practice."

It is indeed true that Christ did establish a spiritual commonwealth, or kingdom, or church, with its organization, laws, and officers. But it is greatly to exaggerate this truth to make this organization and earthly appointments the highest development of the covenant of grace, the great subject of the prophetic Scriptures. And it is no less an exaggeration to claim divine authority for everything pertaining to the organization and modes of operation of the church. Christ has laid down certain principles which the church is bound to observe, and within which it is required to confine all that it ordains or does. But within the limits of those principles, it has by divine right great liberty of action, to adapt itself to the varying circumstances in which it is called upon to exist and act. The doctrine that as Moses was obliged to follow, not his taste or sense of convenience, but the divine directions, as to every cord, loop, and tassel of the tabernacle, so Christians are shut up to the specific commands of God as to everything connected with the organization and operations of the church, has ever wrought incalculable evil. It inevitably leads to the neglect of some parts of Scripture, and to the perversion of others. The apostolic churches had some things no modern church now has, and men, holding the principle in question, arbitrarily refuse to apply it in such cases. That is, they, according to their theory, refuse to obey Christ the King of the church. Again, churches in our day have and must have many things which the early church did not need; for these arrangements the Scriptures must be perverted to give special support. But a much more serious evil is, that this principle affords such facility for giving divine authority to every man's peculiar notions. If he understands a passage or fact of Scripture in a certain way, then he claims that God has commanded what he supposes to be thus

indicated. We have all seen men who insist upon their opinions being enacted into laws to bind all other men. Some of our brethren thought that presbyteries were the seat of all church power, and therefore that they alone had the right to conduct missionary operations. The adoption of any other plan was denounced as treason against the Head of the Church. It was afterwards discovered that a board of deacons was the proper organ for such operations; and then all were traitors to their King who did come into that view. Then it was found out that the Scriptures allowed the Assembly to appoint committees of missions, church extension, &c., but Boards were denounced as open rebellion. The only difference between what was at first called "the Committee of Church Extension" and the Board of Education or Missions, was that the one consisted of some thirty members, and the other of perhaps double that number. It is no slight evil, this teaching for doctrine the commandments of men. It is only one way in which men put themselves in the place of God, claiming his prerogatives. This is the spirit of Antichrist, which has ever been in the world and in the church; and which all Christians are bound to resist. There is another evil of a different kind flowing from this principle. Our Lord tells us that the Pharisees who were so zealous in tithing mint, anise, and cummin, neglected, as a thing of course, the weightier matters of the law.

Dr. Robinson, as was to be expected, brings out his peculiar views of the spirituality of the church; which are only another illustration of the habit of his mind to exaggerate truth, and thus turn it into error. Notwithstanding these drawbacks, we regard the volume before us as highly creditable to the talents of its author, and a valuable accession to our theological literature.

Remarks on Classical and Utilitarian Studies. Read before the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, December 20, 1866. By Jacob Bigelow, M. D. Boston: Little, Brown & Co. 1867. Pp. 57.

Dr. Bigelow belongs to a large, and, we presume, an increasing class of cultivated men, who are convinced that in our present ordinary course of liberal education a disproportionate amount of time and labour is devoted to the acquisition of a knowledge of the Greek and Latin languages. He is not however an extremist. He admits the intrinsic value of those languages; their importance as a means of mental culture; the value of the literary treasures which they contain; the necessity of the knowledge of the classic languages and literature, in order to a due understanding of the history of our race in some of its most interesting phases; and the aid to be derived from

those languages in the study of our own, and of other modern languages of Europe. He admits also that the terminology of modern science must be unintelligible to those who know nothing of Greek and Latin. These are important concessions; and they of themselves furnish a solid foundation for an argument in favour of the propriety of insisting on the study of the classics in our academies and colleges. The question becomes one of proportion. What relative portion of time should be given to classical, as distinguished from what are called, utilitarian studies? This is a question obviously hard to answer in general terms. It may be admitted, that in England, and perhaps in some instances in this country, an undue portion of time is given up to the ancient languages. It must be admitted, on the other hand, that for those who intend to enter upon a professional life, whether as lawyers, doctors, or ministers, the knowledge of Greek and Latin is a necessity. To them it is not merely a means of culture, but the key to indispensable knowledge. As this class of students constitute the great majority of those who frequent our seats of learning, even were it admitted that for commercial and scientific men the modern languages might be advantageously substituted for Greek and Latin, the curriculum of our academies and colleges must remain substantially unaltered. We do not think, therefore, that such men as Dr. Bigelow, with all their zeal for "utilitarian" studies would counsel the neglect of the classics in our higher institutions of learning. The mere fact that one half the Bible is written in Greek, makes Greek to educated Christians what Arabic is to the Mussulman, or Hebrew to the children of Abraham. It is a sacred language, and to those who would read the word of God for themselves, or expound it with authority to others, it is indispensable.

Dr. Bigelow seems to think that experience is against the assumed value of classical learning. "The first three centuries," he says, "of the Christian era had before their eyes the light of the classics and the wisdom of the ancients; but they went steadily from bad to worse. The last three centuries have had modern literature and the useful sciences and arts, and have gone steadily from good to better." P. 14. We presume that at least four times as much time and labour have been devoted to the study of the classics during the last three hundred years, as were given to those writings during the first three centuries of our era. It was not devotion to the classics which hindered the progress of utilitarian knowledge in the early ages. It was the general state of the world and the condition of human knowledge. The causes which determine such

results are too numerous and complicated to be easily altered or enumerated. But sure we are that the study of Greek and Latin was not the cause why the printing-press and steam-engine were not invented a thousand years before they were actually brought into use. It was England devoted in her seats of learning so exclusively to classical learning, which produced a Bacon, a Newton, a Watts, a Stephenson, and a host of men who, in the departments of science and the arts, have contributed so much to the progress of modern civilization. England's greatest statesmen have been preëminent as classical scholars. The familiar names of Pitt, Brougham, Lord Derby, Mr. Gladstone and others, will recur to every reader. We have more to fear from one-sided culture, than from the study of subjects not immediately connected with practical utility. A man trained in exclusive devotion to science, (as distinguished from philosophy, languages, and literature,) becomes a very unsafe guide even in matters of science. His mind is open to conviction by only one kind of evidence, and therefore his conclusions are often erroneous. The true plan is, as we think, to give every young man as varied a culture as possible. And as our institutions must have a general system adapted to the majority of students, it is wise that all departments, the classical, the philosophical, the scientific, history and belles-lettres, should be not only provided for and open to the option of the student, but made obligatory upon all; and then each be allowed to pay special attention to subjects which his tastes or interests in life may render of special value to him.

