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No. I.

ART 1.—*Agassiz on Provinces of Creation, and the Unity of the Race.*

The Bible account of the descent of all mankind from one common ancestor has been very positively denied of late by some scientific men, who imagine they have discovered reason to believe that the human race originated in nations, as bees did in swarms, and that there were originally as many nations created as we now behold varieties of the human race. The principal advocate of this theory is Agassiz,* whose well deserved reputation, as a truly scientific man, commands universal respect; while the religious tone and tendency of his *Methods of Study* invite the sympathy of every serious mind, and furnishes us with a means of using science as a means of communion with its Great Author. The design of his theory of Provinces of Creation, also, is probably to strengthen natural theology against the degrading materialism of the Darwinian dogma, that all animals and men have been developed originally from the same primeval animalculæ; a notion which is now finding accep-

* *Types of Mankind*, lviii. *Christian Examiner*, July, 1850. *Principles of Zoology*, Chap. xiii.

tance among the atheistic philosophers of England and Germany. But it is exceedingly to be regretted that Agassiz should leave the only positive records we possess on this subject, to launch out upon the ocean of scientific speculation. The very fact that two such opposite and contradictory theories have been constructed, and are now maintained by men of equal eminence, ought to convince him, as it will convince most people, that no decisive arguments on either side have yet been produced, and that these theories are only scientific suppositions. No amount of such suppositions can ever become a basis for science; nor can they for a moment bear a comparison with the testimony of the only person who could give us positive information on the subject, as a ground of scientific certainty. Agassiz's notions can not stand beside Moses' facts, in a purely scientific investigation. But in their influence upon the minds of the young and half-educated they may do great injury, by weakening their faith in that divine religion which is based upon the facts of the Mosaic record, and which can not survive the conviction that the Bible is at war with the facts of science. Christianity rests on the Bible, and the Bible account of the creation of man is the basis of the whole Christian system of faith.

When such scientific notions are put forward as facts, and formally opposed to the direct teachings of the Bible, and when these speculations are not confined to the appropriate theatres of scientific discussion, but intruded into the school-books put into the hands of our children and brought home to our firesides; and when the funds of our common schools are employed in instructing the children of Christians that the fundamental facts of the Bible are fictitious, it is high time for us to awake to an examination of the case. This is no longer a mere discussion of a scientific problem: it is a propagandism of infidelity of the most extensive and dangerous character. No matter how respectable otherwise its promoters, the theory is anti-Christian, and its acceptance saps the very basis of Christianity.

Agassiz's theory is not less inhuman than anti-Christian. It is an endeavor to lay again the foundations of caste. It

would revive the possibility of such a state of society as existed before Christ, when nations believed themselves at liberty to attack all with whom they had no treaty, and war was the normal state of the men who believed that each nation was born on its own soil. It is simply a revival of the old Greek heathenism under a new scientific nomenclature, a denial of the common brotherhood of man.

It is true that Agassiz agrees that mankind are all of one species, and that the oneness of our humanity arises not so much from race as from similarity of structure, and consequently of ideas and usages. But he argues in vain against the common sense of mankind. For it is not shape, but blood, which makes kindred, and kin makes kindness the world over. The Bible alone lays the foundation for universal charity by declaring our common parentage: "That God hath made of one blood all the nations of men for to dwell in all the earth." The Son of Man shed the blood of our common family for the salvation of all the families of the earth. The Supreme Judge, who shall decide our destiny from the throne of heaven, will own his kindred alike in the African, Indian and Caucasian, saying: "Inasmuch as ye did it to one of the least of these my brethren ye did it unto me." But this notion of a variety of human races befogs and freezes our faith in the liberty, equality and paternity of all mankind, and throws society back again into the petty castes and wars of heathenism. Take away our faith in the common parentage of the human race, and we have left so much community of nature as exists among different tribes of horses or monkeys, and about as much possibility of civilized society.

It is impossible to enter on the examination of such a notion without a very strong prepossession against a thing which is thus seen to be the inveterate antagonist of all our Christian civilization. Can it be possible that we must relinquish all the advance of society since the days of Ajax and Agamemnon, and go back to the principles of the Pharoah's, and the policy of the Chinese and the Egyptians? Is the Hindoo system of caste right after all? And must we remodel our American, democratic notions, lay aside our

Bibles, and accept instead a scientific hypothesis, the mere theory of a philosopher?

It would require a vast amount of solid, inductive proof to establish such an anti-social and anti-Christian theory to the satisfaction of any serious mind. But when we come to examine the proofs alleged, we find them to consist mainly of unsupported generalizations; and these neutralized by vast exceptions and contradicted by antagonistic facts.

Even before entering on the primal investigation of the zoological argument, we find a whole department of the science of man arrayed in the most positive hostility to the conclusions of the zoologists: and that is the department which seeks to scan the human nature by its most human instrument, language. The men of mind are opposed to the men of matter. It is soul against body. Indeed, there is a standing feud between the philologists and the zoologists on this subject. The zoologists make out as many races of men as they find shapes of skulls or colors of skin. The grammarians declare that the people of Europe are cousins of the Hindoos, because the grammatical forms of their languages and many of their words are alike. Bunsen, Max Müller, Whitney and Humboldt agree that "the affinity of European languages with the antique idioms once spoken from the shores of the Caspian Sea to the banks of the Ganges, is an incontrovertable proof of the Asiatic origin of the peoples who speak them."

But Agassiz alleges common organization as sufficient to produce community of language among men. "The evidence adduced from the affinities of the languages of different nations is of no value, when we know that among vociferous animals every species has its peculiar intonations, and that the different species of the same family produce sounds as closely allied as the so called Indo-Germanic languages compared with one another." He instances the thrushes, crows, dogs, cats, horses, asses, etc., and alleges that it is as natural for man to speak as for dogs to bark. But Dr. Carpenter, on the contrary, though naturally belonging to the physiologists, records the fact, that similarity of language is not always the result of similarity of struc-

ture, and that people of the same race speak widely different languages. "It is not a little curious that the linguistic affinity should often be strongest where the uniformity in physical characters is slightest. Thus, among the Malayo-Polynesian and the American races, as already remarked, there are very striking differences in conformation, features, complexion, etc.; and yet the linguistic affinity of the great mass of the tribes is not now doubted by any philologist, On the other hand, the hiatus between the Turanian and the Seriform languages is very wide, but the physical conformity between the Chinese and the typical Mongolian nations is so strong that no ethnologist has ever thought of assigning to them a distinct origin. So, again, there would seem to be no relationship between the American and the Turanian languages; but the affinity of the two stocks appears to be established by the transition link afforded by the Esquimaux, which are Mongolian in their conformation and. American in their language."*

Agassiz asks: "Why should not the different races of men have originally spoken distinct languages, as they do at present, differing in the same proportion as their organs of speech are variously modified?" To which the philologists reply, that the organs of speech are not variously modified according to the different languages, nor modified at all. No anatomist has ever detected any modification of vocal organs among men. Such plump contradictions of the facts alleged by the highest authorities attest the absence among these writers of any personal conviction of each other's infallibility.

Most of our Rationalistic philosophers assume the savage as the primitive state of man, and construct wonderful chronologies of the time necessary for his development into a civilized being; and some would go a step further back to the orang-outang, out of which they think that, in a long process of time, the primeval savage was developed. They show the analogies between the monkeys and the men of India, the Spice Islands, Africa and America. It is, indeed, he general creed of the Positive philosophers. Darwin

*Cyclopedia of Anatomy, iv, 1347.

goes a little further back and develops his paternal monkey from the patriarchal snail, and that from the microscopic monad. But Bunsen alleges that language proves the contrary. How did the monkey learn to talk? How did he begin to think? "The theories about the origin of language have followed these about the origin of thought, and have shared their fate. *The materialists have never been able to show the possibility of the first step.* They attempt to veil their inability by the easy but fruitless assumption of an infinite space of time, destined to explain the gradual development of animals into men; as if millions of years could supply the want of the agent necessary for the first movement, for the first step in the line of progress! No millions can effect a logical impossibility. How, indeed, could reason spring out of a state which is destitute of reason? How can speech, the expression of thought, develop itself in a year, or in a million of years, out of unarticulated sounds which express feelings of pleasure, pain and appetite. "We disclaim the savage as the prototype of a natural original man. For linguistic inquiry shows that the languages of savages are degraded, decaying fragments of nobler formations. The language of the Bushman is a degraded Hottentot language, and this language is likely to be only a derivation of the noble Kaffre tongue."

Dr. Mott alleges the difference of intellectual capacity of different nations as proofs of difference of parentage. But Count Gobineau asks: "If two men, the offspring of the same parent, can be one a dunce and the other a genius, why can not different races, though descended of the same stock, be different also in intellectual endowments?" The fanciful character of this notion—which ignores the fundamental idea of education, and the facts of the civilization of nations by Christian missions—appears from the entire want of agreement among these naturalists as to the degree of intellect necessary to constitute a distinct species.

Conscious apparently of rather a slender foundation of fact for his theory, Agassiz proceeds to found it upon logic. He deposits it in fact between the horns of a dilemma, in the following blundering *non sequitur*, which we quote ver-

batim. He has evidently not yet discovered the proper Provinces of Creation for theology or logic.

"Now, there are only two alternatives before us:

1st. Either mankind originated from a common stock, and all the different races with their peculiarities are to be attributed to subsequent changes—an assumption for which there is no evidence whatever, and which leads at once to the admission that the diversity among animals is not an original one, nor their distribution determined by a general plan, established in the beginning of the creation; or

2d. We must acknowledge that the diversity among animals is a fact determined by the will of the Creator, and their geographical distribution part of the general plan which unites all organized beings in one great organic conception; whence it follows that what are called human races, *down to their specializations as nations*, are primordial forms of the types of man."

But how does the assumption that the diversities of animals have originated by variation from one common stock, if it were either proved or granted, prove that their subsequent distribution was not determined by a general plan established in the beginning of the creation? If it be allowed that the Creator governs the world by natural laws, the results of these laws must be allowed to be as much parts of his general original plan as the first creation; and even those diversities of shape or color, produced by domestication, must be acknowledged to be as much included in the Creator's original plan as the first type; unless, indeed, we suppose him to have less forethought than a stock farmer.

Again, how does the admission of a general plan of creation necessitate the creation of man under the same conditions as brutes? May not God decree civilization? Must he create the primeval man a savage? Must the primeval savage be always an animal? If this primeval savage could find out ways of modifying his condition and changing his residence, could not God discover them also? Is colonization a violation of the general plan which unites all organized beings in one great organic conception? Or are the decrees of God limited to the pre-historic eras? If agriculture, fire, clothing, language, the mechanic arts, the domestication of animals, government, religion, navigation and commerce, be allowed any influence in modifying man's physical condition, and if from the earliest historic

times man has possessed these, and brutes have wanted them, man may exist long enough to be modified by climatal influences where brutes would die out in one generation, or even in one winter; and God may well enough have calculated accordingly, and decreed man to be a cosmopolite.

When we come to consider the doctrine of Provinces of Creation, on which zoologists throw the stress of their argument, we find even a greater vagueness and uncertainty in the delineation of the basis of the argument, and in the description of the facts. Of the nature of a species, or of the boundaries of a province, we can not find any definition accepted by any three authorities. De Candolle gives us twenty-five provinces of plants; Henslow insists on forty-five; Agassiz figures eight. The manufacture of species proceeds with such rapidity, that a botanical work three years old is about as valuable as the Chicago Directory of that date. Dr. Hooker says that so various are the opinions of botanists as to what constitutes a species, that some make the number of flowering plants eighty thousand, while others reckon one hundred and fifty thousand. Scarcely any two botanists can agree as to the number of roses, still less as to how many species of bramble we possess. Of the latter genus, *Rubus*, there is one set of forms of which it is still a question whether it ought to be regarded as constituting three species, or thirty-seven. Mr. Bentham adopts the first alternative, and Mr. Babington the second, in their well-known treatises on British plants.*

Lindley began his system with some amendments in De Candolle's, making three classes and seven tribes, without minor groups or alliances; then he reduced the orders into groups; then he made eight classes; and in his *Vegetable Kingdom*, sixth edition, he reached his sixth arrangement, which he divides into ten states; a sexual with two classes, and a sexual with five classes and fifty-nine alliances, divided into three hundred and three orders. Hess, Schultz, Horarinow, Elias Fries, Von Martius, Bromhead, Endlicher, Basperville, Trautvetter, Oken, Brongniart, Meisner, Kunth and Mulder, each asserts and defends a different classification of his own

* Lyell's *Antiquity of Man*, p. 425.

founded upon quite different principles from those of his predecessors.*

The *Westminster Review*, which never was suspected of any leaning toward orthodoxy, says (1857, p. 154): "An opinion is gradually extending among those naturalists who look beneath the surface of their pursuit, that species-making has been carried, both by botanists and zoologists, to far too great an extent; and that the whole subject of the influence of climate, habits of life, and other external conditions, as well as of the capacity for variation inherent to each type of form, requires a thorough re-investigation. Hooker declares that the reported number of one hundred thousand distinct species of flowering plants will be reduced at least one-half by the comparison of the Flora of different countries. But Prof. Henfrey has calculated the number at two hundred and thirteen thousand." This is certainly a very wild sort of science which can not tell positively whether there are fifty, or two hundred thousand species of flowering plants. Yet on this basis, Agassiz begins to build a theory contradictory of the Bible; which, however, says nothing of the central creation of plants and animals, but asserts only the unity of the human race. The denial of the unity of mankind is, however, the design of the Provinces of Creation theory.

The field of controversy is too large for the limits of a chapter, comprising philology, archaeology, physiology, and zoology. It is on the latter, however, he throws the stress of the argument. Treating man simply as an animal, he reduces him to the necessity of confinement within certain imaginary barriers, climatic or physical, with the distinct species of animals and plants inhabiting these Provinces, and incapable of passing their boundaries; whence he infers that he and they must have been created where we find them; and hence the creation of as many stocks as we find provinces.

He thus states the fundamental law on which he relies for his division of mankind: "The boundaries within which the different natural combinations of animals are known to

* *American Cyclopedia:* Article, Botany.

be circumscribed on the surface of the earth coincide with the natural range of distinct types of man."

But he fails to establish any such circumscribed boundaries for either plants, animals, or men. Some of the plants and animals of his Arctic Fauna and Flora, for instance, are found all over the continent. The wolf ranges from Texas to the Pole. The ermine is caught in California as well as at Hudson's Bay. The reindeer moss, the very plant which he figures as the typical illustration of the Polar Flora, is found in Carolina. The beaver, the otter, the muskrat, the mink, the snow-goose, the Canada crane, the raven, the great horned owl, and many other beasts and birds, refused to be fenced into the Professor's Provinces. We have seen the European magpie and hare in California, and have gathered the Irish sea pink in Nevada. And the domesticated animals, with whom this argument is even more concerned than with wild nature, are as cosmopolitan as their owner, man. The Provinces, then, are purely imaginary—as far as animals are concerned.

The refusal of man to be imprisoned within any such boundaries is even more pronounced. Men will neither be uniform at home nor be kept from going abroad by any amount of book-making. The Esquimaux, the Lapps and the Samoiedes, who are all arranged by the Professor as autochthones of the Arctic Province, differ more from each other than either does from its nearest European, Asiatic, or American neighbor. They ought not to do so by any means, but be much more like their neighbors than the people of other Provinces. The Professor, however, assumes the natural limitation of the races of men to their geographical powers with as much composure as though he had never seen a negro anywhere but in Africa, which he says is his native soil. But the most remarkable illustration of the purely fanciful character of the theory is the exception he is obliged to make of the Turkish empire. He first alleges that "the Asiatic zoological realm differs essentially from the American and European." "The Turks [whom he classes with the Mongolians] inhabit the Caspian Province, *diminating, of course, the modern establishment of Turks in*

Europe;" an instance which utterly overthrows his theory. The Turks, at least, are not circumscribed by their native province.

The barriers between his Mongolian and Caucassian Provinces are purely imaginary—a river and a range of hills, the first frozen over every winter, and the latter crossed repeatedly by men and beasts. The same animals range on both, and the same men have alternately pastured their flocks and herds over the steppes of Russia and Tartary. The Volga and the Turanian hills do not present obstacles to the passage of men and beasts, of vast invading nations with all their flocks and herds from Asia to Europe, half so great as the Mississippi and the Rocky Mountains to the migration of the buffalo and the Indian from the Pacific to the Atlantic coast; which all naturalists acknowledge, and even Agassiz, who makes all the New Continent, save the Arctic regions, one Province. The idea of circumscribing the natural range of the Turks and Tartars to Asia must be amusing to the student of history, and his restriction of the Caucasian realm to Europe will meet with little favor from the Czar, who believes in the divine right of Russia to the whole of Agassiz's Mongolian realm. The only monarch likely to favor it is the Emperor of China, to whom a copy should be sent, if possible, ere his realm vanishes before the attacks of the European barbarians and of his own Chinese rebels. But the Bengal tiger roams over Siberia to the very shores of the Arctic Ocean, and the British flag flies in Pekin, and the human race was never, at any period known to history, circumscribed within any such imaginary Provinces as Agassiz describes, no more than it is to-day. No reader of history needs to be informed of the migrations of the Mongal tribes, and their refusal to be circumscribed by any climatic or scientific boundaries.

The Polynesian continent and islands, it appears, constitute another grand exception to the theory that every Province had a creation of animals and men suitable to its climate and soil. How does the Professor reconcile the scanty Fauna of the Western Islands with the exuberance of vegetation and life in the Spice and Philippine Islands, under

similar conditions of soil and climate? He quietly passes them unnoticed. "Of Polynesia, its races and animals, it would be difficult to give an idea in such a condensed picture as this. I pass them, therefore, entirely unnoticed." Now this is the very thing which demands notice; this variety of population, under similar conditions of soil and climate, being utterly irreconcilable with the idea that men and animals were originally created wherever they could live, but quite intelligible as the result of difficulty of migration.

The secession of the Arctic, the Asiatic and European Provinces, and then of all Polynesia, greatly circumscribes the boundaries of the Professor's theory. In fact, he has only Africa and America left; and we shall presently see that American independence refuses any such geographical limitations. His only remaining reliance, then, would be on the negro, and he evidently has no heart to trust himself to such a cosmopolitan race, since every slave market in the world from Chili to China has furnished demonstrative refutations of his theory of the circumstances of the African races. The Professor, accordingly, executes a strategic movement, a change of base. He relinquishes the unscientific present and falls back on the past, when men and animals conducted themselves with propriety within their own several Provinces. But fearful of disturbing historical traditions of the migrations of nations, which indeed are the earliest traditions we possess, and which are directly in the face of the Professor's circumscription of men and animals to their respective Provinces, he wisely outflanks Herodotus and Moses, by telling us that his theory is to be understood as "referring to the ante-historical distribution of man." This admission may very well justify his readers in presuming that his Provinces, not tallying with anything now observed, nor agreeing with any state of society ever recorded, are, as Colenso would say, "unhistorical"—myths. Since history was written, migrations of birds, beasts, and men have been as constantly going on as the currents of the ocean or the flowing of the rivers; but the Professor has authentic information that, in the pre-historic ages, the

Mongol, the Negro, the European, and the Indian races peacefully submitted to be circumscribed within the boundaries of his zoological maps, and mankind lived contentedly at home in that golden age.