History of the Christian Church. By Philip Schaff, D. D. Vol. ii. From Constantine the Great to Gregory the Great, A. D. 311—600. New York: Charles Scribner & Co., No. 654 Broadway. Volumes ii. and iii. Pp. 1037.

This great work of Dr. Schaff promises to become the standard history of the church, in the English language. We sincerely hope that his life and health may be spared to bring it to a conclusion worthy of these early volumes. His learning, his fidelity, his zeal for truth, his love for the gospel, his talent for ordering, grouping, and portraying, his theological and philosophical discrimination, are gifts and endowments which preëminently fit him for the task which he has undertaken. The period embraced in these two volumes is one of the most important in the history of the church. During this period occurred those protracted discussions of the great doctrines of the Trinity, the Person of Christ, of sin and grace, which determined the creed of the church for all ages. We are glad to see that Dr. Schaff while acknowledging the great

merits of the modern church historians of Germany, does not undervalue the great men of the seventeenth and early part of the eighteenth centuries. We hope in our next number to give a more extended account of these interesting volumes.

Sermons by the late Alexander McClelland, D. D. Edited by Richard W. Dickinson, D. D. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers, No. 530 Broadway. 1867. Pp. 424.

Dr. McClelland was many years one of the most popular preachers in the country. He was settled in the Rutger's Street Church, New York, from 1815 to 1852, during which period his reputation as a preacher remained unabated. He was then called to a professorship in the college at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, and thence was removed to New Brunswick, New Jersey; first professor in Rutger's College, and afterwards in the Theological Seminary of the Dutch Reformed Church. Although these academic appointments removed him from the pulpit, he still, as an occasional preacher, continued to be sought after and admired. He has left nothing in print commensurate with his fame while living. This volume of sermons although characteristic of the man, and a valuable memorial for his friends, will give no adequate idea of his peculiar powers.

The Parable of the Prodigal Son, with notes by James Hamilton, D. D., F.L.S., and illustrations by Henry Courtenay Selous. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1867. Pp. 196.

This is an elegant volume, in binding, letter-press, and illustrations. The name of Dr. Hamilton is a sufficient guarantee for its intrinsic value. It is one of those numerous publications for which the Christian public in this country are under such lasting obligations to the Messrs. Carters. Another handsome volume from the same house, is

Hymns of Faith and Hope. By Horatius Bonar, D. D. New edition. New York: Carter & Brothers. 1867. Pp. 375.

Few of the pieces contained in this volume are hymns in the ordinary sense of the word. They are not songs of adoration and praise adapted for the worship of God. Most of them are devout meditations in metre. The volume has great attractions for the lovers of religious poetry.

Sequel to "Ministering Children." By Maria Louisa Charlesworth. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1867. Pp. 428.

The great popularity of the "Ministering Children," by the same gifted writer, will prepare the public to receive this new volume with favour.

The Story of Martin Luther. By Miss Whately. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1867. Pp. 356.

Such is the importance of the Reformation, and such the interest which attaches to Luther, the prominent leader in that great movement, that numerous as are the works devoted to the events and persons of that turning period in the world's history, that this volume is not out of place. · It is adapted to a large class of readers who have not the time or ability to consult more extended works. It is designed to awaken a deeper sense of the value "of gospel teaching, an open Bible."

The Great Pilot and His Lessons. By the Rev. Richard Newton, D. D. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1867. Pp. 308.

This is a series of ten short sermons, designed to bring out the directions of Christ to those who desire to attain heaven.

Notes, Critical and Explanatory on the Book of Genesis. From the Covenant to the close. By Melancthon W. Jacobus, Professor of Biblical Literature and Exegesis in the Theological Seminary at Allegheny, Pennsylvania. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1866. Pp. 266.

The book of Genesis as giving the Divine account of the origin of our race, of the primitive state, probation, and fall of man, the first promises of redemption, the outlines of the ethnological history of the world, the formal institution of the church, and constituting as it does the introduction to the Bible, is one of the most important parts of the Scriptures. All works devoted in a right spirit to the eludication of this interesting portion of the word of God, are deserving of special attention. These notes by Dr. Jacobus, of which the first volume has been some time before the public, contain a great deal of valuable matter in a very condensed form. The work has already secured for itself a high reputation, which the present volume will contribute to sustain.

The Character of Jesus portrayed. A Biblical Essay, with an Appendix. By Dr. Daniel Schenkel, Professor of Theology, Heidelberg. Translated from the third German edition, with Introduction and Notes. By W. H. Furness, D. D. Boston: Little, Brown & Co. Vol. i., pp. 279, vol. ii., pp. 359.