Coming down from Agassiz's golden pre-historic age to our own unscientific continent, and to historic times, we discover here in America a state of matters by no means agreeable to his theory of as many races of men as we find Provinces of animals and plants. He divides North and South America into several Provinces of Flora and Fauna, but alleges that, with the exception of the Esquimaux, it is inhabited by a single race of men. 'Wherever we find a human race naturally circumscribed, it is connected with what we call in natural history a zoological and botanical Province; that is to say, with the natural limitation of a particular association of plants and animals; and this shows most uneqivocally the intimate relation existing between mankind and the animal kingdom, in their adaptation to the physical world." But surely the Flora and Fauna of the West Indies are not the same as those of Patagonia, or Canada; nor are those of New England and California alike. And if the same indigenous race can thrive in regions marked by vegetation as various as those of the Falkland Islands and the West Indies, living equally well on the banana and the sugar-cane as on the salmon and the seal, on the shell-fish of Terra del Fuego, on the buffalo of the Rocky Mountains, equally at home under the dense forests of the Oregon pines, or among the cane brakes of the Texan bayous, or on the broad open prairies of Kansas and Missouri—there is no such special adaptation of man to the plants and animals of his dwelling place as to warrant the conclusion that he was created for them, or that they must necessarily all have been created together. To make the argument good, it would be necessary to show that the whole continent of America is only one Province of animals and plants, as well as men, and contains only one well-marked Flora and Fauna: while it would be easy to show that the whole of the Old Continent is not more diversified; and finally, to merge the whole world

in one Province, since America contains the most diverse races.

Morton, Nott, Agassiz and others, do however maintain that all the American Indians, save the Esquimaux, are of one race; and that aboriginal to this continent.*

"It has been satisfactorily established that over the whole continent of America, south of the Arctic zone (which is inhabited by Esquamaux), all the numerous tribes of Indians have the same physical character, that they belong to the same race from north to south; and that the primitive inhabitants of central tropical America, do not physically differ from the primitive inhabitants of the more northern or southern regions. In this case we have the greatest uniformity in the character of the tribes of an entire continent under the most different climatic influences." This fact then, if it be a fact, demonstrates that there is no necessary correspondence between man and the animals and plants of his residence. The theory can not hang together over America any more than in Asia or Polynesia. It is as inconsistent with itself as with the facts of history and observation.

It is not true, however, that all the American tribes are alike. They are as various in structure, appearance, and habits as the people of the other continents. The notion of the unity of the American tribes is based mainly on the so-called science of craniology, derived from the inspection of skulls. But no dependence can be placed upon alleged agreements or variations of shape, to prove either specific unity or difference, since shape of skull is no specific character. Though there is a general family likeness, yet the variations in the same family, both in size and shape, confound the most learned zoologists and craniologists when they attempt thus to classify men.

The best naturalists are unable to distinguish races of men by the shape of their skulls. "At a recent meeting of the Fellows of the Ethnological Society, as an illustration of the fallacy of attempting to distinguish the races of men by the shape of their skulls, Mr. Crawford mentioned, that

* *Christian Examiner*, July, 1850, v. 26.

Mr. Owen was making a classification of African skulls, when one that he said was undoubtedly African, was found to be the skull of a Scotch sergeant."* The purely imaginative character of the so-called science of craniology, and the arbitrary nature of the classifications of its best authorities, are thus *naively* acknowledged by Nott: "With all his acuteness and experience in craniology, it is clear that Dr. Morton felt himself much embarrassed in making this classification. He has several times modified it in his different published papers; and it is seen above, that, in his *Egyptian form* of crania, he includes many of which the conformation is not appreciably different from that of the Arab and the Hindoo."† To account for this mixture of Hindoo-like skulls in the tents of Egypt, our author has recourse to apochryphal history, it appears, and informs us, as of an undoubted fact, "That there was extensive and long-continued intercourse between the Hindoos and Egyptians is beyond a question." But Nott declares, on the authority of "the Egyptologists, our best authorities, that facts are opposed to any such intercourse until after the Persian invasion, B. C. 525." So that it would appear that Egyptians, like other people, were not made on craniological models, to the order of ethnologists. Accordingly, he informs us that, "As Dr. Morton tabulated his skulls on a somewhat arbitrary basis, I abandon that arrangement, and present his facts as they stand in nature."‡ Yet this is one of the infallibles of whom the world is commanded to stand in awe, in such language as the following: "He has bequeathed to posterity 840 human skulls so thoroughly illumined by his personal labors, that in the absence of fresher materials, science must pause before she hazards a doubt upon any result at which Samuel George Morton had maturely arrived." We shall see, however, how Hamilton exposes the fundamental aim of all his experiments. These dry skulls speak no intelligible language concerning the peopling of America.

But this theory of one aboriginal race of Americans is

*N. Y. *Independent*, July 8, 1858. † *Types of Mankind*, 419.

‡ *Types of Mankind*, 454.

flatly contradicted by Dr. Cabell, Col. Hamilton Smith, and other eminent ethnologists, who show that this continent was peopled of old, as it is being peopled now, by emigration from Europe, Asia and Africa. The proof is perfectly irresistible and utterly overwhelms Agassiz's notion that America was separated by an impassible ocean from Asia and Europe, with an array of undeniable facts, which Dr. Cabell* quotes from Maury, Schoolcraft and others, showing not only the possibility, but the certainty, of the early settlement of this continent both from the East and the West, to which we add a number from other authorities. Maury says of the possibility of rude people navigating the Pacific, "if you had a supply of provisions you could 'run down the trades' on a log." Captain Ray of the whale-ship *Superior* fished two years ago in Behring Straits, and saw *canoes* going from one continent to the other.* Besides this channel, there is the gulf stream, like the current already alluded to from the shores of China. Along its course westerly winds are the prevailing winds, and we have well authenticated instances in which these two agents have brought Japanese mariners in disabled vessels to the coast of America." Schoolcraft says: "the traditions of the origin of the old Mexican Empire, in bands of adventurers from the seven caves, rests upon the best authority we have of the Toltec race, supported by the oral tradition of the Astecs of 1519. An examination of it by the lights of modern geography in connection with the nautical theory of oceanic currents, and the fixed courses of the winds in the Pacific, gives strong testimony in favor of an early expressed opinion in support of a migration in high latitudes. It is now considered probable that these caves were seated in the Alentian chain of islands. (Maury says: "The Alentians actually live in caves, or subterranean apartments, which they enter through a hole in the top.") This chain connects the continents of America and Asia at the most practicable points, and it begins precisely opposite that part of the Asiatic coast northeast of the Chinese Empire, and quite above the Japanese

† *Testimony of Modern Science to the Unity of Mankind.* by J. S. Cabell, M.D., Prof. of Anatomy and Physiology in University of Va.

group where we should expect the Mongolic and Tartar hordes to have been precipitated upon these shores. On the American side of the trajet, extending south of the peninsula of the Onalasea, there is evidence, in the existing dialects of the tribes, of their being of the same generic group with the Toltec stock. The peculiar Aztec termination in "tly" which was noticed at Nootka Sound, and in the languages of Oregon, are too indicative, in connection with other resemblances in sound, and in principles of construction, to be disregarded. When we look at the Pacific, its islands, the winds and currents, and consider the facilities there that nature has provided for drifting savage man with his rude implements of navigation about, we shall see that there the inducements held out to him to try the sea are powerful. With the bread fruit and the cocoa nut, man's natural barrels there of beef and bread, and the calabash his natural water cask, he had all the stores for a long voyage already at hand; you will thus perceive the rare facilities which the people of those shores enjoyed in their rude state, for attempting voyages."

Schoolcraft thus sums up the evidence of Eastern origin:

"Thus we have traditionary gleams of a foreign origin of the race of North American Indians, from separate stocks of nations, extending at intervals from the Arctic circle to the valley of Mexico. Dim as these studies are, they shed some light on the thick historical darkness which shrouds that period. They point decidedly to a foreign—to an oriental, if not a Shemitic origin. Such an origin has from the first been inferred. At whatever point the investigation has been made, the eastern hemisphere has been found to contain the physical and mental prototypes of the race. Language, mythology, religious dogmas—the very style of architecture—and their calendar, as far as it is developed, point to that fruitful and central source of dispersion and nationality."*

Pickering likewise gives the weight of his testimony to the same effect:

"To persons living around the Atlantic shores the source of the aboriginal population of America seems mysterious; and volumes have been written on the subject. Had the authors made the voyage to the North Pacific, I can not but think that much of the discussion would have been spared."†

It is thus shown that the colonization of America even

* *History, Condition and Prosperity of the Indian Tribes of the U. S.* By H. R. Schoolcraft, LL. D. pp. 22, 24, 26. † *Races of Men.* p. 296, Bohns' Ed.

by savages was quite possible; but the existence of an ancient civilized race in the Polynesian Islands, the Lake Superior copper regions, and Central America, is now incontrovertibly established. None can doubt that the race who built the ruined cities of the Ladrones, could also build ships and navigate them. Capt. Alfred K. Fisher, of the whaling ship *America*, of New Bedford, thus describes one of them:

"He stopped some days at the Island of Tinian, one of the Ladrones, to land some sick men. One of his men, in his walks about the island, came to the entrance of a large and splendid city in ruins. Capt. Fisher, on being informed of the fact, entered the city by the principal street, which was about three miles in length. The buildings were all of stone, of a dark color, and of a most splendid description. In about the centre of the street, he found twelve solid stone columns, six on each side of the street; they were about forty-five or fifty feet in height, surmounted by capstones of immense weight. The columns were ten feet in diameter at base, and about three feet at the top. One of the columns had fallen, and he had a fine opportunity to view its vast proportions and fine architecture. From the principal streets a large number of other streets diverged. They were all straight, and the buildings were of stone. The whole of the city was entirely overgrown with cocoanut trees, which were fifty to sixty feet high. In the main street, pieces of common earthenware were found. He also saw the ledges of stone from which the buildings had been erected, which exhibited signs of having been worked. Neither the Spaniards nor Indians knew anything of the builders or inhabitants."*

The practicability of such people landing as powerful colonies as erected this city, on our shores, will not be questioned.

Col. Hamilton Smith thus traces emigration across the Atlantic:

"The foot of man has pressed many a soil which later navigators assume never was trodden before them. Navigating antiquity knew many geographical facts which scholastic prejudice neglected for the sake of grammatical pursuits. From King Alfred's writings we know the voyage of Othere towards the North Pole; and that even from England navigators visited distant seas in the ninth century. Dicuil's incidental notice of Iceland, in the beginning of the same age, was not observed till of late years. The Scandinavian discovery of Greenland was long doubted, though it is now proved that those hardy seamen pushed their discovery along the coasts of America, beyond the equator to Brazil. We have discredited, with equal resoluteness, the discovery of Newfoundland by the brothers Zeni, Venetian navigators, seventy years before the voyage of Columbus, according to Cardinal Zurla. Documents published at Copenhagen prove the coast to have been repeatedly vis-

* *Annual of Scientific Discovery*, 1853, p. 385.

ited by the Northmen from the years 980 and 1000 to 1380; and the Biscayan whalers seem to have equally known this region by an accidental southeasterly storm, which drove them from their fishing station off the Irish shores in the reign of King Henry VI, that is, about 1450; and all this incredulity and apathy when the names of Brazil, of Antillia, and of the country known as Newfoundland were already noted, though not correctly laid down, on the chart of Andrea Bianca, bearing date 1436, still in the library of St. Mark at Venice. Columbus himself found the rudder of a ship cast on the beach at Guadaloupe. What, therefore, the ancients, and more particularly the Phœnicians, Carthagenians, nay, the Celtæ, may have done beyond the Atlantic, is not even entirely a conjectural question, since there are still extant elements of a Semitic dialect in certain tribes of South America, and of Celtic in the North; and without the arrival of some mariners from the coasts of the Old Continent, the legend of Quelzalcoatl, a Toltecan legislator, with Budhistic, perhaps Christian, dogmas, could not have been framed prior to the arrival of the Spaniards; yet Cortez was told that he returned to the East: and hence arose that general belief that beings of a superior nature would again visit the West from their abode beyond the broad ocean, which was fully established in Anahuac. But, stimulated by the discoveries of the Portugese, the power and commercial vigilance of Spain successfully blinded, for a time, the scholastic apathy of the rest of Europe, and persuaded political ignorance that it was Columbus who made the first discovery of America. Thus every probability supports the opinion that men from Europe or Western Africa had reached the New World long before the alleged discovery of Columbus; yet it does not follow that any who were carried to the West by the trade winds ever returned. The Scandinavians, however, reached the coast at a high latitude, where the northwestern winds prevail in Autumn, and the marine current sets toward Europe. Hence, they returned to Iceland or Norway, with little uncertainty.*

The Secretary of the Royal Geographical Society asserts the historical fact, that the movements of the Tartar race, under Togrul Beg, in the 12th century, among other results, had the effect of pressing upon the circumpolar race, forcing them to migrate beyond Behring's Straits as far as the western coast of Greenland. That country was, at that time, occupied by three hundred farms and villages of Northmen, who had settled there under Eric the Red, in the 10th century, all of whom these invaders destroyed. They left behind them Runic inscriptions, churches large enough for cathedrals, furnished with bells, etc., and so were not mere marauders, but settlers. Their invaders came suddenly, without boats, and so from the North by land, in the middle of the 14th century.†

* *Natural History of the Human Species.* p. 258. See, also, Joshua Toulmin Smith. *Discovery of America in the 10th Century.* Second Edition. London: 1842. † *Man's Origin and Destiny.* Philadelphia, 1868, p 356.

The question has been settled beyond the possibility of a doubt, by the discovery in 1867, by Raffinnson, of the Runic inscription declared by the Skalholt Saga to have been made in A. D. 1051, on a rock near the Great Falls of the Potomac, by Hervardur and his men; and of the bones and trinkets of a lady of their tribe buried near it. This remarkable inscription is thus translated: "Here rests Suasu, the fair-haired, from the East of Iceland, the widow of Kjolder, and sister of Thorgr, children of the same father, twenty-five years of age. May God make glad her soul—1051." This remarkable inscription is found on the north-east side of the great rock known as The Arrowhead, two miles below the Great Falls, and thirteen miles from Washington.*

This discovery, moreover, attests the genuineness and authenticity of the Skalholt Saga, discovered in the ruins of the ancient College of Skalholt, and bearing date, A. D. 1117: which gives an account of the explorations of the Icelanders in the new-found Vinland (Greenland), and in the country to the south and west, which they called Huitrammanland, or Great Ireland; which is spoken of as having been long before discovered, and repeatedly visited by the Irish. It also narrates the adventures of the Northmen with the Skraelings (Coward Little Men) or Esquimaux, whom they thus derided for their skulking habits.

In the traditions, language, religion and customs of most of the Indian tribes, however, the ethnologist finds conclusive proof of Asiatic origin, and of their migration, as Schoolcraft indicates, by various routes, principally by the Aleutian Islands and Behring's Straits, about the time of the Mongolian migrations in Asia. The ancient population of America was even more mixed up of various nations than that of the United States to-day; but with a preponderance of Asiatics. And Smith alleges that:

"The Malay aspect of the Guaranay and other nations of Brazil, countenances the supposition of their original arrival in the New World somewhere about the Californian coast; whither they seem to have transported, along with legends already pointed out, the practice of boring the septum of the nostrils, the lobes of the ear, and even the lips and cheek-bones, for the pur-

* *The Washington Union*, cited in *Chicago Tribune*, July 16, 1867.

pose of inserting therein bits of bone, of shells, of wood, and feathers or leaves. These, and other fashions before described, they have in common with many islanders of the South Seas and coasts of the North Pacific; and if they are not of foreign origin, they most assuredly are startling coincidences. But that these, and nearly all other invaders of the West coast, are intermixed with the flat-headed Aboriginals, is shown in the artificial means employed by the former to obtain the resemblance of the flat-headed conformation; inflicting, for this purpose, daily torture upon their infants till the desired effect is produced. Torture, self imposed, is indeed a part of the education of most American tribes, and the habit is sufficiently indicative of the small irritability of fibre they possess, in common with the Mongolic and Indo-Papua races of Asia."*

He notices, also, the colossal idols of Pitcairn's and Eastern Islands, the southwest winds and currents driving bodies and canoes on the coast of Chili, the Polynesian Maro, still worn by the Indian women, and the beards of the men of the Sacramento River; the ancient navigation of the Northern Pacific by the Japanese, and the drift of a wrecked Japanese junk, with seven sailors aboard, to within two days sail of California; the chain of the Aleutian Islands, the assertion by Chinese scholars that America was known by the name of Fuh Sang in the annals down to the Fifth century of our era, the monosyllabic Chinese built language of the Othomi, and our ignorance of the Mongolic languages. "Thus there can not be a reliance on arguments drawn from the difference of American languages from the Mongolic; they vary among the different families of North America as much as from any Tartar tongue; and there exist sufficient coincidences and similarities in the sound of words as well as in the opinions, manners and practices of the natives resembling those of Eastern Asia, when taken with the other arguments already produced, *as to overthrow the whole fabric of an exclusively Aboriginal species, or form of man, constituting the races of that continent*, always excepting the flat-head type which, it must be owned, constitutes an ingredient very generally diffused through the native tribes, but not their principal portion."† He cites also, in support of this decision, the ruins of vast castral temples, the diluvial legends, the celestial dragons

* *Natural History of the Human Species*, p. 257.

† *Natural History of the Human Species*, pp. 262, 263.

attempt to drown the moon during an eclipse, the demonology, and magic drum and rattles of Shamanism, the worship of the Cross at Palenque, the figure of the serpent twined around a tree at the same place, the great dragon standard, the banner lances similar to those of the Lama temples, and others adorned with wings like the Huns, the reversed shell of the Bucinnum in graves, the cyclopeæc walls of the Paltas, the bearded Mexicans, and their maps of their migration from the North, till they reached the plateau of the Andes and founded Mexico, in 1325. He shows how the pressure of the northern nations, operating about the year 684, and in the same way as in Europe and Asia, drove the first comers forward, and caused the more civilized to become subject to the more vigorous barbarians, and draws the conclusion that they were mainly of Asiatic origin, but of various races and nations; as in Europe we find Germans, Celts, Turks and Huns.

"With these facts before us, it is vain to assert that all American races, except the Esquimaux, have originally sprung from one stock, for many more coincidences could be mentioned, and while one tribe, like the last mentioned, (the Aleutian islanders,) is admitted to be of the beardless type, of Onralian or Finnish origin, surely others could migrate in a similar direction at earlier periods, when, in all probability, this passage was more practicable, and, according to Biot, the climate was less severe than at present. More than twenty tribes of Indians of the present territory of the United States and Canada, record their migration either from the north or from beyond the Rocky Mountains." *

Thus is the alleged impossibility of the original settlement of America by immigration conclusively disproved. Prichard demonstrates the diversity of the native tribes too, to be as great as that of its more recent invaders. Of all places on earth to fence in for a scientific preserve, America surely was the most unlucky. Surrounded on all sides by a navigable sea, lined with countries swarming with colonists, emigrants, fishermen, navigators and adventurous warriors, this is the very place which experience proves the most accessible part of the globe. Agassiz must discover some secluded valley fenced in by inaccessible mountains, ere he resumes the manufacture of Provinces of Creation, and of races of men and animals circumscribed within their

* *Natural History of the Human Species*, p. 270.

boundaries. Americans never submitted to any such fencing and tethering.

With the colonization of America, the whole question is decided. For, if this whole continent could be peopled by emigration from Asia, Africa and Europe, as we see it has been, then much more easily could the extremities of these lands have been first reached by the early settlers. As no such Provinces of Creation now exist, confining men within scientific boundaries, so none can be shown ever to have existed. From the earliest dawn of history man has been a cosmopolite—a traveler, a navigator, an emigrant, a colonist. The primeval Yankee would have regarded Agassiz's map and plates with as much scorn as the modern Californian, who stands ready to stake out a claim on the Sierra Nevadas, or on the bank of the Hoang Ho. Circumscribe man, indeed! Circumscribe the winds!

The so-called science of ethnology has been invoked to aid the defeated zoologists, in the attempt to prove a variety of human races from the variety of structure discoverable in different nations. The great diversities of opinion among its professors, however, completely neutralize each other, and destroy our faith in their infallibility. We can only accept ethnology at present as a collection of conflicting opinions, and conclude with the writer of the article on that subject in the *American Encyclopedia*, after a review of the contradictory theories, that "the science of ethnology is in a very unsatisfactory condition." A brief statement of some of the assertions of the leading writers on the subject, will show that no confidence can be placed in their conclusions. Lawrence divides man into five varieties; the Caucasian, Ethiopian, Mongolian, American and Malay. Prichard strongly defends the unity of the human species.* Latham separates the human species into three divisions: Mongolian, African and European. Cuvier adopts a similar division. Gratiolet, the latest authority, confirms this division. Pickering says he has seen "two varieties of white men: the Arabian and Abyssinian; three of brown men: Mongolian, Hottentot and Malay; five of blackish-brown:

**Natural History of Man*, p. 303, 306.

Papuan, Negrillo, Telingan and Ethiopian; and two of black men: Australian and Negro;* in all eleven varieties of men; though I am hardly prepared to fix a positive limit to their number." "There is I conceive no middle ground between the admission of eleven distinct species in the human family, and the reduction to one." Malte Brown proposes sixteen varieties. Kant divides men into four: white, black, copper and olive. Linnaeus makes five, one for each continent, and one of monsters, as Albinoes, etc. Hunter makes seven, Metzan two, Virey three. Blumenbach classifies five races: the Mongolian, Caucasian, African, Malay and American. To which Agassiz adds Hottentots, Australians and Esquimaux. Buffon proposes six varieties. Morton raises the number of races of man to twenty-two families, but Luke Burke, the editor of *The London Ethnological Journal*, and, of course, the most competent and best informed writer on the subject, shows in what a profundity of ignorance all his predecessors had labored, by dividing mankind into *sixty-three*, wherof twenty-eight are distinct varieties of the *intellectual*, and thirty-five of the *physical* races. Dr. Nott, however, unwilling to allow such laurels to remain on the brow of the editor of an English magazine, brings out an American theory, which leaves all Old World notions back in the infinite distance. After noticing a few of the theories above alluded to, he says: "Though many other classifications might be mentioned, the above suffice to testify how *arbitrary* all classifications must inevitably be: because no *reason has yet been assigned why, if two original pairs of human beings be admitted, we should not accept an indefinite number*, and if we are to view mankind as governed by the same laws which regulate the rest of the animal kingdom, this conclusion is the most natural, no less than apparently most in accordance with the general plan of the Creator."†

Draper takes the opposite pole, and denies any distinction of species: "I do not, therefore, contemplate the human race as consisting of various, much less of distinct, species, but rather as offering numberless representatives

* *Races of Men, passim.* † *Types of Mankind*, p 83.

of the different forms which an ideal type can be made to assume under exposure to different conditions."

Hamilton Smith thus characterizes those attempts of system-makers to decide questions they do not understand: "Whether we take these typical forms in the light of distinct species, or view them simply as varieties of one aboriginal pair, there appear immediately two others intermediate between them, possessing the modified combination of character of two of the foregoing, sufficiently remote from both to seem deserving, likewise, the denomination of a species, or at least of normal varieties, if it were not that the same difficulty obtrudes itself between every succeeding intermediate observance. Hence, from the time of Linnaeus, who first ventured to place man in the class Mammalia, systematists have selected various diagnoses for separating the different types or varieties of the human family; such as the form of the skull, the facial angle, the character of the hair, and of the mucous membrane. But the skeleton and internal structure may not have been sufficiently examined in all stages of existence. How much still remains to be done, may be further instanced in the mental faculties, which have been even more neglected; neither have they noticed religious and traditional opinions and practises; and the connection they have with the external world assuredly demands vigorous and dispassionate inquiry. In general the leading character, somewhat arbitrarily chosen, is held up as singly sufficient and uncombined with others—some of the most important points in the question remaining unnoticed—and sometimes the conclusions are drawn at variance with the systematic rules prescribed in zoology on all other occasions. No common concert is the result of this variety of systems; and a great number of arbitrary divisions and causeless names are introduced—the proof how little zoologists are agreed in their views—while the main points are scarcely influential; and more than justifiable stress is laid on coincidences of language, which, notwithstanding they have unquestionable weight, are not as yet sufficiently discriminated for the general acquiescense of linguists, and should morever be used with

some regard to the occasoinal oblivion of the parent tongue by the encroachment of another brought in vogue by a conquering people."*

The alleged structural differences between the Caucasian and colored races, as to hair, skin, etc., have been completely disproved by more careful microscopic examinations. No known fact of science contradicts the Mosaic account of the human race.

It is, therefore, not wonderful that, on sober second thought, some of the most positive asserters of the diversity of races of men should come to the conclusion that there is a defect in their argument. Even Mr. Gliddon, who writes so flipantly, and treats the Bible doctrine of this subject so contempuously in *Types of Mankind*, in a more recent work on the same subject,† is obliged to acknowledge that "the diversity view is not yet absolutely proven," that the proofs are chiefly of a negative character, and that "these questions being still *sub judice*, some discovery in science, still unforeseen, may hereafter establish *unity* upon a certain basis."

Such is the so-called science of ethnology, on the strength of which the Bible statement of the descent of all mankind from one father is denied, and the blessed bond of the brotherhood of all men rent asunder! This is the sort of authority on which the only existing history of the origin of the human race is derided, and the Pentateuch is declared to be in conflict with modern science. The credulity which can accept these contradictions as science need not stumble at anything Moses relates.

The latest and most authoritative review of the whole subject is that given by Humboldt, in which he unhesitatingly, and for causes shown, asserts the unity of the human race, with all its moral consequences. "As long as attention was directed solely to the extremes in varieties of color and of form, and to the vividness of the first impression of the senses, the observer was naturally disposed to regard races rather as originally different species than as mere va-

† *Indigenius Races of the Earth*, London, 1857.

* *Natural History of the Human Species*, p. 177.

rieties. The permanence of certain types in the midst of the most hostile influences, especially of climate, appeared to favor such a view, notwithstanding the shortness of the interval of time, from which the historical evidence was derived. In our opinion, however, more powerful reasons can be advanced in support of the theory of the unity of the human race: as, for instance, in the many intermediate gradations in the color of the skin, and in the form of the skull, which have been made known to us in recent times by the rapid progress of geographical knowledge; the analogies presented by the varieties in the species of many wild and domesticated animals; and the more correct observations collected regarding the limits of fecundity in hybrids. The greater number of the contrasts, which were formerly supposed to exist, have disappeared before the laborious researches of Tiedemann on the brain of Europeans and negroes, and the anatomical investigations of Vrolik and Weber on the form of the pelvis. On comparing the dark-colored African nations, on whose physical history the admirable work of Prichard has thrown so much light, with the races inhabiting the islands of the South Indian and West Australian archipelagoes, and with the Papuans and Alfovrous, we see that a black skin, wooly hair and a negro-like cast of countenance are not necessarily connected together. So long as only a small portion of the earth was known to the Western nations, partial views necessarily predominated, and tropical heat and a black skin consequently appeared inseparable. "The Ethiopians," said the ancient tragic poet, Theodectes, of Phaselis, "are colored by the near Sun-god, in his course, with a sooty lustre, and their hair is dried and crisped with the heat of his rays." The campaigns of Alexander, which gave rise to so many new ideas regarding physical geography, likewise first excited a discussion on the problematical influence of climate on races. "Families of animals and plants," writes one of the greatest anatomists of the day, Johannes Müller, in his noble and comprehensive work, *Physiologie des Menschere*, "undergo, within certain limitations peculiar to the different races and species, various modifications in their distri-

bution on the surface of the earth, propagating these various organic types of species. The present races of animals have been produced by the combined action of many different internal, as well as external, conditions, the nature of which, can not, in all cases, be defined, the most striking varieties being found in those families which are capable of the greatest distribution over the surface of the earth. The different races of mankind are forms of the sole species, by the union of two of whose members descendants are propagated. They are not different species of a genus, since in that case their hybrid descendants would remain unfruitful. But whether the human races have descended from several primitive races of men, or from one alone, is a question that can not be determined from experience." The testimony of the Bible history is absolutely the only account we have of the matter. Müller here denies the existence of any contradictory scientific fact.

Humboldt, moreover, goes on to vindicate the great moral inference from the unity of mankind, in language at once cogent and eloquent: "Whilst we maintain the unity of the human species, we at the same time repel the depressing assumption of inferior and superior races of men. There are nations more susceptible of cultivation, more highly civilized, more ennobled by mental cultivation, than others, but none in themselves nobler than others. All are in like degree designed for freedom, which in the ruder conditions of society belongs to the individual, but which, in social states enjoying political institutions, appertains as a right to the whole body of the community. If we would indicate an idea, which, throughout the whole course of history, has ever more and more widely extended its empire, or which, more than any other, testifies to the much-contested, and still more decidedly misunderstood, perfectibility of the whole human race—it is that of establishing our common humanity, of striving to remove the barriers which prejudice, and limited views of every kind, have erected amongst men, and to treat all mankind without reference to religion, nation, or color, as one fraternity, one great community, fitted for the attainment of one object,

the unrestrained development of the pyschical powers. This is the ultimate and highest aim of society, identical with the direction implanted by nature in the mind of man towards the indefinite extension of his own existence. Thus, deeply rooted in the innermost nature of man, and even enjoined upon him by his highest tendencies, the recognition of the bond of humanity becomes one of the noblest leading principles in the history of mankind."* Yes! man feels in his inmost soul the righteousness of the Bible law: "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself," and the truth of the Bible facts that we have all one father, and that one God hath created us brethren. Science acknowledges the unity of mankind.

Art. II. *A Manual of the Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America.* By John C. Lowrie. New York: Wm. Rankin, Jr., 23 Centre St.

No man in our whole Church is better able to prepare a manual of her missionary operations than the respected author of this volume. His whole ministerial life has been spent in connection with Foreign Missions, and some of the fruits of that life we have here embodied. The work is in itself important and suggestive, as it masses together many facts relating to the past and present state of the Missions of the Board, and the operations and results of different Missionary Societies that are of great and permanent value. The preparation and arrangement of these, have no doubt, required much labor and research.

A new feature in this edition is a record of those who have died in the service of the Board. This embraces nearly one-half of the volume, and possesses, from its very nature, a sacred interest to every reader. In it are enshrined nearly one hundred names, not including the memoirs of five native laborers—a noble company of earnest, devoted men and women. These represent almost every

* *Cosmos*, 1, 369.

mission under the care of the Board, and contain nearly an equal number of both sexes. No one can look over these memorials of the departed without rejoicing that they were counted worthy to labor, and, when need be, to die in such a cause, and without feeling that the Church should keep them in everlasting remembrance. In scanning this roll, we find but few who have added anything to the scientific and literary treasures of Christendom. Loenthall, as a linguist, had not his superior for his age in the whole mission field; others occupied in their day prominent places as scholars and translators; yet the distinguishing trait of the whole was that of devotion to the missionary work. This is true greatness. From their hearty allegiance to the cause, and by their self-denying labors, none can measure their influence or gather up their power. Each had an individualism that told upon others, that was felt in our own land, and that lives in the places where such labored and died. In their toils and in their dying testimony, the great principles of the gospel are seen in strong and living light, and no one can rightly consider these without acknowledging the constraining, elevating and sustaining power of that cause to which they consecrated their youthful Christian energies, and without being brought into closer sympathy with the intrepid band of workers now in the field.

A mournful interest gathers around the removal from earth of this devoted company. Most died in the full vigor of their days and far from their native land. One and another just touched the heathen shores and passed away to glory; one and another lingered on them a little longer, and, as they were beginning to point the guilty pagan to the Lamb that was slain, they were ushered themselves into his burning presence; one and another threw themselves into the work of preparation, and when seemingly the best fitted for service, they, at the divine call, lay down beside their cherished work and died. Few veterans are in this list; but, though this be so, each life that answers life's great end is noble and complete. Only one, Dr. Campbell, of India, completed a quarter of a century in missionary service, while not one of the others reached twenty years in

the employ of the Board. In this cloud of witnesses are a few that stand out from all the rest and that have a departure peculiarly their own—those who were cut off by violence and were, in a sense, martyrs for the truth. Our India Missions have been baptized in blood. Ten have been stricken down by the hand of man in that land, in the midst of growing usefulness, and one in China. No other Missionary Society has, in these last days, suffered to a like extent. Such a costly offering was demanded of our Church by her divine Head, to give her a more vivid conception of the guilt and degradation of the heathen, and to bind her more closely and strongly to a work that requires of each one self-devotement to the Lord and a self-sacrificing spirit in His service. The religion of the Cross is in its very nature and demands a religion of sacrifice. It exhibits this as a fact in an incarnate form; it presents it as a doctrine to be grasped by the soul, and reveals it as the life of the renovated heart. Christians must not only be imbued with it, they must manifest it, not simply in words and deeds, but, when necessary for a higher good, they must lay down their lives. For some such purpose, and to subserve some great beneficient end, Lowrie, Janvier, Loenthall and the "martyred missionaries of Futtehgur," were called upon to suffer and to die. Cheerfully they made the offering and have gone up

> "Amid the august and never-dying light
> Of constellated spirits, who have gained
> A name in heaven, by power of heavenly deeds;"

but to the Church they speak, through the Church they still act, and by her will their worth and names be long embalmed.

The Missions formed by our Church are embraced in this manual within a period of thirty-five years. This gives a distinctive ecclesiastical character to the operations of the Western Foreign Missionary Society, but does undesigned injustice to the earlier evangelistic movements of the Presbyterian Church. No one can tell from this volume what these were. A chapter on these early missions, especially as Dr. Green's *Historical Sketch* is out of print, would have

been of great service, and would have given a completeness to it, as well as brought out the fact that our denomination did not begin missionary efforts in 1832, but had been at work, in one form or another, long before any of the great missionary institutions of the age had been inaugurated. These efforts, it is true, were at first local and partial, but they were indicative of life and the pressing claims of duty. To the aborigines of the country, was the attention of the Church primarily and specially turned. Settled ministers sought in places to bring the Indians, who were within their reach, under the power of the gospel. Churches, presbyteries and synods took action on this subject and set in operation different movements for their evangelization. The Synod of New York passed the following minute in 1751: "The exigencies of the great affair of propagating the gospel among the heathen, being represented unto the synod, the synod, in order to promote so important and valuable a design, do enjoin all their members to appoint a collection in their several congregations once every year, to be applied for that purpose; and that the money raised by such collections be yearly sent to the synod." The following year the synod called upon the members to know how this injunction had been obeyed, when the delinquents whose names are recorded agreed to attend, as soon as possible, to the matter. Other judicatories took similar action, and aid was sought from Europe to carry on missions among the Indians more successfully. In 1801 the General Assembly called upon the presbyteries to report "all such persons under their care, as are proper to be employed, and may be procured, to serve as missionaries to the Indian Tribes." As a result of all such movements, many tribes were visited and several missions established, some of which were afterwards transferred to the American Board. These measures, whilst ecclesiastical, were desultory and meagre. They lacked the power of united associated effort, yet they did much to keep alive the missionary spirit, and exerted, through the Brainards and others, a great influence upon Christendom.

The organization of the London and other Missionary

Societies in Great Britain was soon felt in our own land, and institutions based upon the principle of combining different religious bodies to coöperate in missionary effort were founded. In 1776 the New York Missionary Society, in 1777 the Northern Missionary Society, and in 1817 the United Foreign Missionary Society, composed principally of Presbyterians, were formed. These were in time amalgamated and finally merged into the American Board, greatly to the dissatisfaction of many in the church. This great institution, however catholic in spirit and liberal in its plans, could not command the sympathy and the active aid of our entire body. Whilst many were the open friends and avowed advocates of voluntary societies, others were as earnest in their opposition to them, and as warmly attached to ecclesiastical organizations. These believed that the church was bound in her corporate capacity to evangelise the nations—that this duty was committed to her by her divine Head; that associated effort would be greater, and ecclesiastical action more influential, both at home and abroad; and that in the developments of the work, there would be greater stability and harmony of views. As the missionary work expanded in the foreign field, and the missionary spirit became more pervasive among the churches, the correctness of these positions was seen, and now nearly every denomination is prosecuting evangelistic work in an ecclesiastical capacity, and their missionary churches are an integral part of themselves. It is therefore with regret that we see in the basis of reunion, adopted by the General Assemblies, sufficient in one of the articles, to reopen former issues on this subject. Whilst the churches are recommended to sustain the different Boards, they are left free by stipulation to cast their contributions into voluntary societies that are independent of ecclesiastical control. This basis is a compact between the two bodies for the one future church, and in it is a principle embodied that comes in conflict with what our branch of the church has maintained in her past history. The clause referred to adds nothing to the article, and had much better be stricken out, for any duty sought to be guarded by it will be performed independent

of its presence. The efficiency and power of the church, if united, will depend upon the manner in which the various Boards or Committees are sustained. A growing evil of the age is the multiplication of voluntary benevolent agencies, that jostle each other, that demand Christian sympathy and support, and that by their various representatives are clamorous to be heard in our churches, and that are heard at times to the neglect of those schemes which the General Assembly has established. Nothing then should be done to weaken the claims of the Boards in the estimation of the people, or to turn their benevolence into other than appointed channels. United church action is church advancement and strength.

With the formation of the Western Foreign Missionary Society in 1831; its grateful recognition by the General Assembly in 1832; the negotiation for its transfer to the General Assembly; the organization of the Board of Foreign Missions in 1837; the surrender of the Western Foreign Missionary Society, with all its missions, etc., to the Board, are facts well known to our readers. It is with these missions, as begun by the Western Foreign Missionary Society, and not when received by the Board, that Dr. Lowrie commences their history. The missions transferred to the Board were three—Western Africa, Northern India and the Western Indians. At the time of the transfer there were, in these missions, seven stations, and connected with them on the field, nine ministers, and on their way to reinforce the mission in Northern India, two missionaries, one teacher, one printer, and their wives; or altogether, at home, and in active service, eleven ordained ministers, five teachers, one printer, and twenty females. The points occupied by the Western Missionary Society were all new; the fruits of earlier missionary efforts of our church were held by the American Board. The labor expended at these points was mainly preparatory, though a church of twelve native members had been organized among the Wea Indians, and three conversions reported in India. At this period the Society was at work among only two small Indian tribes; these two stations were afterwards, for reasons stated, discontinued. The mis-

sion in Western Africa was in a very feeble condition, only one colored laborer, and he a licentiate, teaching a small school among the Bassas. In India, the work was more encouraging and on a larger scale. The rejection of the Western Foreign Missionary Society, by the General Assembly, in 1836, and the uncertainty as to its relations to the church in the future, instead of dispiriting the friends of the society, led them to put forth new efforts, and to gather much strength, so that the increase to the missionary force, the first year of the Board's operations, was largely due to the energy, zeal, courage and determination of those who managed the operations of the Western Foreign Missionary Society. About this time the name of the Hon. Walter Lowrie is found on its records, being elected Corresponding Secretary in August, 1836. For thirty-two years that name has appeared on every annual report, though we lately miss it from the monthly issues of the Board. Constrained by declining health to resign his office, it was reluctantly accepted by both the Board and the General Assembly, at their last meetings. To his thorough devotion to this cause, to his unwearied energy, to his wise counsels, his clear comprehensive views of duty and action, are the missions of our church more indebted than to those of any other man. In him met a combination of excellencies, which, in the orderings of infinite wisdom, were brought into play in the early history of the missionary work, and gave character to it. The present status of the missions is due largely to his moulding and controlling influence.