Dr. Furness, a distinguished Unitarian clergyman, in his introduction to these volumes, makes many concessions, which, coming from such a source, have no little interest to those who are sincere worshippers of Christ. He admits that "the intellectual, moral, and religious condition of the Christian world is at this hour determined by the thoughts which men have of Jesus." P. 4. He admits that Jesus, by what he *was*, won the hearts of his disciples, that by the admiration, reverence, and love which his personal character commanded, he took posses-

sion of the very centre of their being, and reinforced that with new life, with extraordinary power." "Thus did he become to them wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption." P. 6. He admits that such is the legitimate effect of the character of Christ, and our only hope for the future of the church depends on right views on that subject. He maintains however that "Jesus is not yet known." P. 8. The common church doctrine concerning him, he pronounces irrational, impossible, and most pernicious in its influence." "The great majority of the foremost communities on the face of the globe are accustomed to regard the young man of Nazareth as nothing less than Almighty God himself." This to him is utterly irrational and abhorrent. Yet liberal Christianity he admits to be a failure. It affirms nothing. It amounts to only "a triumphant denial." P. 4. What is the use "in erecting a costly trellis when there is no vine springing to grow over it, and cover it with its clusters"? "The deep-seated want of a positive life-giving faith is not met." This can only be attained by arriving at a correct idea of Jesus, and for this the first and primary necessity is "the historical truth concerning" him. Here is the difficulty. How are we to get at the real historical facts concerning Christ? We have indeed the Gospels, and these are the only trustworthy sources of information. But 1. The Gospels are not inspired. They are merely human compositions. 2. They were written many decades after the occurrence of the events to which they relate. 3. They are filled with errors, misrepresentations, and mythical legends. Strauss is right in his principles. But he carries them too far. He turns every thing into myths, and leaves no historical basis on which we can stand. Christianity is resolved into air, *i. e.*, into nothing; and Christ into an idea. He thus, as Dr. Furness admits, destroys his own theory. There is a historical substratum to the Gospels. Christ did live. "I could sooner question," says our author, "the existence of any other man, or all other men, than his. We—what are we? We live on the surface, bubbles hurried swiftly away on the rushing tide of time. But he! He lived. He turned the whole mighty current of human history. He planted himself deep in the inmost soul of things, and this great Christendom is throbbing with the breath of this man to this hour." Such language as this recalls the words of our Lord to the Jewish scribe, "Thou art not far from the kingdom of God."

"The question of questions," however, according to Dr. Furness, is how to separate the nucleus or germ of historical truth from the erroneous and legendary accounts contained in the Gos-

pels. The key to the solution of this question he finds in the personal character of Jesus. What suits his character is to be retained as genuine; what conflicts with it, is to be rejected. But the character of Jesus is to be determined from the historical facts. It cannot be determined beforehand. After all, every man will make his preconceived idea of the character of Christ the criterion, and the result must be, that there can be no agreement as to what is historical, and what is erroneous or legendary. We do not see any help for men who occupy the position of Dr. Furness. They must content themselves with an ideal Christ, and an ideal salvation. He cannot admit anything supernatural. Wonderful as he acknowledges Christ to be in his character and influence, he was only a man; and wonderful as were his works, even those deemed miraculous, still they are to be referred to some occult power of nature. Dr. Schenkel is substantially on the same ground, although Dr. Furness differs in many matters of detail from the work which he translates.

Dictionary of Biblical Antiquities, Biography, Geography, and Natural History. Edited by William Smith, LL.D. American Edition, revised and edited by Prof. H. B. Hackett, D. D., with the coöperation of Mr. Ezra Abbot, A. M. Part I. New York: Hurd & Houghton. 1867.

Whatever our wants heretofore, the American public is not likely to remain unsupplied with Bible Dictionaries. Of Dr. Smith's work we have now the opportunity of purchasing, at a very moderate price, three different English editions—the large work in three volumes, the "Concise Bible Dictionary," in one volume (pp. 1050), and the smaller "Bible Dictionary" (crown 8vo., pp. 622.) Messrs. Hurd & Houghton have just issued in handsome style Part I. of an American revision and reprint of the larger work, under the able editorship of Prof. Hackett, of Newton, Mass., and Mr. Abbot, the accomplished assistant librarian of Harvard University. Messrs. D. Appleton & Co. announce "A Comprehensive Dictionary of the Bible, mainly abridged from Dr. William Smith's Dictionary of the Bible, with important Additions and Improvements, &c." This edition, issued in semi-monthly numbers, will make a volume about equal in size to the second work in Smith's series. The editor is Rev. S. W. Barnum, A. M., of New Haven, and the work is to be shaped with reference to the wants of those not acquainted with the learned languages.

The new edition of Kitto's "Cyclopedia of Biblical Literature," of which Rev. Dr. Wm. L. Alexander, of Edinburgh, has had the supervision, is also introduced to the American public, with the imprint of Messrs. J. B. Lippincott & Co., of Phila-

delphia. This edition appears in three large and handsome volumes, and is a great improvement upon its predecessor. As its name purports, it is less exclusively a Bible Dictionary, and as a Cyclopædia admits much valuable material that would be out of place in either of Dr. Smith's works. To a certain extent it answers the purpose, in its new form, of a Biographical Dictionary of Authors, Jewish and Christian, who have contributed to Biblical Literature.

Dr. Fairbairn's "Imperial Bible Dictionary, Historical, Biographical, Geographical, and Doctrinal," (in two volumes imperial 8vo.) has not yet appeared here under an American imprint.

The American reprint, whose title stands at the head of our notice, appears under most favourable auspices. Nearly twenty of our most prominent and competent Professors in Theological Seminaries, clergymen, and missionaries, are pledged contributors. The articles in the two Appendices of the English work (numbering perhaps 125) are inserted in their proper place. The new articles contained in the part before us are but few, and these mainly additional cross-references. Some seventy articles have been enlarged by paragraphs distinctly credited to the American editors. In this part, of 112 pages, about 10 pages are wholly new, and these additions are often of decided value, especially in Biblical Archæology, Exegesis, and Bibliography. Much of the labour bestowed upon the new edition does not appear in any such survey and estimate. The collation of names, and their incidental interpretation, their careful and consistent accentuation, the verification of references, and many other such things, involve an amount of labour known only to the conscientious and painstaking editors, but adding greatly to the value of the work.