It is thirty-one years since the Board of Foreign Missions was constituted, and during this whole period progress has marked its history. The church has taken no step backward; she has abandoned no mission, she has been driven from no point. Discouragements have not moved her, trials have not disheartened her; want of success has not led her to change her stations or withdraw her laborers. It is true, that a point now and then has been given up for a stronger position, but it was not for any of the reasons mentioned. She has steadily advanced, until her laborers are found in many lands, battling with the great leading sys-

tems of error and superstition. In 1837, the Board took under its care, three missions, seven stations, eleven missionaries, six male and twenty female assistant missionaries. At this time, the Board has twelve distinct mission fields, forty-seven stations, with several out-stations, eighty-one foreign missionaries, twenty-two native ordained ministers and licentiates, twelve male and seventy-six female assistant missionaries, and one hundred and seventy-nine native agents. Then, there were fifteen reported members of the church, in two organizations; now, there are forty-five organized churches, with a membership of more than sixteen hundred. Then, there were one high school, two small boarding schools, and several common schools, attended by a few hundred scholars; now, according to last report, are one college, several high schools and boarding-schools, and many common schools, containing about seven thousand pupils. Then, no presbytery had been organized; now, there are three in India, one in Siam, four in China, one in Brazil, and two in Africa. Within this period, new missions have been established among the Seminoles, Creeks, Omahas, Chippewas and Ottawas; in the United States of Colombia and Brazil; in Corisco, Western Africa; in China, Japan, Siam, among the Laos and the Chinese in California, and among the Jews. In 1838, the receipts of the Board were $45,498, in 1868 they were $285,689. These figures show a steady onward movement in men and means, in precious fruits and gathered results, but they do not set forth the great preparatory work that has been accomplished, the vital forces in operation, the scattered seed springing up, and the numbers garnered in heaven. They portray certain facts, but, connected with and flowing from them, are others important in themselves, and far reaching in their effects. Thus, the Word of God has been translated in whole or in part by the evangelists sent out by the Board, into Pushto, Hindi, Panjabi, Siamese, Chinese, Japanese, Muskokee, Benga, etc. The press has been largely used, the religious newspaper and the magazine, tracts, standard religious works original and translated, dictionaries and commentaries, have all been prepared and issued for the en-

lightenment of the mind, the education of the heart, and the edification of the church. An increasing native force is in process of training for enlarged operations, while some educated in our missions are occupying prominent places in other societies. These are positive results, but there are others that neither words nor figures can portray. Around and far beyond every mission centre are influences silent but mighty, that are awakening thought, touching consciences, enlightening, forming and directing public sentiment in the way of truth and righteousness. Faith in hoary superstitions is not only giving way, but idolatrous rites and practices are losing their hold on many. A purer faith is sought, though it yet stops short with the mass of the simple faith of the gospel. Tens of thousands in India, nominally heathen, are well acquainted with the doctrines and claims of Christianity and acknowledge its divinity; and in every land where the gospel has been proclaimed, are many of God's hidden ones, whose names have never been enrolled on the register of any church. It is then time for Christians at home to stop measuring success by the number of conversions or the social standing and moral power of the infant churches. These are only a small part of the results, but few as they are, they are more than could rightfully be expected. They are a pledge of others. If these have been gained by the desultory and in the initial movements of Zion, what will be wrought when she ariseth in her strength and goeth forth conquering unto conquer? If these have been won mainly by the foreign missionary, what will be achieved by the native churches, who are to take up and carry on the work where the missionary leaves it? These two agencies are distinct, yet the one prepares the way for the other, and together they are linked to usher in upon our earth millenial glory.

If the life of the church has to be determined by the extent of her missionary offerings in men and means, then the interest of the two hundred and fifty thousand members, who constitute the Old School Presbyterian Church, can be easily guaged. Wherever there is Christian life, there is development. The greater the life, the wider will be the ac-

tivity, the more intense the devotion, and the more ardent and continuous the zeal for the advancement of the Redeemer's kingdom. The heart can not take hold of Christ by faith, without feeling and acting in sympathy with him. Love to him can not exist independent of love to the race, so that a renovated soul must glow and expand with the benevolence of incarnate love. Saved himself, he must save others. A partaker of the divine life, he must become an agent for communicating that life to the perishing. It is in the church we must look for the demonstration of this life, and this can no where be so fully marked as in her missionary efforts; and this is peculiarly true at this stage of her history. The church is a missionary society. He who walks in the midst of her, the truths she holds and the charter she has received, urge her to constant effort. To her has been entrusted the duty of this world's evangelization. To prosecute this work in the spirit of Christ, demands self-denial and thorough consecration. No one connected with her is exempt from duty. Every one is pledged for something. Christ's love was sacrificial, the church's devotion must be displayed in a similar manner. Christians then are not to expect an easy conquest, or to look for the Master's return to do their work. They are to make known his salvation to the ends of the earth by conflict, sufferings and self-denying labor, so that when he shall return, it may be to present a completed church to his Father.

These are truisms known to all, and yet how feebly do they sway the life of the church. This is seen in our own body. Men are needed in every mission-field to preach, to organize and to direct. This is the noblest service to which the Lord can summon his children, and yet, out of her two thousand three hundred and thirty ministers, she has only sent from her own bosom eighty. Means are needed to sustain her representatives abroad, and to prosecute the work of evangelization with vigor, and yet, after the most urgent appeals, the Board, for the past year, gathered into her treasury, from Sabbath-schools, churches and individuals, including legacies, $252,941. And what do her over-

drawn treasury, her heavy debt, and her earnest pleas for aid, show, but that Christian liberality does not keep pace with the demands of Providence, and of the work.

Another thing to be noted since the organization of the Board, is the manner in which the entire church has been brought into sympathy and coöperation with it. It was gravely stated, on the floor of the General Assembly in 1836, that the Assembly had not the power, nor the constutional right, to conduct missions. This, some verily believed. By education and force of circumstances, some who remained in our branch of the church after the division, continued the friends and supporters of voluntary societies, especially of the American Board; and not a few churches, for many years, aided by their gifts this great benevolent institution. Now, with scarcely an exception, all the congregations, that contribute at all to the missionary cause, send their offerings to their own Missionary Board. This is largely due to the conviction, that this not only a right way, but that the operations of the Board have been conducted with prudence and economy. If it had not gained their confidence, it could not have received their active sympathy. This fact is one worthy of note, and it further reveals a compact and united body, to do the church's work in a natural and scriptural manner.

Since the battle was fought on this subject, during the years preceding the disruption, a great change has taken place in the views and actions of other portions of the great Presbyterian Family. They have seen that a stronger interest can be awakened, more activity called forth, and larger resources obtained, by having their own Boards, and these directly amenable to their own church courts. The church thus does her work in harmony with her own constitution; her missionaries go forth by her authority, are supported immediately by her, and they remain under her direction and loving guardianship; the churches gathered from among the heathen are brought at once into living fellowship with the great body at home, adopt the same standards and polity; and thus, without friction, they become an integral part of the same family, by whose efforts, prayers

and labors, they were brought into union with Christ. There are, thus, no divided interests between church and Board, and no variety of doctrinal opinions and ecclesiastical organizations in the foreign field. Each organized society of believers becomes Presbyterian in name, and each church court takes its name and place in the one corporate body.

This harmony of views as to policy or the best mode of conducting missionary operations, together with the confidence had in those who represent the church at large in the superintendence of the work, give immense power for its prosecution. We are glad to see that this power is becoming more consolidated and developed. The past year, more churches than ever before contributed to this cause, and more, proportionately, to their membership. An important agency, by the call of the General Assembly, was brought into more thorough union with this work, and the gifts of the Sabbath Schools showed the power of littles, and the need of interesting the young and combining their strength in missionary labors. There is something in missionary scenes, toils, trials and successes, to arrest their attention, arouse their feelings and call forth their gifts. A great responsibility rests upon pastors, teachers, and those who are at the head of missionary institutions, to take advantage of this, and educate them for active service and exertion for the salvation of others. The advantages to them and others are so great, that we wonder at the indifference of parents and ministers in this part of their training. "It is not" says Dr. Philip, of South Africa, "the amount of the sums collected, large though these be, to which the greatest importance should be attached, but to the effects of it on the minds of the rising generation, and of generations yet to come. To enlist the sympathies of youth in this manner in the cause of missions, is to prepare their hearts for the saving reception of the gospel; it is training their minds to greatness, by bringing before them and accustoming them to meditate on the greatest of all interests; it furnishes parents with the best aids of which they can avail themselves for evangelizing the souls of their children, while it is training up young

soldiers for the captain of our salvation." These and kindred benefits are sufficient to arouse all concerned to the duty of educating the rising generation, for the express purpose of serving the Lord Jesus in the extension of his kingdom. Soon they will be on the scene of action, and upon the habits now formed, the interest now awakened, and the manner in which they are taught to regard schemes of Christian usefulness, will the future of that kingdom and the character of philanthropic endeavor largely depend.

Another step in advance since the organization of the Board, is the dispensing with agents, and throwing the responsibility of collecting funds and aiding the cause, wholly upon pastors and church sessions. The Board, as we have shown, was a better and a more vital organization for our entire body, for calling out their sympathies and holding their affections. On no other plan could unity have been attained. But, while thus superior to every other arrangement for the people, it must be sustained by them, and with it they must be made acquainted. For healthy, successful action these two things are common to all societies. It is not, then, enough that the members of our Zion know that their mode of conducting missions is the best, they must recognize the duty of supporting it and feel its demands upon them. The machinery, however perfect, will not go alone. The great motive or impelling power to sustain this cause, is love—love to Christ wrought in the soul by the Holy Ghost. The command to labor for the evangelization of the world is the command of love, and the compassion felt for the countless victims of ignorance and superstition, and the efforts put forth for their salvation, originate in this undying affection. But this love dwells in imperfect men; it is therefore checked and influenced by much that is earthly. The little interest in missions arises from partial views of truth and of duty, from defects of character, from meagre conceptions of obligation, from a worldly spirit, from wrong training or from other causes. With these the minister of Christ becomes acquainted, and, like a faithful ambassador of the Lord, he will strive to correct them and bring home responsibility to the hearts and consciences of all. It is his

province where such evils exist, to lay down for the guidance of the people right principles of action, clear views of truth and just conceptions of what God requires; and to enforce obligation in such a manner, that they will see it, feel it, and seek to discharge it. This is a work and not a simple act—a labor of years and not the result of a single sermon.

It may be safely affirmed that no real child of God can deny the obligation to evangelize the nations. Believers may differ as to the best mode of doing this; but no enlightened heart can reject Christ's utterances, apostolic precept and example, and the legislation of the church on this subject. These are all distinct and positive. These all harmonize and are in symphony with that active expansive benevolence, created in the heart by the Holy Spirit. To what extent this benevolence is to be displayed, or the amount given for the prosecution of this work, will depend largely upon ability, knowledge and devotion to Christ. Upon the duty and the exercise of the grace of giving, the church needs line upon line. Christians must be taught, educated, and trained by the ministry for its proper performance. In this, the pulpit has power, and the pastor wields a more direct and immediate influence than any other human agent. He must give no uncertain sound. God's law must be heard, Christ's example must teach, the voice of Providence must instruct, the fearful and guilty condition of the heathen must be revealed, so as to call out the full sympathy of the people, the strength of their prayers and the power of their gifts. They must be taught the duty of liberality in the light of the cross, and along the whole line of stewardship. They must be led to see it, not simply as a doctrine, but a grace, not merely a privilege, but a test of discipleship, in which their character is involved and by which they are to be judged. They must be instructed how to present it as an act of love to God, as a true offering for his service, and as an expression of their self-denial. This again is to be done not in a moment, or by a spasmodic effort, but by steady, faithful toil and culture.

It is important that Christians should be also intelligent givers, acting not from impulse but principle; acquainted

with the relative claims and wants of different benevolent schemes, and aiding them with liberality and discrimination. For this purpose they must be taught by the living preacher. There is no doubt much covetousness in the church—little proportionate giving; but this arises as much from ignorance as from a worldly grasping spirit,—ignorance of the binding or pressing form of God's law, of Christ's claims, of the world's demands and of the church's needs. There is a vein of real sacred benevolence in every ransoned heart—the work of the Spirit; and that needs only to be properly struck and wrought to yield its rich treasures. Were not this the case, the missionary cause would lose one of its main elements of strength, as the support given to it would be eccentric and uncertain. But this vein lies in many hearts, almost untouched. The latent power of the church is vast. This is owing largely to want of information and to defective organization. Much is written on the subject of missions; much that sustains and increases the interest of many in it; but to reach the hearts of the people, the voice of the stated ministry must be heard, instruction must be given, details spread out of what is doing in different fields, and the whole work so presented, that the duty to aid will not only be felt, but the privilege also. Missionary information is essential to awaken Christian sympathy, direct and shape earnest prayer, enlarge the understanding and quicken liberality. Let the greatness of the field be delineated, the sad condition of its guilty inhabitants be known, the measures employed for their salvation be sketched, the development and success of the work be rehearsed; let the self-denying labors of the workers, their loud and incessant appeals for help, and their great encouragements, be spread before the people; let them become acquainted with the missions of the Board, with the state of the treasury, with the urgencies of the cause, and with topics kindred to these, and there will be a generous response of both men and means. It is ignorance that prevents sympathy. Dr. Judson's statement is still true: "I am persuaded, that the only reason why all the dear friends of Jesus in America do not come forward in the support of missions is mere

want of information. If they could only see and know half what I do, they would give all their property, and their persons, too."

To instruct the people and make them intelligent givers for Christ's cause, is the work of pastors, not of agents. From his official position, his relations to his charge, and his acquaintance with it, the settled minister possesses a power over all others. He must therefore keep abreast of the great movements of the age, live in sympathy with them, and bring his people to appreciate their position, and the increased responsibilities connected with it. He has no right to delegate any part of his personal and official work to others, and especially to one who can not wield the influence and has not the opportunity of moulding and stimulating the flock that he has. The agency system is enervating, and has really no place in our church, where provision is made for all her Boards, and where responsibility for the same is thrown upon the officers of each local organization. They may be and are necessary in the earliest stages of the work, and they have done much to diffuse information, awaken thought and increased contributions; but since the missionary spirit has become more pervasive through the churches, and the benevolent schemes of the church set forth by her authority are strictly ecclesiatical, agents are not now a necessity. They are, however, needed by voluntary societies.

These forms of advance since the organization of the Board in 1837, are very gratifying. They all indicate progress in the right direction, and carry with them the smiles of heaven. They are all designed to unite the church more closely to the work of evangelizing the world and developing her resources; and they are an earnest of what our Zion is capable of doing, when she shall arise in her strength, and shall, with all her energies, proclaim to the nations the story of redeeming grace. In the mean time, it is a cheering thought, that, as a denomination, we have taken part in this work, and that, so early in our initial efforts, we have been enabled to plant so many missions in different portions of the earth and among so many religionists. In these, the

first fruits have not only been gathered, but a preparation made for further and more extended operations. It is also a matter of gratitude, that God should have raised up and qualified so many instruments for the places they had to fill, and the work they had to accomplish. Many choice men and women, full of faith and zeal, have labored and are laboring in connection with the Board. Several of her missionaries have been among the ablest men that have been sent by any society, and all have done something to help forward the cause. In this respect God has greatly favored the Board. It is also a subject of grateful acknowledgment, that nearly all our Missions are among powerful nations, or in great centres of influence; they are in the midst or directed against Buddhism, Brahminism, Mohammedanism, Judaism and Popery,—the strong holds of superstition and error.

The Board is now brought at this stage of her history to consider, whether the Church has enough of vital energy and piety to meet the healthy progress of the work abroad and its demands for new laborers; whether this can be done when the rates of exchange are abnormal and irregular, and whether her policy in awakening and sustaining an interest among the churches at home is the most effective?

No man, in considering the strength and ability of the Old School Church, can say, that she is nobly discharging her full duty to the pagan and papal world. The sad blanks in the Annual Reports of the Board, and in the Minutes of the General Assembly, tell that the recommendations, resolutions and requirements of her various judicatories are as yet powerless to combine all her congregations, and concentrate their energies upon this, or any other benevolent enterprise. Then, even in many contributing churches, it is well known that there is a great disparity between their ability and their gifts. But it is just as important to reach and command the power of these, as to bring the other into working, active sympathy with the cause. What is needed, is a system so well arranged and executed that it will pass by none in the church—a system in harmony with God's word, church authority, and the believer's relations. The

simple contribution once a year for the world's evangelization, preceded by no training, attended by no information, enforced by no divine authority, and followed by no earnest prayer, is the veriest apology for this duty. Such a course can never develop strength, increase benevolence, and sustain in their vigor, missionary operations. The pastor must feel, at such times, that he is pleading for a dying world, in the name and in the spirit of his Lord, and that to him his flock not only look for knowledge and guidance, but the very heathen also. It is time, then, that the ministry took hold of this work in earnest, came up to its demands with new energy, and brought the people into such vital connection with it that they would feel its claims, live under their force, act from principle, give on system and up to the measure of their ability. It is now reduced to a law that the Board can not depend for enlarged operations, and meet crowding necessities, upon spasmodic appeals, casual agencies, fitful impulse, and irregular contributions; she can not go forward on the present scale and views of giving, and take up new positions, and she can not increase to any extent her missionary strength upon the graduated advance of late, especially if what is paid for exchange be taken from it. But to this advance is the church summoned. She must then accept the fact, and in the spirit of loyalty and devotion to her Head, she must sustain the Board. This can be done by a thorough organization in every congregation, or the whole of its benevolence brought under such a system that all shall share in it, and be reached by it.

To work such a system no extra machinery is needed. We have in our church organizations and courts all the authority and influence requisite to stimulate and realize the contributions of the people: and we have in the piety, capabilities, and resources of our Zion, a great power to work upon and draw from, and we have the assurance in the proper exercise of such power, constant and increasing communications of divine strength and grace. It is only in the use of such gifts and graces we have any right to expect God's blessing. His command is: "Bring ye all the tithes into the store-house, that there may be meat in mine house, and

prove me now herewith, saith the Lord of Hosts, if I will not open you the windows of heaven, and pour you out a blessing that there shall not be room enough to receive it." This lays down a great principle in the divine economy and for the development of the church's strength—the performance of duty in order to receive the blessing, and not the blessing in order to discharge the duty. It is not then enough to rest this cause upon the piety of the church, unless this piety is quickened, enlightened, directed and developed, and that by all the means, agencies, and motives established and to be employed for this very purpose. It is not enough to feel unless we act; not enough to pray unless we give; not enough to have Christian sympathy and compassion, unless stimulated and directed for the glory of God and the good of souls. The church's strength must not only be known, but felt. It must be organized and applied.

It has been suggested by many warm friends of the cause, to appoint another executive officer for this purpose,—one "whose specific duty it should be to excite within the churches generally, a livelier interest in the operations of the Board, and thus secure a larger and more general liberality towards it." At the last meeting of the Board this subject was fully discussed, especially in view of the continued financial embarrassments of the treasury, the high rate of exchange, the increased expenses of the different missions, and their pressing demands for enlargement. In behalf of such an appointment it has been urged: (1.) From the necessities of the case. The gradual increase of the funds in currency is too small to meet the current expenses of the missions, especially as most of these are to be paid in gold; and also to sustain their healthy growth. With all the special appeals of last year, and which brought into the treasury over $50,000, the Board closed their fiscal year with another heavy debt. They tell us that their expenditures this year will be larger than ever, and for these, they rely solely on the regular collections of the churches. (2.) The churches look to the executive officers for information, and, from their knowledge of the whole field, for some moral pressure. The present force is inadequate to do what is

needed. The appointment of one who could attend to the home-field, and by correspondence, visiting, and preaching, bring the whole subject of duty to this cause before presbyteries, pastors, sessions, churches, and Sabbath schools, in such a form as to lead to systematic action and reach every one connected with them, would increase the interest of all concerned, and enlarge their contributions. His special work would be organization and concentrating church efforts more thoroughly for missions, wherever his influence could be felt. This influence, with the man whose heart is in the work and whose executive ability is marked, would soon impress itself far and wide. (3.) Such an appointment is not a return to the agency system, it is in the line and in full accord with ecclesiastical organizations; it is in keeping with the past action of the General Assembly on systematic beneevolence, and is designed to give fuller scope to this system.