We think that a "Bible Dictionary" cannot be expected for many years to come that shall exceed in solid merits this American reprint of a work which was already most favourably known. Notwithstanding the very tempting price at which the English edition is offered, we hope that the American editors and publishers will be encouraged to complete their promising but arduous work.

To illustrate the difference between this Dictionary and the new Kitto we will give the result of a little comparison of corresponding sections (articles A to Antichrist.) Kitto contains about 130 articles not found in Smith, at least in the same form and place. More than 50 of these are biographical notices, interesting and valuable, but not coming within the scope of Smith's Dictionary. The others are quite miscellaneous in their nature. The Dictionary contains at least 150 articles

not in Kitto, these being to a great extent brief articles, many of them nothing more than cross-references, yet all in keeping with the plan of constructing the most perfect Dictionary that is possible. We congratulate those who can buy all the good Dictionaries and Cyclopædias.

Studies in English; or, Glimpses of the Inner Life of our Language. By M. Schele de Vere, LL.D. 12mo., pp. 365. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1867.

It is not the mere fact that English is our mother tongue that prompts us to welcome all earnest and vigorous "Studies in English," and the presentation to an intelligent public, in a popular form, of the results of such studies. We modestly accept the tribute paid by Jacob Grimm, in his essay "on the Origin of Language," to the preëminent merits of our good English speech. "The English language is fully entitled to be called a world-language, and seems chosen, like the English people, to rule hereafter more widely in all the ends of the earth. For in richness, rational power, (*vernunft*) and compactness, no living language can be compared with it."

The accomplished Swede, who for nearly a quarter of a century has filled the chair of Modern Languages in the University of Virginia, introduced himself to the public as a diligent and successful student in his "Comparative Philology," published in 1853. In that work he brought out in brief outlines some of the results then reached in that science, to which so little attention had been directed in this country. Other works, original and reprinted, have appeared more recently, greatly surpassing this in scientific value, although this was timely and useful. The volume now before us shows greatly enlarged resources, both in knowledge and the power of communication. We regard it as a valuable contribution to the material needed by all students and teachers of English, while it is full of instruction to all who would be intelligent readers of English, past or present.

It discusses, not phrases and idioms of the language, like Dean Alford, but its component elements with their various influence, its inflections, but more especially its etymology. Trench and Swinton have more nearly the same scope, while this work takes up separately and with considerable fulness many points not there discussed. The chapters on "English Sounds," and "English Orthography and English Accent," and "Shifting Letters," may be taken as representing its more elementary discussions. "How nouns are made," "How nouns are used," "How nouns are abused," "Living Words," will suggest the object if not the method of the author in other

chapters. We find incidentally discussed questions in regard to the philosophy of language, and the philosophy of grammar, all illustrating the variety and richness of the author's resources. Our oldest literature contributes copious illustration of the growth and decay of words and forms.

We are occasionally reminded of the author's foreign birth by expressions like this: "whether he be capable to produce and form it, etc." P. 8. Again, "we would err grievously, however, if we were to conclude, etc." P. 17. We are sorry to see even this faint suggestion of a purpose to do wrong. Our author, we think, should be a little more conservative in regard to additions to our language, such as he makes, *e. g.*, in the clause, (p. 8) "while some admit without doubt or *gainsay* the simple statement of Holy Writ, &c." We should credit to the great writers of Greece and Rome something more than "intimate contact with the graces of style and diction." P. 42. We detect occasionally a slip in matters of fact, as for example when he speaks (p. 64) of the Emperor Claudius as having desired to add an *x* to the Roman alphabet, a work of supererogation, inasmuch as the letter *x* occurs in Latin inscriptions made hundreds of years before the reign of Claudius.

Notwithstanding little blemishes, which we might not notice except in a work on language, we regard the work, we repeat it, as a valuable addition to our apparatus for "Studies in English." American scholars are gaining an honourable place among those who in various lands are labouring in this rich field of linguistic science. We cannot close without expressing our gratification at seeing announced for speedy publication by Messrs. Trübner & Co., Professor Whitney's "Language and the Study of Language," an expansion of the course of lectures delivered by him before the Smithsonian Institute in 1864.

The Æneid of Virgil. Translated into English verse. By John Conington, M. A., Corpus Professor of Latin in the University of Oxford. New York: W. J. Middleton. 1867.

Translations of the Iliad have been made, we know not how many, nor in how many different metres, within a few years past. The challenge given by the more or less complete success of each new version, seems to have stimulated other scholars to repeat and vary the attempt. No metrical version of the Æneid since Dryden's has become generally known. When it was announced some months ago that Professor Conington had undertaken such a work, not merely interest but strong confidence of success was excited. The high official position of the Oxford Professor of Latin, the thorough mastery of Virgil displayed in the two volumes which had already appeared of his

edition of the poet's works published in the *Bibliotheca Classica*, and the poetical talent evinced in his translation of the Odes of Horace, which was issued in 1863, conspired to increase this confidence.

In his Preface, Professor Conington states clearly the reasons why he chose the ballad metre for his translation, in spite of its perceived difficulties. His success we think justifies his choice. The reasons which lead Mr. Arnold to pronounce so decidedly against the ballad metre for versions of the Iliad, he would not himself urge so strongly in the case of the Æneid. Homer is "rapid," is "plain," is "simple," is "noble," and at one or more points, usually the last, he argues, the ballad metre has failed and must fail to do him justice.

We cannot now discuss the bearings of this question in its special relations to Virgil. We select two or three passages to illustrate the fitness of this instrumentality in the hands of Professor Conington.

Book iv. 522—532, is thus exquisitely rendered:

"'Tis night: earth's tired ones taste the balm,
  The precious balm of sleep,
And in the forest there is calm,
  And on the savage deep:
The stars are in their middle flight:
  The fields are hushed: each bird or beast
That dwells beside the silver lake
Or haunts the tangles of the brake
  In placid slumber lies, released
From trouble by the touch of night:
All but the hapless queen: to rest
She yields not, nor with eye or breast
  The gentle night receives:
Her cares redouble blow on blow:
Love storms and tossing to and fro,
  With billowy passion heaves."

From the description of the storm (i. 84—91) we bring an illustration of another kind.

"Then lighting heavily on the main,
East, South, and West with storms in train
Heave from its depth the watery floor,
And rolls great billows to the shore.
Then come the clamor and the shriek,
The sailors shout, the main-ropes creak:
All in a moment sun and skies
Are blotted from the Trojan's eyes:
Black night is brooding o'er the deep,
Sharp thunder peals, live lightnings leap:
The stoutest warrior holds his breath,
And looks as on the face of death."

Turning from nature to the delineation of human passion, we select two from among many passages which we had noted for their beauty and power.

(iv. 589—597.)

"She smites her breast all snowy fair
And rends her golden length of hair:
'Great Jove! and shall he go?' she cries,
And leave our realm a wanderer's mock?
Quick, snatch your arms and chase the prize,
And drag the vessels from the dock!
Fetch flames, bring darts, ply oars! yet why?
What words are these or where am I?
Why rave I thus? Those impious deeds—
Poor Dido! now your torn heart bleeds.
Too late! it should have bled that day
When at his feet your sceptre lay."

(iv. 622—629.)

And, Tyrians, you through time to come
His seed with deathless hatred chase:
Be that your gift to Dido's tomb:
No love, no league 'twixt race and race.
Rise from my ashes, scourge of crime,
Born to pursue the Dardan horde
To-day, to-morrow, through all time,
Oft as our hands can wield the sword:
Fight shore with shore, fight sea with sea,
Fight all that are or e'er shall be!"

We cannot anticipate for this translation anything less than wide and permanent popularity. The work of the American publisher furnishes an attractive setting for a beautiful gem.

Twelfth Annual Report of the Board of Trustees of the New Jersey State Normal School, and accompanying Documents to the Legislature, for the year 1866.

Regarding, as we do, the cause of general education as next in importance and largely auxiliary to the cause of religion, we have read this Report on the condition of our state Educational Institutions—the Normal and Model Schools at Trenton and the Preparatory School at Beverly—with much interest and satisfaction. The importance of having properly qualified teachers for our common schools cannot be too highly appreciated. That the demand can be adequately supplied only by State Institutions, which have for their special object the professional training of teachers, is no longer an open question. We feel, therefore, that the people of New Jersey owe a large debt of gratitude to the public-spirited men by whose efforts the institutions above-mentioned were founded, and by whose fostering care they have been nurtured until they are now not inferior in

their appointments and efficiency to any similar institutions in the land.

We are gratified to notice a large increase in the number of Normal School pupils. The number in attendance during the past year was 165; during the year preceding, 125—an increase of 33 per cent. During the past year 67 new pupils were admitted—a larger number than during any previous year in the history of the institution.

The very large proportion of females attending the Normal School is noticeable, as one of "the signs of the times." Of the 165 pupils, 151—eleven-twelfths of the whole number—are young ladies. It is evident that the business of teaching our common schools is rapidly passing into the hands of females. So far as the younger children are concerned we have no doubt this change will be an advantage; whether the instruction and government of the older children—especially the older boys—can be safely entrusted to females is more questionable. The propriety of excluding from our public schools all corporeal punishments—a subject which has lately excited so much discussion in Massachusetts—is likely to be put to the test of actual experiment in many of our schools, from the very necessities of the case.

Another item of interest in the Report is the signal success of the Female Boarding-House for Normal School pupils, which has been in operation during the past year. In this establishment the expense of each pupil for boarding, lodging, washing, fuel, lights, and incidentals, is but $3.50 a-week. In these days of high prices, when to most who are seeking an education higher than that furnished by the common school, the expense is a serious, and to many an insuperable obstacle: the fact just mentioned is one of general interest, and deserving the attention of all who have charge of our public institutions, as showing to how low a figure the expenses may be reduced, even at the present time, by economy and prudent management.

We would only add the expression of our gratification that our State Educational Institutions are in the charge of a scholar of varied and thorough culture, an experienced teacher, eminent alike for his knowledge of the science and his skill in the art of education, and withal, a Christian gentleman.

Walks and Homes of Jesus. By the Rev. Daniel March, D. D. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Publication Committee, 1334 Chestnut street. New York: A. D. F. Randolph, 770 Broadway. Pp. 339.

Sceptics have been convinced of the historical verity of the Gospels by travelling over Palestine. The exact coincidence between the evangelical narratives and the topography of the coun-

try, renders obviously irrational the idea that these accounts are not true history. The Christian's faith may be strengthened by the same knowledge even when obtained by trustworthy descriptions. Besides this, our knowledge of events becomes more definite and vivid by a knowledge of the localities in which they occurred. Apart, therefore, from the sacred interest which must ever attach to places consecrated by the presence of our Lord while on earth, there is a substantial value belonging to such books as the one before us. Dr. March describes clearly, and under the guidance of a devout spirit, all the scenes of our Saviour's earthly life. The work is elegantly printed on tinted paper, and illustrated by nineteen handsome wood engravings, which render the descriptions more intelligible.

Annual of Scientific Discovery; or, Year-Book of Facts in Science and Art, for 1866 and 1867. Exhibiting the most important discoveries and improvements in mechanics, useful arts, natural philosophy, chemistry, &c., &c.. &c., together with notes on the progress of science during the years 1865 and 1866, a list of recent scientific publications, obituaries of eminent scientific men, &c. Edited by Samuel Kneeland, A. M., M. D., Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, Secretary of Massachusetts Institute of Technology, &c. Boston: Gould & Lincoln, 59 Washington Street. New York: Sheldon & Co. Cincinnati: George S. Banchard & Co. London: Trübner & Co. 1867. Pp. 364.