Other plans have been proposed—some through the religious press and some by Church courts; but these have especial reference to all the Boards, and need not here be discussed. It augurs well for the future, that the whole subject of beneficence is arresting the attention of individuals and occupying the time of our judicatories. There is no want of the *material* of liberality; no want of the ability in the church, but there is a lack of thorough personal devotion to this form of duty and of that spontaneity which does not wait for appeal and pressure, but gives regularly, generously and systematically. To form and sustain this, is the work of the Holy Spirit. His aid must be sought. Without his blessing, every means would fail and every plan be futile. As an instructor he is omnipotent, as a guide he is omnicient; but he works through means, and it is our province to adopt those that are in keeping with the divine will expressed in the Word, with the constitution of man's renovated being, and with the order of things. Providence must teach, as well as the law, and from both can we learn duty and the forms of its expression.

But the missionary cause does more than demand the consecration of our property; it requires our prayers, our

personal influence and active support. These go hand in hand. These it must have. They are all needful and constitute the human agency for the advancement of Christ's kingdom. With these we only have to do. God will take care of his part of the work. Ours must be looked after, known and discharged. He who enjoined it, expects its performance. The evangelization of the world has not only to be carried on, but completed. Perseverance in it is a proof of fidelity and love. To help forward the cause was the reigning desire of the author in the preparation of the *Manual* and we can not but hope that God will employ it as one of the instruments of bringing our whole church into living, loving union with the great objects of the Board; into more vital connection with its evangelistic efforts; into a fuller knowledge of its wants, and into closer fellowship with all its missions.

Art. III.—*Christian Work in Egypt.*

The Christian Population.

It has been found almost impossible to arrive at accurate statistical information regarding the inhabitants of Egypt, and the various sections into which the non-Moslem part of them is subdivided. That estimate, however, is sufficiently accurate for our purpose, which writes the Copts at 250,000, and assigns 10,000 to all other sects, such as Jews, Syrians, Maronites, Armenians, Greeks, etc. With regard to the latter, there will be an opportunity of giving some particulars respecting their numbers, characteristic features, and present condition, in treating of Alexandria and Cairo, to which they are almost exclusively confined, and the present article may therefore be devoted to a representation of the Coptic population. Here there are, indeed, materials for not one but several articles, and the main difficulty of any writer must be that of selecting those elements which, com-

bined, will give the most accurate idea of a people whose history and present state are as sadly interesting as they are generally unknown. And this ignorance must be the excuse, if any be required, for the introduction of a larger amount of historical matter than may appear to be consistent with the nature and design of these sketches. When men are met with every year who manifest astonishment at learning that the Copts are not Mohammedans—and the blunder is still more common which regards them as belonging to the Greek communion—a brief reference to history may be not only necessary, but acceptable; while it will also put us in a better position for understanding several otherwise surprising features in the character of the church and people.

Early in the era Christianity found its way into Egypt—a tradition, not without some foundation, assigning the first introduction of the Gospel to St. Mark himself—and spread with something of the same rapidity which characterized its progress in other countries. Intercourse with Greece and Rome, and the importation of the Greek philosophy, had prepared the way to some extent by opening men's minds to the absurdities of the Isis worship, and raising within them the desire for something more spiritual and intellectual: although it was not long before the influence of this same preparation was manifested in the peculiar development of the Egyptian theology. In these early days the young plant received a bias which developed in every succeeding century, and although for a while the tree grew and flourished notwithstanding, so that its fruit went forth into all the world, yet the twist was always there, and is even now seen in the withered and stunted trunk which is its modern representative. The philosophising tendency which on the one side found its expression in the poetically beautiful, but aerial and pagan structures of the Gnostics, or on the other was exhibited in the fanciful mysticism of Origen and his followers, is traceable through every succeeding age, while one of the most notable peculiarities—although to Presbyterian readers the peculiarity will not seem so great—is the participation which the whole people

took in the most intricate and erudite controversies. Then, as now, the Egyptian was much more polemical than practical. Difference in theological opinion would make even the members of the same Christian family deadly enemies, and the loyalty of cities very largely depended on the orthodoxy of the court. There was at that time no Press for the ventilation of opposing views, but rhyme offered a means of influence, if possible, still more effectual, and it was no uncommon thing in these early centuries to have such subjects as "The Eternal Sonship," or "The Human Nature of the Saviour," made the themes of popular song. There was, doubtless, a good side to this intellectual activity; and by giving to the world the life and labors of such men as Clement and Origen and Athanasius, not to mention a host of others, the early Egyptian Church founded for its posterity a strong claim of right to the sympathies and assistance of universal Christendom.

Politically the country was under Roman rule, although the number of Greeks who had settled within its borders, and latterly the partition of the Empire into its Western and Eastern subdivisions, left it almost wholly under Greek government. From the first, however, it claimed an ecclesiastical independence, and the patriarch of Alexandria was long a formidable rival of the Roman bishop. The persecutions of the heathen emperors had yielded a long and illustrious martyrology, which commanded the veneration of all who bore the Christian name, and given birth to a system which peopled the deserts and mountains with hermits and recluses, and moulded all subsequent asceticism. A succession of intellectual giants in the Catechetical school, or Patriarchal chair at Alexandria, had given it a preëminence in the theological and ecclesiastical world; and indirectly, through this elevation, made the power of the Egyptian church felt even in the political government of the empire. Moreover, the Nile Valley was the imperial granary; and the support and protection of thousands of monks, powerful and fearless, were always at the patriarch's command, so that altogether it was no mere hyperbole to

say, that "to be bishop of Alexandria was to be bishop of the world."

The power, however, was but short-lived, and the fifth century brought the beginning of the decline. Controversies on the speculations of Origen and his system of Biblical interpretation gave way to discussions on the Divine nature of our Lord, while they in turn were succeeded by disputes on the connection between the Divine nature of the Word and the human nature of the Son of Mary, with the mutual relations between the two. Of these last, one of the chief phases, which ended in the establishment of a heresy still prevalent, and of a schism ecclesiastical and political which, if it has not caused, has for centuries intensely heightened, the sufferings of its votaries, began with the preaching of an aged monk, named Eutyches, who taught that in Christ there was not merely one person, but also one nature only, which nature was neither human nor divine, but compounded of both. Excommunicated at Constantinople, he found an advocate and protector in the occupant of the Alexandrian see—Dioscuros by name—a man ignorant as he was immoral, and reckless as he was tyrannical. Founding upon an expression falsely attributed to his predecessor Cyril—whose word in Egypt was law—to the effect that "we must not imagine two natures, but one incarnate nature of God the Word," he vindicated the monk and accused the excommunicator, the Patriarch of Constantinople, of heresy.

And so the strife began. Council after council was called, and though, in 451, the monk and his patriarchal advocate were both deposed, and the orthodox faith established in the form in which it still exists, the controversy did not cease. In Egypt, especially, it raged with increased bitterness, the people declaring that no other patriarch should rule in Alexandria so long as Dioscuros lived. The Greeks of the country, in whose hands lay most of the military and administrative power, alone remained orthodox, and supported their bishops and new patriarch against the heretics raised to these offices by the incensed Egyptians; and from this time till the eighteenth century the pitiful spectacle is presented of two rival churches, originally

of the same faith, now separated by a barrier as irrefragable as that which divides the castes of India, hating each other with a perfect hatred, and, whenever possible, each using every means for the other's extermination. And the political connection made the breach all the deeper. The Greeks, called Melchites, or royalists (from *Melek*, a king), on account of their court connection, were the rulers; the Egyptians, called *Jacobites*, by way of distinction, from the name of one of their most zealous leaders, were the subjects and taxpayers, and it is not difficult to see how the acerbities and injustice incident to these relations would deepen the hatred excited by ecclesiastical antagonism. Thus, when the dominant party had recourse to open violence for the suppression of the heresy, and when we read of such acts of tyranny as the deposition of dissenting priests and bishops, incarcerations, exiles, confiscations of property, the shutting of churches, the pillage of monasteries, murders and massacres, we cease to wonder at the desire of the people for a change of masters, which induced them even willingly to exchange the rule of the Crescent for what had proved the oppression of the Cross. The hope of improvement was a monstrous delusion, as experience had proved, but at the time almost anything would have been accepted for a change.

And for a number of years the hope was largely realized. The Mohammedan general, Amrou, in return for the submission of the Jacobites, stipulated to them by special treaty that they should enjoy religious liberty and personal security, that the rights of property would be preserved inviolate and justice be strictly and impartially administered, and that the taxation should be reduced to a fixed and regularly levied sum; and so long as he remained in Egypt the conditions of the treaty were carefully observed. The rest and prosperity which were the consequence, so far as the Egyptians were concerned, could not long continue, for the simple reason that such good faith on the part of the Moslems could not last. According to the Koran, promises to infidels are not binding on the believer, and so, when Amrou left the country it immediately became the scene of

exactions and outrages, which have continued with very little interruption, varying only in intensity, down to the beginning of the present century. Taxes were increased at pleasure, special fines were imposed at will on those suspected of possessing wealth, and payment of both the one and the other was enforced by torture, or their refusal punished by death. Stories are told of a patriarch having been ordered to pay a certain large sum, and, on his pleading inability, being tortured by the application of fire to the soles of his feet till his flock actually collected a portion of the fine; while another is said to have been sent on a pilgrimage round the churches to raise by begging the sum demanded. And, even so late as the end of the last century and the beginning of the present, Christians were subjected to all manner of disgrace and outrage. Marked out from the rest of the community by a special dress and turban of black, forbidden to ride on anything better than an ass, or even on that with a saddle, excluded from all but a few offices, looked upon by every one as a legitimate subject for rapacity and plunder, liable for the smallest offence, whether of thoughtlessness or intent, to be heavily fined or even executed, the people lived in a reign of perpetual terrorism, for which their past history gave too much foundation. Resistance was in a few instances made, and retaliation was sometimes attempted, but massacres and increased burdens were their only result.

And, saddest fact of all, the churches and the people were too often the cause of their own suffering and misery. In the temporary quiet resulting from the unusual humanity of the Emir for the time, dissensions would break out anew, and the still contending factions of the Melchites and Jacobites would revive their disputes with all the virulence of the early struggle. On the other hand, if the ruler was rapacious and tyrannical, the two sects would vie with each other in their attempts to secure the court favor, the amount of the bribes being the measure of the protection. Simony, to an incredible extent, was one of the consequences; the financial pressure put on the Patriarchate rendering necessary the sale of the inferior offices for as much as they

would bring, and thus, an amount of ignorance truly deplorable characterized all classes of church officials. And, when at length the Jacobites got in all their own way, by the gradual decay, and final extinction of the Melchite party, the hierarchy seems to have settled down into a state of apathy and indifference as regards their ecclesiastical functions or spiritual duties, and of self-protection and enjoyment so far as they were individually concerned. And the people were not more free from blame. Almost universally employed as stewards, accountants and scribes, by rulers who were either too proud to learn, or to take up their attention with, such things, they had unbounded opportunities of enriching themselves at their masters' expense; and as they always looked upon the land as their own, and consequently the moneys which passed through their hands as in truth their property, very little casuistry was needed to make them use their opportunities to the utmost. The wealth thus amassed was spent in ways little sanctioned by their religion:

"The Mussulmans were shocked to meet a Christian official in the streets, mounted on a superb charger gorgeously arrayed, and followed by a numerous retinue of Moslem attendants. A crowd of petitioners entreated his favor, or deprecated his anger; some were even seen kissing his feet. 'What wonder,' exclaimed an indignant Emir, 'that our arms are unsuccessful against the Tartars when the most sacred laws are thus violated in our capital?' Such complaints always had their effect. The Mahommedans grew incensed. The laws of Omar were appealed to. The blue turban and the ass were rigorously insisted upon, and all Christians were stripped of their offices. It was well if their churches were not closed or pulled down." *

On another occasion, continues the same writer:

"The Jacobites outraged all decency by excess in wine and the possession of female Mussulman slaves. The Mohammedans were at once scandalized and corrupted by their evil example. The splendor of their religious rites, and the wealth of their churches, aggravated complaints; fifty thousand acres of land were found to be in the hands of the church. The Emirs enforced the ancient laws with additional disabilities. It was made unlawful for any Christian to build or repair a church, monastery or cell, to teach his children the Koran, or prevent their being taught it by Mussulmans, to refuse a Mohammedan shelter in any church or monastery for three nights, to use the

* "Egypt from Alexander to Bonaparte," by the Rev. Geo. Trevor (London Tract Society), to which the reader is referred for a succinct and readable sketch of Egyptian history during the period designated by the title.

Arabic character in deeds, to possess a Mohammedan slave, to bury the dead with a public procession, to ride on horses, to use a saddle, or to wear the same garments as Mussulmans. Their worship was said in a low voice, and no *hagiosidera*, or clappers, to be sounded."

With the accession to the Pashalic of Mohammed Ali, at the beginning of the present century, a new era in Egyptian history opened, and with it a new epoch in the experience of the Christian inhabitants. Gradually the odious distinctions in dress and public customs were allowed to die out, and the disabilities of the Christians for public offices were decisively abolished by the elevation of several Copts to positions of importance and responsibility in the government. The sight of a Christian on horseback was no longer a cause or the excuse for the infliction of arbitrary penalties, and a Moslem, who made a similar complaint to that mentioned in the first of the preceeding extracts, remarking that it was unseemly for a Christian infidel to be so far elevated above a believer who might be on foot, was coolly answered by Ibrahim Pasha: "Why, then, get you upon a camel!" And under Sa'eed Pasha a Christian was appointed Governor of the Egyptian Soodan. The improvements introduced by Mohammed Ali, have continued since, and now there is very little difference in point of political rights or enjoyments between the Moslem and Christian subjects. The taxes are the same for both, the same secular employments are possible to both, and so much has the external distinction died away that even a native can not, in many instances, tell from appearance the religion of the man he meets. And though it may still be true, as it was in the days when Mr. Lane wrote his *Modern Egyptians*, that some will not allow themselves to be mistaken for Moslems, yet there are many most excellent and respectable Copts whose dress gives no indication of their Christianity; and even the ink-horn in the girdle is by no means the unfailing distinctive badge of the Christian which it was twenty years ago, Moslem scribes being found in many of the Divans, both public and private, while, on the other hand, Copts are now found engaged in general merchandize to an extent not known for centuries.

All these ameliorations did not come a moment too soon, if anything was to be left of the once flourishing Egyptians. From the departure of Amrou in the seventh century, down to the last of the Mamlooks, every new outbreak of tyranny on the part of the rulers, or of fanaticism on the side of the people, was attended by defections from Christianity; and as positive encouragements were not wanting, in addition to the relief from the suffering, which steadfastness to their religious professions entailed, the number of apostates received accession from all ranks. The monks, who at one time had to submit to their right hands being branded or manacled, and to pay an annual tribute, went over in large numbers to Islam, so that the swarms of hermits and recluses which peopled the mountains and the deserts are now represented by a pitiful handful. And the six or seven million Christians who filled the land in the time of Origen and Athanasius, had at the beginning of the century dwindled down to less than two hundred thousand; a century or two longer of such history and these would have followed their fathers, the Copt would have lost his identity in that of the Modern Egyptian, the cross would have been displaced by the crescent.

And now, in addition to making us understand a decrease so great and rapid, the preceeding sketch, hurried and imperfect though it be, prepares us for some of the leading characteristics of the modern Copts. For instance, they are much more ignorant than the Moslems, from the difficulties under which their schools labored, it being a fact that a few years ago the only Coptic schools of any worth were confined to Cairo. At the same time they are sharp and cunning, the dissimulation caused by long depression quickening the mental faculties generally, and thus making them excel as scribes, accountants, surveyors, and even as architects and workers in precious metals. The victims of rapacity themselves, they are not slow in practicing the same thing when opportunity offers, and though it is possible to make individuals trustworthy by upright dealing and generous treatment, the honesty of the people in general is by no means to be depended upon. They are servile to a

degree, and obsequiousness itself in the presence of superiors, though at the time their heart may be black with hatred, or their mind full of evil wishes. They will rarely say "No" to any request, and while they may have left an affirmative to be inferred from their silence or their speech, they will have no hesitation in acting as if they had given an unmistakable negative. Bigoted to a degree they cling with saddening steadfastness to the traditions of the church, believing the most childish and ridiculously absurd legends of their numerous saints, and scarcely even knowing, much less understanding, the distinctive doctrine of their faith. It is possible to talk with even the more intelligent on the subject of the Person of Christ, and even to obtain from them a willing assent to the Protestant doctrine, yet, on the unguarded use of any of the terms which have become technical in the controversy, they are up in arms at once, and will denounce as "damnable heresy" the propositions to which they had but a little ago professed their agreement. As a rule, they have little spirit, and though some have acted nobly in assertion and defence of their convictions, yet large numbers of them, though convinced of the hollowness of their own church, and willing to receive instruction at the hands of missionaries, are restrained by the threatenings of their hierarchs, the fulminations of an episcopal, and more of a patriarchal bull—being sufficient to set them all trembling like a herd of cows in a thunder-storm.

In many things they are not to be distinguished from their Moslem fellow-countrymen. As has already been noted, the old distinctions in dress have disappeared, and in the customs of the street and the family, of joy and of sorrow, the difference between the two people is very small indeed. The relation of the sexes is as pitifully degrading in the one as in the other. Marriage with both is simply a ceremony which celebrates the consummation of a commercial transaction, in which the treating parties are the female friends of the bridegroom and bride, who, as a rule, never see each other until after the tie is formed, and then the difference of age between the two is generally such as to preclude

anything like community of tastes or feeling. The families are raised after the same principles, which condemn the children to the exclusive society and training of the harem until they reach a certain age, and then separate them for good from their female relatives. In point of personal habits the Copts are certainly more uncleanly than the Moslems, whose religion has the one virtue of making cleanliness a very essential part of godliness; while in respect to temperance the latter have a tremendous superiority. As we have seen, the Moslem never drinks spirituous liquors, indeed dare not, if he has any respect for his religion; but as for the Copt it might almost be said that in his spare hours he rarely does anything else. In some parts of the country it is even the custom for a man on going to spend an hour in the evening with his friend to take his bottle in his pocket; and the practice of tippling is almost as common among the women as the men. Indeed, to be a Copt and not a drinker of arrak* is something of a prodigy. Priests, bishops, patriarchs too, are all guilty of the same vice, and even the church and hours of prayer are not free from its pollution. The service is long, the language is unintelligible, the officiating priests far from solemn in their demeanor, and the congregation have been known in many cases to relieve the weariness thus produced by such a free indulgence in liquor as to make more than one inebriate before their separation. The nations of the West should, perhaps, be the last to throw the stone at any people for intemperance; but however lightly the vice may be regarded among us, the contempt and disrespect which it brings upon the name of Christ and his religion in the land of Islam is scarcely conceivable. With the Mohammedan, Christianity and drunkenness are essentially connected, and the disgust which the one produces is, by an easy process, transferred without modification to the other.

With these two exceptions, however—those, viz., of filth-

* The national liquor of Egypt. Distilled from the grape, or among the poor, from the date, it is as strong as whisky, which it resembles in appearance, although the commoner qualities approach nearer to turpentine than anything else.

iness and intemperance—the resemblance between the two races is much greater than a casual acquaintance with the two peoples would suggest. And as their social customs, so also their education and religious life, seem to be regulated by the same principles. "The more I study," says Dr. Lansing, of Cairo,† "practically and in their modern developments, the two religions, the more I see that they stand on common grounds and acknowledge common principles, and consequently respect one another's superstitions; and the true reason of the bitter enmity between them is party spirit." This is the verdict of one well qualified to judge, and a true yoke-fellow of the Doctor,—the Rev. Mr. Hogg, of Osiout—in an interesting, but yet unpublished, historical sketch of the American Mission in Egypt, corroborates and expands the statement:

"The faith of each" [Moslem and Copt], says Mr. Hogg, "is a mere traditional belief. Their religious life in common is made up of a round of formal outward acts of devotion, prayer, fasting, the frequent ejaculation of pious expressions, alms-giving, pilgrimage to holy places, vows to saints, etc., exorcises which are supposed by both alike to secure the favor of God, though they may have no sanctifying effect upon the heart and life of him who performs them.