This extended title-page gives the reader a full account of the contents of this volume. It is one of general interest and established reputation.

The Last Days of our Saviour. The Life of our Lord, from the Supper in Bethany to his Ascension into Heaven, in chronological order, and in the words of the Evangelists. For Passion Week. Arranged by Charles D. Cooper, Rector of St. Philip's Church. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1867. Pp. 105.

This is an attempt "to condense into one consecutive narrative the history as written by the four Evangelists." "The reader will not meet with all the words of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, but the substance of each of their Gospel histories will be found in the language of one or the other of them, and arranged in the order in which the words and acts of the Lord Jesus were most probably spoken or performed. By such a disposition of the inspired text, nearly all repetition is obviated, and the reading of the narrative rendered easy and natural." Of course there is no division into chapters and verses, which, with all its advantages for the purpose of reference, has many disadvantages attending it. The history in these pages assumes a more ordinary form, and makes, by the union of all the accounts, a clearer impression, while the familiar words of the

sacred text are retained. We think this a very happy idea, successfully carried out.

New America. By William Hepworth Dixon, editor of the "Athenæum," and author of "the Holy Land," "William Penn," etc. With illustrations from original photographs. Complete in one volume. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1867.

Mr. Dixon has already achieved for himself an honourable reputation among English authors. The volume now before us will not detract from it. It gives sketches of what to him appeared most worthy of special note in the observations he made during a tour across this continent, and through important sections of our country. He tells us that he "went out in search of an old world and found a new one. East, West, North, and South, I met with new ideas, new purposes, new methods; in short, with a New America."

"The men who planted these free States—doing the noblest work that England has achieved in history—were spurred into their course by two great passions: a large love of liberty, a deep sense of religion, and, in our Great Plantation, liberty and religion exercise a power over the forms of social and domestic life unknown at home. In the heart of solid societies and conservative churches we find the most singular doctrines, the most audacious experiments; and it is only after seeing what kind of forces are at work within them, that we can adequately admire the strength of these societies and churches. What I saw of the changes now being wrought in the actual life of man and woman on the American soil, under the power of these master passions, is pictured in these pages."

We quote this from the preface, not only as the most succinct way of giving our readers an idea of the origin and scope of the book, but for the candid and hearty testimony it bears to the power of religion and liberty in this country, not as mere abstract ideas, but in moulding social and domestic life. This of itself is a sufficient refutation of a thousand calumnies upon the American churches that are current in the Old World.

And yet, we think that, quite unintentionally, the author's book will convey to transatlantic readers an impression, that, as to religion, morals, civilization, we are a much ruder, looser, wilder people than he gives us credit for being, when speaking directly to this point. In showing the workings and effects of liberty in connection with religion in this country, he dwells chiefly on its ultra, anomalous, and exceptional manifestations. This was natural, because he aimed to set forth what struck him as novel and peculiar here. After some introductory descriptions of the western prairies, mountains, and Indians,

he describes the Mormon communities and institutions at Salt Lake at great length, and in full details, for more than a hundred pages. He then passes to Women's Rights, the Shakers, the Resurrection order, Spiritualists, Female Seers, the Tunkers, the Oneida Creek and Putney Perfectionists, ending with Politics, Colour, Reconstruction, Union.

All this is instructive and entertaining. We know not where an account of so many religious abnormities resulting from the abuse of Christian and civil liberty can be found in a single volume. Some of them, however, are embraced by numbers too insignificant to deserve the importance here given them. They are not "New America," but only morbid excrescences upon it—mere warts and wens. The largest and most formidable of these strange bodies, the Mormons, has been mainly built up by recruits from the Old World. The information given in regard to them and other anomalous sects is valuable and interesting. But they are not the New America so handsomely portrayed in the sentences we have taken from the preface.

Essays on Art. By Francis Turner Palgrave, late Fellow of Exeter College, Oxford. New York: Published by Hurd & Houghton. 1867. For sale in Princeton by W. S. Smith.

We attribute to this work a high value in the department of high art. Every page of it betrays strong critical, whatever may be the author's executive power. If not an artist, he is an authority in art. The subjects discussed are such as necessitate ignominious failure or eminent capacity in the author. They are, The Royal Academy of 1863—4—5, Mulready, Herbert, Holman Hunt; Poetry, Prose, and Sensationalism in Art; Sculpture in England, The Albert Cross, &c. The essays all show culture, learning, and esthetic insight. We were especially struck with the justness and freshness of the chapter on Sensationalism in Art. These essays are not only instructive in regard to the general principles of art, but also in regard to its present state in Britain.

Woodburn Grange; A Story of English Country Life. By William Howitt. Three English volumes complete in one. Philadelphia: T. B. Peterson & Brothers.

Mr. Howitt displays his usual qualities as a writer in this volume. These have given him a recognized place in English literature. In the present case he depicts scenes in English life, not only in a moral and Christian aspect, but with a certain reference to society and manners as they appear among the Quakers. Of the scenes described in it, perhaps none is more striking than a Quaker wedding. We think however that the

author's style as a whole, would be improved by greater condensation and vivacity.

Elements of Logic, comprising the Doctrine of the Laws and Products of Thought, and the Doctrine of Method, together with a Logical Praxis. Designed for Classes and Private Study. By Henry N. Day, author of the "Art of Rhetoric," "Rhetorical Praxis," etc. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1867.