"The Moslems deny Christ's divinity. The Copts assume the position that the two natures of Christ are in reality but one, the human being absorbed in the divine, thus virtually denying his true humanity. 'With whom does Christ intercede?' the writer was once asked by the present Patriarch of the Coptic sect—'with God?' 'How can that be,' he added, 'seeing that he himself is God.

"The Moslems ignore the necessity of a divine atonement for sin. The Copts are ignorant of the true nature of the Christian atonement. Repentance and good works, i. e., formal acts of devotion prescribed by the priests, are as much trusted in by the latter as by the former. The sacraments of the church and the good offices of priestly and saintly intercessors make up for their lack of service.

"The education imparted in the public schools, where these exist, is adapted to this state of things, and calculated to prolong it. The instruction given is wholly religious in the Coptic and Moslem sense of the term. A boy has finished his education when he is able to recite from memory [though he be unable to read correctly an entire sentence] such chapters of the Koran (if he is a Moslem) or (if he is a Copt) such of the Psalms of David as are chiefly used in the private and public devotions of his sect. The teacher is generally blind."

† In his "Egypt's Princes," p. 208.

The number of points in this quotation suggestive of interesting details, is, at the end of an article, exceedingly tantalizing; still the story could not in any case be exhausted in one telling, and therefore for the present a few explanatory statements must suffice. In regard to the religious life of the Copts perhaps the most prominent point is their fasting. Out of the 365 days no fewer than 192 as a minimum, or 212 as a maximum, are consecrated to this religious ordinance; although there is this great difference between the Moslem and Coptic feasts that while the former consists of a rigid abstinence during the entire day from all food, drink, and even tobacco, the latter is a mere change from a general to a restricted diet in which fish and vegetables prevail. For the Coptic peasantry, indeed, fast or no fast makes little difference. "The ejaculation of pious expressions" is a universal characteristic, and one of most striking to a Western ear. Every other sentence is so spiced, and the smallest break in the conversation is filled by "The Lord keep us," or "The Lord preserve you," from an inferior or visitor. If one of the company have been absent, "You have made us desolate," that is by your absence, with its correlative answer: "May the Lord not make us desolate from you," with other similar expressions, are tossed back and forward every few minutes. A favor, no matter how small, is acknowledged by "The Lord bless you," "The Lord increase your good," "Our Lord lengthen your age." Sickness elicits—"May the Lord cure him,"—health draws forth no end of the universal *al hamdu l'illah*—"The praise be to God." But not in blessing only do this people excel—they are no less proficient in cursing. From children of the most tender years,—"God curse your father," "The Lord ruin the house of your father," may constantly be heard, and the practice thus early begun goes on increasing with years, till the man attains a fluency and variety of imprecations something appalling. And for much of this, as for many of their other vices the clergy and religious books are in a large measure responsible. Mohammed is quite an adept in cursing, and the modern hierarchs of the Coptic church are not far behind him in the fluency and intensity of their

public imprecations. On every trivial occasion the ears of the Coptic congregations are indulged with the *haram*, or "curse" of some insensate bishop, or the patriarch himself, in which the punishments of heaven and the tortures of hell are lavished forth with unsparing hand. In regard to pilgrimages, the Copt thinks it as much bounden duty for him to go once in his life to Jerusalem, to witness the horrible mockery of the heavenly fire, which every Easter Saturday issues from the reputed sepulchre of our Lord, as the Moslem does to make the *hadj*, or pilgrimage to Mecca. By both, the journey is regarded as possessing astonishing efficacy in the covering of sins, and sins future no less than past.

In point of doctrine, the church hold in words the doctrine laid down by Eutyches, defended by Dioscuros and preached by the travelling monk, Jacob Baradeus, who gave the sect their distinctive name of Jacobites: Christ has only one nature—the human absorbed in the divine. He is therefore God, and Mary is the mother of God. In both of these points the people in general are touchy in the extreme, and the smallest aspersion cast upon "the blessed virgin," or any attempt to assert her equality with sinners, is sure at once to close all intercourse. The saints hold a position as supreme as in the Roman Catholic church, there being one, in some cases more, for every day in the year, and the pictures of the chief—not adorning, for usually they are miserable daubs—covering the walls of the churches. Some districts have selected one in particular to perform the needed intercession and to receive in turn the burden of their praises and the honor of being sworn by. In the north the Lady Damianah is the favorite, while in Upper Egypt, Mar Girgis—St George—shares the honor of divinity with God and Christ. "By Ullah and Mar Girgis" is the favorite oath, and in the reading and the knowledge of the people the latter occupies a much more prominent position than the former. The stories of his doings in earth and heaven form a large part of the popular literature, being, "The Arabian Nights Entertainments" of the Christian, and, so far as I have been able to judge, the

one work is about as profitable as the other. Those who know anything of the Moslem work in the Arabic will thus have some idea of the literary food of the Christian.*

With regard to the system of education, the last point of resemblance noted in the above extract, it may be added that the only Coptic schools of any consequence are those in Cairo and Osiout,—the latter opened only within the last three years. Taught very much on the Frank system, by teachers who have been trained for the most part by Franks, they devote almost exclusive attention to the Frank languages—Italian, French, and English, and when this exception has been made the statement of Mr. Hogg is literally correct. Those who do not study languages get up a few Psalms and parts of the gospels in the rhyming way characteristic of the country, and as for anything like moral or religious instruction, that is never thought of. Perhaps they think that the priests' work. The priests, however, have quite a different opinion. Gossip and arrak are much more pleasant than the labor of instruction, and begging an easier method of procuring supplies than working for them. In point of fact the priesthood comprises

*Some conception may be formed of the light in which the saints are regarded by the Coptic Church, from the short Memoir read in the churches "on the feast days of the great witness, Mar Girgis." This document opens with giving glory and thanks to God, in unexceptionable terms, for the gift of His only Son, of churches, and of pastors; and then proceeds to the hero of the day, who is characterized as "The star of the witnesses and the head of the just,—the chosen prince, the brave, the elect,—the bright and illustrious morning star, the offerer of testimony, St. George." Then he is more particularly described: "This is he who loved the host of heaven more than the province of Palestine—this is he who remained in punishment the space of seven years—this is the greatest of our race who finished his contest in the name of our Lord." In speaking of his miracles it says: "This is he by whose prayers chairs budded and blossomed . . . . This is he by whose prayers in the house of the widow the dry wood budded and gave fruit, and from being moth-eaten became a tree and rose on high!" He was slain three times and the fourth time was taken into "the kingdom." Christ is introduced, announcing his election as a second Paul, and declaring that though among all the sons of women John the Baptist was the most excellent, yet "after him, O George, my beloved, thou shalt be second." Then the document, like the chorus of a Greek play, breaks out into praise of the saint, challenging the world to produce his like for patience, endurance, and won-

some of the worst specimens of the modern Egyptian. Too lazy to work, they, in many cases, take to the church as a means of escape from the goverment levies for the army or public works; while in many others they aspire to the priesthood simply because their fathers have been in office. Aud although the canons of the church prescribe certain acquirements as absolutely necessary to acceptance as priests, the practice of years has limited the qualification to the payment of the inevitable baksheesh. The price is not fixed but varied according to the character and position of the ordaining bishop. Three or four Napoleons—twelve or sixteen dollars—is in general sufficient, although last year I knew of a case in which fifteen (sixty dollars) were paid, but then the ordainer in that case was "his holiness, the Patriarch!" Actually, this is all that is required. Though the applicant be as ignorant as a savage, no matter. He has paid his money and all that he need know can be acquired afterwards. Accordingly, after his ordination the neophyte sets to work under the guidance of one who has gone the way before him, to acquire by rote the principal prayers, and to learn the various processes which make up the administration of the sacrament. And though this does not apply with absolute universality, yet it is an acknowledged fact that all of the Coptic clergy, from the lowest to the

drous power. His might extends through all creation and is potent even "to the atoning for sins and faults." And his beneficence is no less:—

> If you seek him in the deep seas he will deliver you,
> Or in the drowning floods he will save you,
> Or in the deserts of desolation he will help you,
> Or in the fearful places he will strengthen you,
> Or in the dreadful way he will take you by the hand,
> Or in the darkness he will hasten to your assistance—
> By his help succouring the praying
> And with good rewarding those who seek his intercession,
> Hearing the voices of his votaries and helping those who make him their refuge.

And then the paper concludes with a general prayer that "the Lord may help us all by his (the saint's) intercession and protect by his aid the body of the faithful."

And all this the people believe more firmly than the gospel.

Did English reader ever dream that St. George, the patron saint of his country, was so omnipotent?

highest, who have anything like a knowledge of the gospel and its teachings, much more of theological science, may be counted upon the fingers.*

There is little necessity in the mean time to give any details of the system of church government, or the classes of the clergy. Speaking generally, the government is an episcopal despotism of the most absolute sort. The head and only ruler is the Patriarch, next comes the Metropolitan of Abyssinia—the nominee of the first—then twelve bishops, then arch priests, next an indefinite number of priests and deacons. All the superior clergy are celibates, being chosen exclusively from the ranks of the monks. The parish priest must, before ordination, be the husband of one wife, although there is a class of itinerating priests upon whom the necessity of marriage is not laid. The monks live in monasteries, of which there are now only seven, and after a novitiate of considerable length are received into the order to spend the rest of their days in an animal sort of life, cultivating the ground, providing food, and saying prayers, seldom or ever studying, or attempting to find enlightenment, intellectual or other. A few years ago this was their universal state; now, however, more or less of intelligence and knowledge is to be found in the cloister. The bishops have all originally been monks, and the Patriarch is almost exclusively chosen from the denizens of a particular monastery. He may be the nominee of his predecessor, but more commonly he is chosen by ballot by the bishops, from a list submitted by the abbot of the monastery. The farce of "*nolo episcopari*" is gone through in his case, some authors stating that he used to be brought in irons to the Patriarchal chair, and others declaring that the ceremony was limited to the sending of a government detachment of soldiers to demand the Patriarch elect. For it must be remembered that the elec-

* And so also with regard to the national language, the Coptic. Though it is the language of the sacred books and of the public prayers, there is said to be not a single man in all Egypt who knows it either grammatically or colloquially. A few may be found who can give you some Coptic words, and many who can repeat screeds of Psalms or prayers in Coptic, but in both cases any knowledge of the meaning is gathered from the Arabic translation and is always of the vaguest kind.

tion is not valid until it receives the sanction of the Moslem ruler. His power as Patriarch is almost unlimited, extending, through the connivance of the government, even to life and death, and yet he need not be any more intelligent or gifted than the generality of the class from which he is taken; and were the present dignitary to be taken as a model, and either Moslem spectator or Coptic subject employed as artist, the modern successor of St. Mark would make a picture saddening by its repulsiveness. Said to have been of a kindly good-nature before his election, his chief characteristic now is bigotry and avarice. Knowing little or nothing of the gospel, he would move heaven and earth for the extermination of those who would seek to proclaim it, and has not hesitated to order the burning of the Holy Scriptures. Reckless in the use of his power, he is unscrupulous in the means he employs, and he is prolific in curses as he is destitute of spiritual enlightenment. Of course, moving as I did in Christian society and missionary circles, the worst side of his character always came out, and I understood from those still belonging to his pale, that to his friends he is kindly and indulgent. Still, all admit his ignorance and his love of lucre, and the exercise of his favor is often itself condemnatory of his ecclesiastical probity. A man of wealth or position, for instance, has no difficulty in procuring an indulgence from the observance of the numerous fasts of the church calendar.

What now does the reader think of this so-called Christian church? Were a Coptic Jeremiah to write of it, would he not pray that his head were waters and his eyes a fountain of tears, that he might weep day and night for the worse than slain of the daughter of his people? Were an English Carlyle to be the narrator, would he not proclaim it a lie, and therefore to be swept unceremoniously from the face of God's fair universe? Neither a Jeremiah nor a Carlyle is here, but the prayer of an American missionary will obtrude itself, that the whole of this priesthood—from top to bottom—were instantaneously prepared for heaven, and then as rapidly transferred to the realms above; although in the case of the first part of the petition being granted, a

Scotsman would say, that, so improved, they might profitably be left for a while on earth. But with all seriousness, the removal of the present hierarchy is almost indispensable to the progress of evangelistic enlightenment and to consequent restoration of this mummied church. Indifferent, or preoccupied at first, they are now the immoveable opponents of every Christian effort, and by means of excommunications and curses, and the pressure of social influences, so work upon the fears of the people, that, though anxious for instruction and desirous of improvement, they hang back and cling to the ways of their fathers, taking refuge in the plea of the old Gothic king. Standing in the water, and in the act of receiving baptism, the old warrior inquired of the officiating minister where his unbaptized ancestors were, if baptism were necessary for his salvation. "In hell, doubtless" was the unthinking reply; whereupon the giant strode out of the water, exclaiming: "Rather Valhalla with the company of my fathers than heaven without them." So with many of the Copts. What did for their fathers may surely do for them, and so forth. No, the hope of the Coptic church must be in the rising generation; and for the accomplishment of this hope, liberty of teaching is the main thing now wanted. It is granted by the government in name, but practically withheld; and though in some parts of the country schools are open and school machinery in order, the partiality of the ruling powers to Coptic institutions upon the old system render such efforts unavailing. Has not America sufficient influence at the Porte to procure for her mission-schools the same liberty in Egypt which is elsewhere allowed, and for the gospel Christians the same privileges as those enjoy who adhere to the tradition of the Fathers?

ART. IV.—*A Method of Teaching Religion in a College.**

I FIND that it is part of my duty as President of this College to give Biblical Instruction to the students. In seeking to perform this important and to me pleasant work, the first point I have had to determine is, what is the fittest time. It at once occurred to me that the Lord's day was set apart for such a purpose from the other days of the week by the wise Creator who knows our frame; and that on this day we should enjoy more quiet, and might be expected to be better prepared for the exercises than on any other. I have fixed on Sabbath afternoon, and on an hour which does not interfere with the time of public worship in any of our congregations. I ask the students of this College to meet me in the Chapel every Sunday from half past two to half past three.

When we meet we will have devotional exercises, singing, prayer, and the reading of the Word in Greek, or, more frequently, in English; and I will deliver a short paper or lecture, carefully prepared on a Biblical subject, fitted to give instruction in the meaning of the Word, to illustrate its history, its geography, and its doctrine; to furnish evidence of its genuineness and Divine origin, and answer plausible objections to its truthfulness; but especially meant with the Spirit to quicken spiritual life in the soul. I will expect all the students, unless when specially excepted by their parents or guardians on the ground of their receiving religious instruction elsewhere or otherwise, to attend this service, and I must take some unobtrusive and delicate means of ascertaining who attend and who do not, were it only that

* This Article is the introductory lecture of Rev. Dr McCosh in the Chapel of Princeton College on the next Sabbath after his inauguration as President, designed to give the students an outline of his proposed method of Biblical Instruction. For various and obvious reasons we regard this as of great interest to our readers, although having a different form and structure from what would have been adopted, had it been originally prepared as an article for this Review. At our special and earnest request, Dr. McCosh has kindly consented to its publication here. EDITORS.

I may be in circumstances to give information to parents anxious about the religious instruction of their sons. It should be understood that I wish this to be a spiritual exercise, if possible a cheerful service in which the heart is interested, and that it is to be accompanied by no grading, certainly by no degradation in your collegiate standing. I do certainly wish to have regular attendance, and diligent preparation of the by no means laborious tasks prescribed, and careful attention to the instruction; but I must try to secure this by moral means, by personal intercourse and dealings with the students, and by appeals to the sense of right, and, if need be, to the authority of those earthly friends to whom the religious training of youth has been primarily committed.

This exercise will bring me into weekly connection with the great body of the students. But it is obvious that with so large a gathering I never could get into familiar intercourse with the students individually—and thus I am most anxious to accomplish somehow or other. I purpose, therefore, to have, in addition, a meeting of half an hour or three quarters with each of the classes during the week; and I shall then give explanatory statements fitted still farther to illustrate the subjects discussed, and seek by simple examinations to secure that every student be giving attention to this important part of instruction, the whole and every part being always subordinated to the higher end of attracting the mind and the heart toward the Saviour and toward the truth. In correspondence with the Faculty I have fixed on the following times: Senior Class, 3.45, P. M. Monday; Junior Class, 7.20, A. M. Monday; Sophomore Class, 11 A. M. Friday: Freshmen Class, 3.45 P. M. Friday.

I mean to make the instruction which I give at these meetings methodical, and if possible, to carry each student during his four years residence among us, through a complete course of Bible instruction. I propose to begin at the centre, that is, with Jesus Christ, "the author and finisher of our faith." It is a most interesting fact, and a most significant withal, that religious thought and discussion, in years past in Europe, and now in America, are gathering

round the works, the teaching, the life of Jesus: These are felt to furnish the first and final evidence in behalf of our religion. Some who are prepared to give up everything else, such as history and doctrine, feel themselves attracted and charmed by the beauty of Christ's character. In former ages, the controversies turned round the history, or the doctrine, or the precepts of the Bible; now they concentrate in the person of our Lord. This is, in some aspects of it, a pleasing circumstance, as it brings men in contact with, and leads them to meditate on, the loveliest object presented to us in our world of imperfection and sin. Beginning, thus, at the centre, we may in future years go out toward the circumference—paying first a visit to the city of the great King and the great King himself, we may then go round his dominions: and take up in another year the Old Testament prefigurations of Christ; and the development of Christ in the church a third year; and Christian doctrine a fourth year, thus making the whole course the length of our college curriculum. But without committing myself for the future, and making promises, it will be sufficient to come to a positive determination as to this present year, and to announce that I mean to occupy the hour on sabbath afternoons in presenting to you the Life of Christ, as he chose to develop it, and as it is detailed in the gospels. In doing so I will endeavour to combine the scattered incidents, as far as possible, to follow them in chronological order; and to carry you into the place, the scenes, and the times in which the God-Man lived, and to bring you into close contact with them, that you may receive direct instruction from him, and catch his spirit.

We have in our possession four accounts of the life of Jesus. Three of these, Mathew, Mark and Luke, were well known in the begining of the second century. There is as valid evidence of this as there is in favor of the genuineness and authenticity of any other book transmitted to us from ancient times, as the *Memorabilia* of Socrates or Cæsar's *Gallic Wars*. I hope indeed to be able to show that there is fair proof that these gospels must have been written considerably before A. D. 70, the year of the destruction of

Jerusalem by Titus. The fourth gospel, that of John, was widely known by the middle of the second century; and there is evidence that it was written before the end of the first century. I invite you to join in the study of these books with a fresh eye, and as if they were opened to you for the first time. Your simple desire is to know what occurred, and especially to know what were the doings, what the character of One who has ever since held such a place in the history of the world, particularly of the most advanced nations—which indeed have become the most advanced nations chiefly through him; and who has been so revered and loved by many of the best men and women, who have lived since that time, and have ascribed any excellence they possessed to the influence exercised by Him. As having arrived at the age of manhood and of responsibility, you would study this life for yourself, not trammeled by hereditary prepossession or the tradition of the churches, but in a spirit of independence, at the same time of reverence and awe, such as you will see to be becoming in the presence of One whose character is so lofty and whose words are so profound and tender. In this study I am to assist you by giving you some of the surroundings, such as the geography, contemporaneous history, manners and customs, the idioms of the language, and particularly the prevailing state of thought and feeling, so that you may be able to enter thoroughly into the very heart of the remarkable scenes which were enacted upwards of eighteen centuries ago in the land of Judea. My papers throughout will be Biblical, explanatory, practical, religious I hope, but not theological in any special sense (for theology you must go elsewhere), and free from all narrow sectarianism. You will soon perceive that the four writers do not trouble you with comments and reflections of their own: with such exclamations as, How fine! How important! They do not come between you and the light to obstruct it; but standing by they point to it and, as it were, say, look toward it and let it shine upon you, and judge for yourselves as to whether it is not pleasant and profitable to do so. I would desire to act in the spirit of these historians: my aim is to place Jesus before you, as you

might have seen him and listened to him, had you lived in Judea eighteen hundred and thirty (or forty) years ago; that you may see him as he went about his Father's business, continually doing good, and speaking as never man spake. I am not to recommend him to you by human commands and inflated encomiums, but I would wish so to set him before you that you may see him as he is, when his works and words and his character will recommend him to your understanding, your faith, your love. I would hold him before you in all his brightness, till, dazzled by the light, you fall down in fear and adoration; but as you do so, you yet venture to look up in confidence to behold his face shining upon you in love.

I am to introduce you to the subject this day by a short account of the state of Judea and the state of the heathen world when Jesus Christ appeared.

We can collect what was the *state of Judea*, what the political state, what the state of thought and sentiment, from Josephus, the Jewish Historian, from Philo Judeus, a platonizing Jew of Alexandria, both of whom were contemporaries of the Apostle, and from the Jewish Mishna and Talmud, which, though put in their present shape some ages later, do yet in many of their traditional doctrines come down from an earlier period. But we learn it most faithfully and graphically from the four gospels. The picture given there of the Jewish character is so life-like, is so human, that is so accordant with the principles of human nature, that I am sure that those who have drawn it must have taken it from the original. That representation of pharisee and sadducee, of priest and scribe, and of the body of the people in Galilee and Jerusalem, as they are swayed to and fro by incongruous feelings, could not have been drawn by an impostor, could not have been sketched by one who lived at a distance or in a later age, but must have come from one who witnessed the events, or been in direct communication with those who witnessed them.

Geographically we see a people confined within narrow limits, a land 200 miles long and 90 miles at its greatest width; a people engaged in various departments of husband-

ry, in the culture of wheat and barley, and of various fruit-bearing trees, such as the vine, the fig, the olive, the pomegranate; and plants yielding balm and myrrh; and in the midst of these, specially in the great cities, artizans belonging to the common trades, and soldiers, and tax-gatherers, and scribes, and rulers and priests. As a part of this people, and yet separate from them as being less bigoted, there is also a race of men—they will frequently come before us —nestling on the banks of their lake and drawing their livelihood from its waters. Politically, at the birth of Christ, the nation has a ruler with some show of independence in Herod the Great, for it was predicted, "the sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor a lawgiver from between his feet until Shiloh come: and unto him shall the gathering of the people be;" (Gen. xlix, 10;) but when Shiloh came the sceptre and the lawgiver disappeared, and the people are under tetrarchs and Roman governors; and we see them chafing under the bit which holds them in, and fondly recalling the days of their national glory in the times of David and Solomon. We understand the religious condition of the people. The masses have a traditional belief in the Old Testament Scriptures, and meet from Sabbath to Sabbath in the synagogues, where a hard and rabbinical doctrine is taught them, and they come up at the great annual feasts at Jerusalem to join in the sacrifices, perceiving their national significance, but with no idea that they have a spiritual significance. Those who lead them, their ecclesiatical rulers, the scribes, the priests, have crystallized, in the solution of all things that prevails, into sects, each striving for the predominance, that is for the power over the opinions of the people. The most pretending and influential by far of all these are the Pharisees. Their name signifies expounders, or, as others think, persons separated; and they may have been so designated, because they were traditional expounders of the law, or because they professed to be holier than others. They had a religion, but it was self-righteousness; "they trusted in themselves that they were righteous, and despised others." The Pharisee prayed, and his prayer was, "I thank thee because I am not

as other men are, unjust, extortioners, or even as this publican." Striving to appear superhumanly holy, but not in the way of grace and humility, they became formalists, and in the end pretenders; unsupported by the grace of God, which is given only to the meek and lowly—for "God resisteth the proud, but giveth grace to the lowly"—they fall into divers sins, which they strive to conceal from the eyes of men, and have thus an utterly hard and artificial character, in fact, become hypocrites, and are so charged by our Lord, "Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites." "They devour widow's houses and for a pretence make long prayers." The proud and superciliously orthodox have in all ages exhibited the like inconsistences, which have been carefully noted, and published, and gloried in by the ungodly world. These Pharisees correspond to the Stoics who appeared at much the same time in the heathen world, and opposed to them were the Sadducees, corresponding to the Epicureans.

The Sadducees were so called because they claimed as their founder, Sadok, the pupil of Antigonus Sochacus, the first Mishnical teacher, or, as others think, from the Hebrew word *Tsedeck*, righteousness. They consisted chiefly of persons in outwardly comfortable circumstances, who wished to enjoy as many as possible of the good things of this world, its comforts, in the case of many its refinements and elegancies; and they did not wish to be troubled with any ghostly fears from the spiritual world. "The Sadducees say, that there is no resurrection, neither angel nor spirit." They were opposed to the straitness and narrowness of the Pharisees, but meanwhile had no fixed creed, no heart-faith of their own. They have their representatives in your liberals and free-thinkers in modern times, men to whom all religions are alike true, that is, alike false, and who boast of their toleration, but are tolerant simply because they have no deep convictions, and care not what men believe or what they disbelieve. Many of them were Herodians or supporters of the policy of the family of Herod, in their attempts to place the nation under Rome and introduce Gentile customs. We learn from Josephus that, besides these two powerful

sects, there was a small body of mystics or ascetics, who were discontented with both and with the prevailing sentiment around them, and retired in a monastic spirit to the desert. It was in the midst of this ferment of popular superstition combined with ignorance, of Pharisaic pride and Sadducean unbelief and morose monkishness, that Jesus Christ appeared to exhibit a character so different from them all.

We have abundant materials for estimating the condition of the Heathen World. Politically, we have a great empire ruling an immense number of countries west and east, and giving them a sort of unity such as they never before had, and, as it were, preparing the way for the spread of one religion, suited to all people. But that empire, now at its most swollen state of prosperity, contains within the element of its own dissolution—the gourd had within it, the worm that was to destroy it. Its rulers at the centre are giving themselves up to intolerable luxury and licentiousness; the principle of popular representation is unknown, and though it were, it could not have saved the empire, for the people of Rome and of the Provinces are uneducated. Looking to the religious condition of the Roman empire, we find the countries, the conqueror and the conquered, each with its peculiar national religion, but all of them polytheists and nearly all of them idolaters. What the gods and goddesses were, I need not explain to those who have read Homer, and are acquainted with the Heathen mythologies, with their stirring incidents, but with their horrid crimes and gross licentiousness. These religions are the products of human nature, to which therefore they are suited, and so go down from father to son and mother to daughter. In certain cities, such as Athens and Alexandria, there is a select body of men who have risen above these superstitions, but have not attained to anything like sure and purifying and comforting truth. Take Socrates: he believes in one God and in Providence, and has faith in immortality; but he believes in lords many and gods many, and as he dies he orders a cock to be offered to Esculapius, and has no idea of a way by which men may be brought nigh to God. Aristotle, in all his investigations, reaches a deity, but he is a mere metaphy-

sical principle without a living interest in any thing. The Epicureans professed to believe in the existence of gods, but they make them after their own model, pleasure-loving and unconcerned about the government of the world. The Stoics used high-sounding phrases about God and about virtue, but their god was identified with the element of fire, and their virtue was proud self-righteousness. Take the Alexandrian Platonists: they have ideas of the One and the Good as abstractions, but they conform to and defend the popular superstitions; and they have no sense of sin and of the need of salvation, and they vainly imagine that man may rise to the highest excellence by abstraction and intellectual ecstacy. At the best these philosophies do not reach in their influence beyond a small and select body of men, and the character of these is proud and self-sufficient. To no one of them did it occur to make any effort to raise the great body of the people to a higher level, morally or spiritually.

Such was the state of Judea and of the Heathen World. There is nothing in any one of these agencies, nothing in all of them, fitted to regenerate or elevate mankind; nothing in the narrow superstition of the Jewish people; nothing in the self-righteousness of the Pharisee; in the indifference of the Sadducee; still less was there anything in the popular mythologies of any of the heathen countries to exalt any one, or even in the proud philosophies of Greece or Alexandria, to elevate the great mass of the people. Yet there was an appropriateness in Christ's coming at this time —He came at the fullness of time. The diffusion of the Greek language, which later scholarship has shown to be very great, and the spread of the Roman empire, had brought the various religions and philosophies into a state of collision and of ferment. There was a dissatisfaction with the existing state of things, but no idea of a way of improving them. Men were anxiously inquiring, "Who will show us any good?" but could not discover any way of reaching truth, certainty, assurance and satisfaction. It was in this state of things that Jesus appeared. He was exactly suited to the times. And yet the times did not produce him: no

fact, no agency, no influence at work in Judea or in the surrounding heathenism could produce such a character, such a life, such a work. We shall discover abundant proof as we advance, that he does not grow out of the earth, that he descends from heaven.

At these Sabbath meetings we are to call on you to "behold the man;" "we all with open face beholding as in a glass the glory of the Lord." For in him as thus presented to us we shall discover a glory. In his person he is the "brightness of the Father's glory, and the express image of his person." In his work all the perfections of the Divine character meet as in a focus of surpassing brilliancy. And glorious as he is in heaven, he acquires, to our eyes, and not only so, but in the eyes of the whole angelic host, a new glory, when he becomes flesh and tabernacles on the earth. For there is a higher glory than that of awful majesty and unlimited power. There was a glory in his incarnation, and the angel who came to announce the tidings to Mary felt that no creature since the commencement of creation had been sent on a more important embassy. There was true glory in his birth in the stable at Bethlehem, a glory which fallen man could not appreciate, but which the company of the heavenly host observed as they sang "glory to God in the highest, on earth peace, and good will to the children of men." There was glory in his baptism, when the Holy Ghost descended upon, and the voice of the Father was heard declaring, "this is my well-beloved Son." There was glory in the battle which he fought and the victory which he won in the wilderness, on the mountain, and on the pinnacle of the temple. There was an imposing glory in the grand scene disclosed to the eyes of the three apostles on the mount of transfiguration, when his face did shine as the sun and his raiment was white as the light, and Moses and Elias, who appeared in glory, were heard conversing with him, and there came a voice from the excellent glory, "this is my beloved Son." There was a glory too, in the very humiliation of the Saviour, a glory in his sorrow, a glory in his agony, a glory in his ignominy, a glory in his shame, a glory in the cursed death which he died. Go ask

the saints who dwell in glory and who have seen the full glory of the Lord, what is the most glorious view which they take of him, and you may learn their answer from the song which they sing unto him who redeemed them to God by his blood. Go ask the angels who have ministered before God since creation began, in what it is that we may see the glory of God most fully reflected, and you know their reply when you hear that the voice of many angels joins with the voice of the redeemed, saying with a loud voice, "Worthy is the lamb that was slain to receive power, and riches, and wisdom, and strength, and honor, and blessing." In the view of the inhabitants of heaven the most glorious event of which our earth has been the scene, the event which they desire to look into, is the incarnation and the death of the Son of God. In earthly affairs there may be a greater glory in suffering and sorrow than in prosperity and dazzling splendor: there may, for example, be a greater glory in the soldier's death than in his life—there was a greater glory in Samson's death than in all the achievments of his life. But speak not of the glory of the soldier bleeding in defence of a nation's rights; speak not of the glory of the patriot toiling and suffering and dying for his country's freedom; speak not of the glory of the martyr, calm and rejoicing while tied to the burning stake,—these have no glory because of the glory that excelleth, the glory of Christ's condescension and patience and love, in submitting to shame, to sorrow, and to death.

There was an evident glory in his resurrection when, having gone down to the dark dominions of death, he came up a mighty conqueror bearing the fruits of victory, and holding death as his prisoner; and angels believed themselves honored in announcing that the Lord was risen. There was a glory in his ascension into heaven. "Thou hast ascended on high leading captivity captive," and angels were waiting at the portals of heaven to receive him as a mighty victor returned from conquest, and singing, "Lift up your heads, oh, ye gates, even lift them up ye everlasting doors, and the King of Glory shall come in. Who is this King of Glory? The Lord of Hosts, He is the King of Glory."

The angelic host feel as if, besides that essential and hereditary glory which he had in the bosom of the Father from all eternity, he had acquired an additional glory by the work in which he had been engaged and the victory he had won. He is in glory now at the right hand of God, which glory Stephen was privileged to behold when he "looked up steadfastly unto heaven and saw the glory of God, and Jesus standing on the right hand of God." He shall come in glory at the last day to judge the world in the midst of an assembled universe. He shall dwell in his glory through all eternity, and the saints shall be partakers with him of that glory. Now all this glory, the glory of his majesty and the glory of his meekness, the glory of his might and the glory of his mercy, the glory of his power in heaven and of his shame on earth, the glory of his character and the glory of his sufferings, the glory of his cross and the glory of his crown—all these are exhibited in the volume of the Book, just as we have seen an expansive scene of sky and cloud, of hills and plains, of streams and woods, reflected and exhibited before us in a mirror, "and we all with open face beholding, as in a glass, the glory of the Lord, are changed into the same image from glory to glory, even as by the spirit of the Lord."

Art. V.—*Romanism at Rome.*

In the year 1510, a young Augustine monk of Erfurt was sent to the court of Pope Julius II. at Rome, on business entrusted to him by his order. He was an earnest and devout man, full of the enthusiam of Christian faith, and an excellent student of the Holy Scriptures. To him Rome was the fountain, not only of ecclesiastical authority, but the seat of learning, piety and holiness. As he approached the city of St. Peter, the metropolis of the Catholic world, he threw himself on the earth and exclaimed:

"Holy Rome, I salute thee." He had not been long in the city, however, before his illusions were dispelled. His office as envoy of the Augustines of Germany, introduced him to the highest ecclesiastical society. Warm and generous in his religious feelings, he was astonished to find impiety when he looked for sanctity, buffoonery when he expected dignity, profanation when he dreamed only of purity. He was not only surprised at the superficial triviality of all the religious services of Rome, but amazed at its social disorders. And the conclusion of his extended observations on Roman religion and society was, to use his own vigorous sentence: "If there be a hell, Rome is built above it. It is an abyss from whence all sins proceed." Rome made a profound impression on Luther's mind. It converted him *from* Romanism. He declared "that the nearer he approached Rome, the greater number of bad Christians he found." Macchiavelli, one of the most profound geniuses of Italy, who was living in Florence when Luther passed through that city on his way to Rome, confirmed the great Reformer's testimony; for he said in one of his characteristic dissertations, that "the nearer we approach the capital of Christendom, the less do we find of Christian spirit in the people." "We Italians," he says, "are principally indebted to the church and to the priests for having become impious and profligate." The monk of Erfurt felt, later in life, all the importance of this journey to Rome. "If any one would have given me a hundred thousand florins," said he, "I would not have missed seeing Rome."

Nor has Rome changed since the day that Luther trod its old pavements and visited its matchless temples. The same Vatican and Quirinal, the same churches and cathedrals, are still the shrines of the same infallible, unchangeable, corrupt, politico-religious dynasty. It is the Eternal City. The church of Rome calls itself Christian. The city of Rome announces itself as the mother city of the Christian world. It is full of Christian names, emblems and symbols. And yet, even a short sojourn in the imperial city must convince any thoughtful scholar, a devout Christian soul, that

ancient Paganism has never fallen. The imperial purple has simply given way to the ecclesiastical scarlet. The much boasted triumph of Constantine was really a victory of Paganism. It was with idolatry as with Greece—"Grecia capta ferum victorem cepit." This conviction will be inwrought, in spite of former contrary prepossessions and ideas, by a brief residence in that marvellous city, which is at once the Rome of the Pontifex Maximus of the old temples of mythology, and of the Pontifex Maximus of the grander cathedrals of St. Peters.

Romanism can never be perfectly apprehended by a Protestant without a personal investigation. No statement or description of it, however exact, can convey a perfect or just idea of its system and worship. Language is incapable of expressing or communicating its peculiar flavor. The pure reason can not comprehend a system which addresses itself so largely to the senses. It must be seen, and touched, and handled, before a Protestant intelligence can accurately conceive it. Nor can it be seen well except at Rome. Other Roman Catholic cities are not wholly given up to ecclesiastical parade and display. The rush and whirl of secular or commercial life in the great cities of Catholic Europe obscure the movements of the church. But at Rome, Romanism has its perfect work. Nothing mars or confuses the impression. There is the seat of its influence, of its art, of its power. There it sits as God in the temple of God. There it has wrought itself out without hindrance, and shown what it can do in religion, politics and society. Every department of human life has felt its hand and been fashioned by its genius. Rome is the product of Romanism. In other states there have been more or less drawbacks to her ascendancy. Their rulers or their subjects have proved refractory and refused to be moulded at her will. But Rome has had no law but her word, and is the flower and the fruitage of her unresisted achievments. Nor should Romanism object to be judged by Rome. In no other part of the world has the pope had anything but a divided empire. Where his spiritual power has been confessed, his temporal supremacy has been resisted or ob-

structed. But, in the favored region that lies in a narrow belt between the Adriatic and the Mediterranean and divides the kingdom of Italy, there has been no work left for the Ultra-montanist to do. The temporal and spiritual powers have been vested in the same person and used for the same ends. They have been so thoroughly identified as to have no separate responsibility. Church and state have been so completely merged into one, as to be, if not absolutely one and the same thing, but the two arms of the same body, and animated in their comprehensive grasp by the a single absolute will. The union of church and state is the doctrine of Romanism, not such a union as the Anglican asserts and desires; but the complete subordination of the temporal to the spiritual power. The Pope as Vicar of Christ is king of kings. His authority is absolute on all questions. This doctrine has had its practical illustration in the Roman states. Is the result favorable either to church or state? Has it strengthened both or weakened both? Rome answers these questions. No good son of the church can except to the answer. And the true answer is a crushing one to Romanism.

In respect to religion, Rome is essentially a pagan city. Her churches, numerous almost as the days of the year, are not only built largely of the materials of the old temples and fanes of paganism, but witness a worship that can hardly be said to differ from the ceremonies of the days of the Cæsars, except in the use of Christian names for heathen services. The gods of the calander of mythology have come down to dwell with men, and receive commemoration, in the guise of saints and martyrs. The square of St. Peter is overlooked by the statues of the demigods. With rare exceptions, the worship of the churches has nothing in common with Christianity. The vestments of the prelates and priests are a reproduction of pagan apparel. The pope has borrowed, not only his ecclesiastical attire from the Roman Pontifex Maximus, but his very name also. The clouds of incense, which perpetually arise from swinging censers, would not be strange to the nostrils of some old patrician of the empire, should he come forth from his grave to re-

new his devotions in the *basilica* of modern Rome. The fire which never went out on the altars of the vestal has its parallel in the constantly burning lamps that are everywhere throwing their sickly glare before the images of *Our Lady*. It is not even the God of the Old Testament and the New, who, as a matter of fact, is adored in the splendid temples of ecclesiastical Rome. It is not He whom Christians believe to be blessed forever, incarnate in the flesh of man. God has passed out from the practical homage of Rome. The Son of God even has ceased to be an object of veneration and the Eternal Father is found in the religious symbolical pictures of the churches as an old man. The Saviour of men is painted or sculptured as a little child in the arms of his mother, and the characteristic paintings of the Vatican, its symbolical representations, place the Father and the Son in a subservient position. The religious paintings of Rome are subordinate, like its worship, to one purpose, to the glorification of the Virgin Mary, the great goddess of the church, and after her, not of the Father, Son, nor Spirit, but of a multitude of men and women, made into objects of adoration; and whatever may be alleged to the contrary, clothed, as she is preëminently clothed, with the incommunicable attributes of the Deity. These are indeed strong assertions, but they are not stronger than the facts will sustain.