This book has two paramount aims. First, to make a new contribution to the science of logic itself, establishing several doctrines or principles hitherto unrecognized or denied by logicians. These are enumerated in the preface. The second object of the author is stated in the title-page—to prepare a new text-book for classes—being thus another effort to supply a great and acknowledged desideratum. The former feature of the work is of necessity so prominent and controlling as to determine its character. We have not been able to examine the new principles advanced thoroughly. They evince the author's acute, vigorous, and enterprising intellect. We think, however, that his two principal new doctrines—"the rigid reduction of thought to the single principle of identity," and of induction to the "relationship of part to complementary part," will not establish themselves without controversy. Be this as it may, the production is creditable to the author's acumen, and its novelties will doubtless stimulate important discussions and inquiries.

Faith; What it is and What it does. By S. M. Houghton.

Thy Day; A Word to All.

The Day-Dawn.

The foregoing are published by the American Tract Society and may be had of W. W. Smith, Princeton.

Evangelical Alliance. Report of the Annual Conferences of the British Organization of the Evangelical Alliance, held in Bath, October, 1866, containing Addresses by Captain Edward Marsh, J. P., Rev. Prebendary Kemble, M. A., Rev. Octavius Winslow, D. D., Rev. John Hall, D. D., Rev. S. Minton, M. A., Rev. F. J. Jobson, D. D., Rev. Professor McCosh, LL.D., D. D., Pasteur G. Monod, Pastor Cohen Stuart, Pastor Adrian Van Andel, Rev. J. Jackson, Natal, Rev. A. Murray, Capetown, Alfred Rooker, Esq., Plymouth, Rev. A. Morton Brown, LL.D., Rev. W. Pennefather, M. A., Rev. I. Prime, D. D., New York, Rev. James Fleming, B. D., and others. London: 7 Adam street, Strand.

It needs no words from us to show that a document like this must be valuable and interesting. Many of the speeches reported are vivid and powerful, all glow with Christian knowledge, love, and unity. That of Dr. Prime, the representative of American Christians in the Alliance, is in his usual felicitous

vein. The most note-worthy speech in the collection, however, is that of Dr. McCosh, which is mainly a graphic report of what he saw during his recent visit to America. As such it is intensely interesting to American Christians and people. Every topic is presented with that freshness and geniality, that general accuracy and justness, which are so characteristic of him. His observations on religion, morality, education, slavery, the black and red races in this country, our political and social tendencies, with various kindred subjects, are quite timely and pithy. While every part of the speech contains passages which would well bear reprinting here, there is one which presents in a strong light what ought to be urged upon the attention of our churches until effective remedial measures are provided. He says:

"As to the religious denominations, I found them exhibiting everywhere the American energy, and marching on with the population over their extensive country. I regretted, however, to find that the stipends paid to the ministers had not risen with the wealth and prosperity of the country, and in proportion to the increased expense of living, which has doubled since the war. The people who were giving their workmen skilled in manual labour one thousand dollars a-year, were, as a general rule, in the country districts, giving their pastors a like sum, or, more commonly, a less sum."

This affords scope for endless comment, and yet needs no comment. The process of starving the ministry cannot go on without degrading and enfeebling it, until a corresponding spiritual leanness blights the churches. Unless arrested, religion must wither, if it do not even die out. We wish we could believe the author equally beyond mistake, when he tells us, that "very effective steps are taken to keep down exclusive High-Churchism wherever it appears."

Venetian Life. By W. D. Howells. Second Edition. New York: Hurd & Houghton. Sold in Princeton, by W. S. Smith. 1867.

The minute sketches of Venetian Life given in this volume by a competent observer, who resided there some time for this very purpose, present aspects of it with which we have not elsewhere met.

Classical Baptism. An Inquiry into the meaning of the word βαπτιζω, as determined by the usage of Classical Greek writers. By James W. Dale, Pastor of the Media Presbyterian Church, Pennsylvania. Boston: Draper & Halliday. Philadelphia: Smith, English & Co. Chicago: S. C. Griggs. 1867. Pp. 354.

This is an elaborate and extended investigation into the meaning of the words *βαπτω* and *βαπτιζω*, as found in classic

Greek writers. This is not only a question of philological interest, but one of some consequence in its bearings upon the rite of baptism; and it is with this latter view chiefly that Dr. Dale discusses it. Of course we cannot go to classic authorities to learn either the mode or the meaning of a Christian ordinance. Whatever the primary signification of the word may be, and whatever its usage in the mouth of native Greeks, baptism is to us what it was to the apostles and the writers of the New Testament. Nevertheless the prominence which has been given in Baptist controversial writings, to the meaning of this word in ordinary Greek, and the extraordinary and unsustained assertions which have been made respecting it, not only justify but imperatively demand a searching review of the whole matter.

The allegation that *βαπτιζω* has but one meaning in the whole history of the Greek language, that mode is essentially denoted by it, that it always signifies *to dip* is most effectually disposed of. It is shown that Baptist writers are at war with one another upon this subject which, according to their mode of viewing it, is so important. It is shown still further by an actual exhibition and analysis of the passages in classic authors in which the words in question occur, that it is quite impossible to attribute to them any such sense in a multitude of cases. We might not agree with our author in every particular of his discussion, but we do not hesitate to say that he has rendered a valuable service to the cause of truth.

We shall look with interest for the remaining volumes of the series, in which the author promises to examine the usage of these words in Jewish writings, viz., Josephus, Philo, and the Greek Old Testament, and also to investigate the character of the baptism of John.

Plutarch on the Delay of the Deity in punishing the Wicked. Revised edition, with notes by Professors H. B. Hackett and W. S. Tyler. New York. 1867. 12mo., pp. 171.

We are pleased to see this neat and satisfactory edition of an admirable treatise. The earnest and well-conducted defence of Divine providence which it contains, is particularly interesting as exhibiting the views entertained upon this difficult subject by those who had not the Scriptures, and showing how far the better and more thoughtful class of heathen philosophers were able to advance in its elucidation. The excellence of the matter and the completeness of the apparatus, with which it is accompanied, offer tempting inducements to readers of Greek. For theological students, who desire to maintain and extend their acquaintance with the classics, it has special adaptations, both

on account of the affinity between the later Greek and the dialect of the New Testament, and on account of the opportunity it affords of comparing one of the noblest productions of unaided reason with the clearer revelations of the gospel.

LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

The following article from the Philadelphia "*Press*" has been sent to us by T. B. Peterson & Co., and we presume it is a trustworthy statement of

Dickens's Dealings with Americans. Mr. Charles Dickens has always been loud in his complaints against what he calls the "piracy" of American publishers. We see it announced in the *New York Tribune* that, when Ticknor & Fields issued the first number of their Diamond edition of Dickens, they sent him two hundred pounds, in order that he should share the profits, and that Mr. Dickens wrote back, saying, "I think you know how high and far beyond the money's worth I esteem this act of manhood, delicacy, and honour. I have never derived greater pleasure from the receipt of money in all my life." No doubt he was surprised as well as pleased at receiving £200, which he had not bargained for, but the above statement, and particularly the quotation from the letter, might convey the idea that it was an unusual thing for Mr. Dickens to receive money from the United States on account of his writings.

Such an impression would be entirely erroneous, for Mr. Dickens has derived a considerable part of his income from moneys paid him for advance sheets of his various works. From the very first—that is, as far back as the great hit he made with the "Posthumous Papers of the Pickwick Club," nearly thirty years ago—Harper Brothers of New York, desirous of securing and retaining in their own hands the exclusive sale of his works, have paid him large sums for each as it appeared. Since the first issue of *Harpers' Magazine*, and, subsequently, of *Harpers' Weekly*, each new work by Dickens has been published in these periodicals, by special arrangement with the author, almost simultaneously with their appearance in London. Impressions of the illustrations, chiefly on steel, were sent over here, with the advance sheets, and put in the hands of good

artists, who copied and reproduced them on wood. In the instance of "A Tale of Two Cities," which appeared in London without any illustrations, Harper and Brothers had sixty-four original designs made for that work and engraved on wood, at a cost of $2000. Yet, in recent notices of a new edition of that story, the newspaper critics of New York and Boston rarely said more than it had "some cuts." New designs were also made by Mr. McLenan for "Great Expectations," and paid for on the same liberal scale.

After Harper & Brothers had got their money's worth out of Mr. Dickens's successive works, by issuing them in the manner above-mentioned, they transferred the engravings and their interest in the works to T. B. Peterson & Brothers, of this city, who shared their payments to Mr. Dickens, and the cost of engraving the illustrations. It is well known that in this manner Messrs. Peterson have acquired a possession, which was generally accepted, until lately, as equivalent to a copyright of Dickens, and under this they have published various editions.

Mr. Dickens, who is overcome with the "greater pleasure" of a £200 gift, knew how to drive a pretty hard bargain with Harper & Brothers, and (through them) with T. B. Peterson. He has received many thousand pounds in gold for advance-sheets. Not having access to Messrs. Harpers' books, we cannot name the exact amount, but happen to know that, for his last three books alone, he was paid £3250 in gold. The sums he received were £1000 for "A Tale of Two Cities," £1250 for "Great Expectations," and £1000 for "Our Mutual Friend." At the average price of gold while these three works were paid for, and at the rate of exchange, the sum disbursed to Mr. Dickens for these alone was over $24,000 in greenbacks, and we dare say the various sums remitted to him for advance-sheets only by Harpers and Petersons, from first to last, will be found, when added up, to make a total of over $60,000. But any one reading his letter would naturally fancy that the £200 sent him from Boston was *all* that he had ever received from American publishers. The sum of £3250, in hard cash, for advance-sheets of his three latest works, tells a very different story.

A New Method of Learning Oriental Languages has been recently introduced by Mr. Prendergast, an Indian civilian, in his "Mastery of Languages." It is founded upon an analysis of that universal process, which is followed by children, eight or ten years old, many of whom learn two foreign languages at once, without even the aid of an interpreter! He expounds a method, *underlying* that process, which every

person who speaks a foreign tongue idiomatically, has necessarily pursued, although no one has explained the precise cause of his success. The principles of the scheme are these:—The memory is never to be charged with more than it can reproduce with perfect facility. The learner must neither see nor hear one word more. It is impossible for a beginner to make a grammatical and idiomatic sentence. He must, therefore, learn such sentences by rote, one by one, from the lips of a native. He is not to see the words on paper until he can pronounce them intelligibly. Imitation and repetition are the only means to be used at first. The memory acts mechanically. The work is not done by reasoning, and therefore it is useless to *study*. The lessons should be taken three or four times a day, varying from five to ten minutes in each sitting; and the whole should be recapitulated in each lesson. To obviate the defects of the memory, the teacher is to *begin* every lesson by repeating what has previously been learned. The learner echoes his voice to gain the true pronunciation, and then proceeds, *under his guidance*, to exercise himself with the variations of the sentences. This baffles the treachery of the memory in relation to the foreign *sounds*. The author shows that children owe their success to their imitation and repetition of *sentences*, and to their interchanging of the words; and he exhibits a formula, by means of which the daily results of a beginner's efforts may be increased in geometrical progression.—*Trübner's American and Oriental Record.*

HAWAIAN LITERATURE.—The Rev. Mr. Andrews of Honolulu, Sandwich Islands, has recently completed a Dictionary of the Hawaian language. This Dictionary contains a few words over 15,500. It is a somewhat remarkable circumstance that Mr. Andrews should have gathered and defined about the same number of words as are to be found in the great folio edition of Johnson's English Dictionary. It contains 15,784 words derived from thirty different languages, as follows: From Latin, 6732; French, 4812; Saxon, 1665; Greek, 1148; Dutch, 661; Italian, 211; German, 106; Welsh, 95; Danish, 75; Spanish, 56; and from twenty other languages, sufficient to make up the numbered specified above, 15,784.—*Ibid.*