In one of the halls of the Vatican, recently, and elaborately frescoed, since the decretal of the Immaculate Conception, there is a grand historical painting, designed to represent that doctrine, and the present attitude of the Roman Church. It tells, better than any words can tell, the meaning of that apparently inoffensive declaration of the present pope. "Why," said a priest, "should a Protestant object to the immaculate conception of Mary, when most Protestants are ready to affirm that their own children are born without original sin?" "But there is more than that in this famous decretal," was the reply. "The Roman church has not been laboring for centuries to bring forth so comparatively harmless a proposition." "It is true," he said, "and but few priests even understand its real mean-

ing. The centuries will gradually develop it. Its meaning is already painted upon the walls of the Vatican in a grand commemorative picture." Nor can any careful observer doubt what is the silent but expressive language of that celebrated fresco. On either hand the artist has delineated the customary forms of the Father and the Son, while between them, yet above them, in all the wealth and beauty of Italian coloring, the Virgin Mary is pictured, standing on the worlds, encircled with the glory of angels, and the symbols of infinite authority. It is the first time that religious art, the great tell-tale of religious belief, has given to the "Mother of God," supremacy over the Father and the Son. And that the picture might not be without its key, another fresco, in the same hall, represents the present pope as reaching forth to her, in her heavenly height, the crown of celestial power. The decree of the Immaculate Conception has enthroned the Virgin above the Child. It is a proclamation of the essential sinlessness and the essential divinity of the human mother of our blessed Lord. It is the establishment of idolatry in the Roman Church, for such, and nothing else, is the prevalent Mariolatry of Rome. It is a step in advance of the medieval faith, nay, it is the heritage of that faith, for this doctrine was germinant in the middle ages, and has been centuries in reaching its long expected and heralded advent.

Nor has the Virgin less practical veneration than the Father or the Son: rather more. She it is to whom the youth of Rome are taught to pay divine honors, whose smile they are to seek, at whose frown they are to tremble, and whose favor they are to propitiate by making costliest gifts and building noblest churches. A single fact, like a waif upon a mighty current, reveals the practical effect of this Mariolatry on the popular mind. A foreign artist in Rome overheard his servant blaspheming fearfully the name of Christ. Shocked at the bold impiety, he asked him, "are you not afraid of Christ?" "No," said he, "I am not afraid of Him." "Of whom, then, are you afraid?" "I am afraid of the Holy Mary."

No one who has spent even a week in Rome and witnes-

sed the high religious ceremonies of Christmas or Easter, and has mingled in the crowds of apparent worshippers, and studied the symbols and images of religious devotion, but knows well that the worship of the Virgin Mary is the worship of that city. And the traveller through Catholic Europe everywhere perceives the wide difference between the objects of worship in Italy and in Austria and Germany and even France. In the latter nations he will see images of the Saviour, carved in stone or wood, placed in every quarter and scattered in all directions. At cross-roads, in the centre of a field, in a door-yard, in a cemetery or garden, nailed to a house or shop or barn, there is the invariable universal crucifix. In many places, the whole scene of the crucifixion is represented with a sad and mournful accuracy, and the agonised features of the Saviour, nailed to the cross between the two malefactors, look down upon His mother, the disciples and the soldiers. Still it is the Christ, in His manly perfection, in the last act of His suffering life, who is so painfully, and often disgustingly presented to the sense, as the object of Christian veneration and homage. But the shrines of Italy are not like those of the rest of Catholic Europe. Even the crucifix, an ever saddening and terrible thing to contemplate, has found its substitute in the Madonna and child. The Redeemer plays a subordinate part in all their religious symbolism. From the time that one enters Italy from the north-west, over the summits of the Cornici road, making its entire circuit till he leaves it at its north-east corner, passing through the watery gates of Venice into the realms of the Hapsburgs, the only images that attract his attention are the painted or chiseled figures of the Holy Mary. She has her shrines on the tops of the hills, in every grotto by the way-side, in groves of oranges and olives, in the court-yards of palaces, and by the stone huts of the peasantry. She is hideously presented on the plastered fronts of churches, and splendidly painted upon the walls or behind the altars of cathedrals. St. Paul in wandering through Italy now, over his old route from Puteoli to Rome, or along the Appian Way, or by the church built to consecrate the place of his martyrdom, would doubt-

less perceive, by the multitude of shrines, statues and pictures, in every likely and in every unlikely place, that the entire spiritual empire of Rome was wholly given up to idolatry. And the apostle to whom our Lord committed His mother in the last hour of His atoning life, would now look with wonder and fear upon what his boasted successors have done with the sacred trust that was committed to his hands. Nor would he see any more reason why Mary of Nazareth should be raised to a glory above that of the Father or the Son, than any other disciple who should do His will, for even such disciples were His mother and His brethren.

But while the Roman system in the Pontifical States pays supreme homage to the Virgin, there is also an universal homage to the saints. St. Peter's toe, in the church of his name, has been replaced many times, having been worn off by the kisses of the faithful. And whenever the devotee approaches the image, which is, doubtless, an exhumed statue of an old pagan deity, he proceeds and follows the kiss with prayer and prostration. St. Agnes, St. Catherine, St. Sebastian, St. Francis, divide with Christ the homage of the people; while winking Madonnas (as in the church of St. Maria del Popolo), and speaking Madonnas (as in the church of Saints Cosmas and Damian in the Forum), and weeping Madonnas (as in the church of Vicovaro), receive such incense of adoration from throngs of worshipers as is never given to the Son, except it may be to His *bambino*, a gaudily-dressed doll in the church of St. Maria sopra Minerva. One who knows Romanism only in its devotional or polemical literature would hardly recognize its practical and actual operation and life in the seat and city of its power. Among the innumerable churches of Rome, there is one of the Ara Cœli, built, as is said, upon the site of the old temple of Jupiter Feretrius. It is celebrated among all the other churches of the city for the possession of a miraculous *bambino*, representing the infant Redeemer. In a chapel or sacristy of that dark and gloomy building, hard by the chief altar, a small party may find, for a consideration, the object of special Catholic ado-

ration. It is safely stored in a close wooden box, over which two delectable figures, representing the Holy Virgin and Saint Joseph, bend in rapt devotion. A hollow cheeked monk (in this unlike most of his tribe) with ornamented and gold-bespangled gloves lifts down the coffer and with great reverence sets it on the altar. Then, amidst the pale light of candles, with many prostrations and muttered prayers, it is opened, and from wrappings of satin and lace, a little wooden doll, gorgeously dressed, and blazing with rich jewels, is taken out. There is not a spot on its breast, neck, or body, that is not sparkling with the costly offerings of the faithful. Sometimes it is borne round the church under a canopy, in column procession, with lighted candles held by attendant priests and Dominicans. Sometimes its toe is reverently kissed by the pious monks, or offered to the osculation of some high-born stranger. Or it is taken, with all the pomp due to its miraculous power, through the streets, to the bedside of the sick and dying, that its presence or touch may restore to life and health. It is impossible to conceive a more instructive exhibition; for it tears the veil off from the decent semblance which Romanism takes care to wear when it is on its trial before enlightened public opinion, and gives the lie to a hundred specious assertions of its advocates and its dupes. It lets light in upon the real worship of the people. It is the best possible introduction to Roman rites. And if any one were disposed to be even charitable to Roman doctrine or literature; if his heart were drawn out in a quasi respect by her manuals, her histories, her meditative and devotional books, or by her splendid arts, her paintings, her frescos, her architecture, her equipage; if he were likely to sympathise with her gorgeous ceremonies, the pomp of her processions, the glare of her candles, the smoke of her incense, the noise of her bells, the music of her choirs, the braying of her silver trumpets, and inclined to take a charitable view of her corruptions, then it were wise for him to examine carefully the actual working of the Roman system; to discover the common tricks of a degraded priesthood; to investigate the winking images, the miracle-working images, the speaking images;

and look into all that machinery by which the church satisfies the humbler classes of her adherents, and also holds them down in ignorance and degradation.

In connection with this Mariolatry, there is another part of practical religion which is very obvious to the eye of the stranger in Rome, and to which he can not well be made insensible by the delicious strains of Roman music, the magnificent anthems and *misereres* of the Papal choir, or the sensuous splendor of Roman ceremonies. On many of the churches of the city, and in more of them, there is painted, or carved, or chiseled, this inscription:—"*Indulgentia plenaria quotidiana pro vivis et defunctis.*" What this indulgence is, may as well be learned from the common ideas of the people as from the rubrics of the church. That it is granted upon confession no one doubts. That it remits the consequences, the temporal penalties of sin, is the universal belief. That it is sought by the criminal, rather than by the sinful, is open to every observer. That it degrades the conscience is only a palpable inference. That it cheats the understanding, deadens the sensibilities, and leads men to think well of their moral state when they ought to be filled with self-contempt, is a clear matter of fact. That it absolves the soul from the conviction of wrong, makes crime easy, and gives a premium to vice, would be logical as they are historical conclusions. A brigand who has been troubling the society of Southern Italy with his robberies and murders, and seeking to promote a general feeling of insecurity in the premises of the late King of Naples, in the interest of the Roman church, returns from his predatory and cruel excursions to Rome, and there confesses his misdoings and obtains indulgence, the remission of the penalty of his sins. Thus cleansed from the past he is well fitted to resume his work with the certainty of a like acquittal. The moral force of Italian brigandage is in the confessional and the system of indulgences. What robber need fear the face of man when he is a true and devout son of the church? What spoiler of life or virtue or society need dread the future when the church in which his faith rests, teaches him to sin with impunity, and rewards his perpetual offenses

with her perpetual indulgence? Nor does he obtain indulgence for the past alone. The spectres of old transgressions are laid by priestly exorcism, but at the same time, the principle of future misdeeds is implanted. By visiting, in Advent, the church of Santa Croce, "eleven thousand years of indulgence and remission of all one's sins" are obtained; by a single visit to other churches, as Saints Cosmas and Damian, "one thousand years, and on the day of the Station, ten thousand years;" by kissing the foot of the idol of Saint Agostino, "one hundred days indulgence." And a devout Roman, in his daily walk, may obtain, every year of his life, indulgence for over four hundred thousand years. Over some of the altars is inscribed, "Each mass said at this altar frees a soul from purgatory."

This is not the place to argue that the whole system of indulgences is a gross fiction and cheat. We are not so anxious in this article to disprove Romanism as to find out what it is. We are willing to let itself be its defense or its refutation. But, on the supposition that such indulgences are not a delusion, it is an excuseless fault of the Roman Catholic world, and especially of the inhabitants of Rome and the *contadini* of the vicinity, if any one man, woman or child ever goes into purgatory, or if any one is now left there of all that have hitherto died. If one mass, at a certain altar, will deliver a soul from the pains of hell, what priest with the spirit of Christ in him, should give himself rest, day or night, till the souls of the faithful should be delivered from *limbo*? On that altar certainly the fire of devotion should never pale for an instant. And when, by a decree of Pope John XXII, seven hundred years of indulgence is granted to whoever should give a single kiss to the true measure of the Virgin's foot, taken from her real shoe; and by decree of pope Clement VIII, this decree was extended to any similar measures taken from the original one; adding also that it is to be applicable to the souls in purgatory; and when the possession of a copy of that measure is possible to any one, so that he can sit in his easy chair and kiss himself from purgatory into heaven, it seems incredible that there should be left in purgatory any souls at all, in

fact, that purgatory itself is not actually and forever nonsuited by failure of defendants to appear, and exploded by disuse.

The real strength of a system, like that of a steam engine or of any machine, is to be measured by its weakest part. And it is important to bear in mind, that the real character of Romanism is to be sought, not in the best music one can hear; not in the finest equipage he can see; not in the most imposing ceremony he can witness: not in the most enthusiastic book of devotions he can find; not in the best sermon that may be preached; not in the simplest and least objectionable rite,—but in these, its lower, its common and more revolting idolatries, not practised solely by the unlearned masses, but tolerated and sanctioned by the regularly organized and more learned bodies in the church. We can excuse or palliate even gross customs and ceremonies that have become mixed with Christian practises in some distant field of half-reclaimed heathenism, where the principles of the Divine word are struggling to penetrate and burn off the incrustations of countless ages of ignorance and debasement; but surely we might look for some more exact resemblance to Christianity in the favored and illuminated empire and city of a Church which professes to be the only fountain and teacher of the Gospel. And it is no unfair way to judge it by the strength of its weakest part; to judge it by what it tolerates, permits, and enjoins, in the favored seat of its absolute power. Applying such a principle to Rome, no unprejudiced observer would hesitate to pronounce the Eternal City, with all its wonderful things to charm and interest, a foul blot upon Christendom. Not a quarter of its population, who have been living so long under the full effulgence of its system, can either read or write. In a city where the Church assumes the mastery over all souls, where the individual is nothing, where the Church rests its power on a miraculous basis, and styles its head God's vicegerent on earth, the people are nursed in ignorance, and saturated in practical impiety. The Church is glorious in its parade and display, in its art and illuminations, but not in its elevation of the poor, its instruction of

the ignorant, its inspiration of the masses. It is as greedy of gold and power as when it held well nigh half the lands of England in mortmain, absolved men from oaths, broke marriages, forged charters and decretals, burned the philosophers, corrupted the classics, altered the words of the Fathers, changed the decisions of councils, and filled Europe with falsehood. It still quarrels with the temporal power, keeps the Bible to itself, prohibits the New Testament in Greek, brings dead men's bones into churches for living men to worship, and works lying wonders to deceive and hoodwink an ignorant and degraded people. It loves the apostles as much now as when Cardinal Bembo bid Sadolet not to read St. Paul, lest it should spoil his taste, and is no more tolerant of an opposite faith than when Luther reared the structure of Protestantism with manly shouting. The fires of Smithfield still gleam in the eyes of its Capuchins and Franciscans, and the present pope would order an *auto da fe* with as little regret as he broke the heart of Cardinal D'Andrea.

Rome is a travesty of Christianity. It is a city of ecclesiastical shows and parades. Half of the working days of the year are devoted to festivals and religious displays. The visitor in the Holy City goes through a perpetual round of ecclesiastical dissipation. Two or three times a year it illuminates its great temple, at much cost of money and often of life, for the same reason that Napoleon furnishes *fêtes* to Paris. The ignorant and oppressed populace must be amused with pyrotechnics and pageantry. So the Church caters to sensual passions and tastes. Its *Tarolas* and *Lavandas* are miserable theatric representations of the Last Supper, and the act of the Saviour's humiliation in washing the disciples' feet. But they are as good a copy of those inimitable scenes in Christ's life, as is the whole system of Romish worship of the simplicity and beauty of a true Christian service.

There is no pulpit in Rome. The Protestant Church is outside the Porta del Popolo. What preaching there is consists of begging and cursing. Once a year the Sixtine chapel resounds to the music of a friar's voice as he dis-

courses in Latin before his Holiness. But the ordinary services of the pulpit, if it can be called such, ring the changes on but two ideas, the infidelity of Protestantism, and the necessity of doubling the gifts to the church. The priest is never satisfied with a tenth of the produce. If his parishioner has but two baiocchi, he must have one; if he has two scudi, he must have one. He steals from the people more than half their time with his fasts and feasts, and then begs half the produce of the time he leaves. From the Pope to the Capuchin, who shakes his money-box, crowned with the image of the Virgin, in your face, Rome is overrun with ecclesiastical robbers and beggars. All the magnificent and costly display of prelates and cardinals and priests on the great gala days of the church, is wrung out of the scanty earnings of the poor. Priests and soldiers eat up the corn, and, in the midst of the garden of the world, Rome is a city of departed grandeur and desolation. In the centre of a population as brilliant as any in native capacity, equal to any in beauty and dignity of person, she is surrounded by squalid beggars and helpless lazzaroni. The seat of art, she herself is falling into ruins. The vaunted head of that kingdom which is not of this world, she holds on to the sceptre of temporal power with a grasp of will as tenacious and bitter as when Hildebrand delighted to humble and mortify the proudest kings of the earth. But in all its parades, and spectacles, and splendors, Rome presents an unspeakable contrast to the kingdom of our blessed Redeemer. Where multitudes struggle for preëminence; where pomp and circumstance precede penitence and love; where theatric effects are studied for mere sensuous impression; where military and civil and ecclesiastical princes vie with each other in the glitter of their equipage; where the peal of bells and the thunder of cannon mingle with the voices of priests and eunuchs; where thrice a year the chief temple must be made a mosaic of fire to bewilder the people in respect to their real condition; where fifteen thousand foreign mercenaries are needed to keep the followers of the Vicar of the Prince of Peace from cutting his throat and the throats of the successors of the

apostles; where State and Church combine to enhance a material splendor and to generate obsequiousness and servility, there is an infinite contrast to the simplicity of Jesus Christ, to the quiet, the repose, and the power of a lowly Christian faith. He who takes Romanism from books, or from its best historic names, will find that the best men and writings are exceptional to the system. When the ear hears it and the eye sees it and the hand touches it, then will the thoughtful man be convinced that, as a religion, it is but a restoration, in a Christian guise, of the very spirit and genius of old mythology. He will be forced to the conclusion that pagan Rome has never fallen. It is true that her ruins are everywhere to be seen. The Campagna is covered with them. Albano and Soracte testify to the ancient imperial grandeur. The plough in every field turns up the records of former greatness. Columns, capitals, marbles, and fragments of every sort, are built into the churches, the palaces, the shops, and the walls of modern Rome. The old travertine masonry haunts every vale and hill of the wildernesses about the Eternal City, beautiful even in its decay. The crumbling walls of the Colosseum, garlanded with ivy, giving crevice, hole and nest, to lizard, snake and raven, are decorated with the symbols of Christianity, and the cross, at many stations, lifts its sacred figure on the very arena where Ignatius, the brother of Polycarp, gave up his life, while the air around was tremulous with the roar of tigers and the shouts of ferocious men. Yet in that seven-hilled city, at this very day, the old Pagan and the modern Christian systems and structures are blended in such inextricable confusion, that it is hard to tell where one begins and the other ends. The new seems to grow out of the old and become a part of it in all respects. One could easily people the tremendous solitude of the old amphitheatre with its ancient occupants, and imagine its arena again alive with such a whirl of strife and dust and blood as used to be; and the very faces in the streets to change and their beauty become fierce and devilish, as if they were all ready for a renovated Colosseum to-morrow. Ghostly pillars, triumphal arches, mounds of temples, grass-

grown and covered with ivy, the Via Sacra and the Via Appia, worn smooth with the chariot wheels of ancient Romans, seem to harmonize with the modern city, built by pillaging popes and despoiling princes, and robed now with the attire of a medieval ecclesiasticism. The old and the new die and live together, and so the city is eternal.

The social condition of a people is always a fair corollary of its religious character. The quality of a religion can be determined by its effects upon the lower classes of a nation. To the poor the gospel is preached, is the distinguishing peculiarity of Christianity. Wherever a pure gospel is illustrated, poverty is not only relieved but removed. It lays the axe to the root of that tree, by destroying the passions and habits out of which most of the poverty of the world springs. False religion and superstition increase poverty and uphold mendicancy. That is the teaching of history. Vice, crime, social insecurity, and beggary follow in the wake of superstition, irreligion and infidelity. By their fruits ye shall know them. And what is the social condition of Rome—of this city governed by the vicegerent of God, demanding to give law, and condescending to give benedictions, *urbe et orbi?* There is but one opinion on this matter among the foreign residents of the city and the more intelligent Romans. Rome has no commerce. She derives her income altogether from the fine arts; the sale of pictures, scarfs, mosaics and pearls. She lays the strangers, whom her historic reminiscences and religious exhibitions draw to her walls, under heavy tribute—in a larger degree than Paris even. She is a *show* city. Yet for more than half the year the grass grows in the streets and squares, and her people subsist on the receipts and spoils of the rest of the year. At all times her palaces are deserted, and the poverty and misery of the populace, and the equipage and wealth of ecclesiasticism, go hand in hand. A coatless beggar will lift the heavy door-mat of the cathedral and piteously ask alms of the well-fed priest or cardinal who enters the costly building. Poverty on every side kneels on the cold pavement of the churches, and yet hears no voice bidding it to hope, or stretch forth its hand for a better estate.

There are five thousand priests in Rome, one to every thirty inhabitants. There are fifty cardinals with immense incomes. The Mecca of Romanism, she is always more or less visited and plagued with the vagabond mendicants of the religious orders, and with the pious priests of the world. She has an army of fifteen thousand troops, who are paid and fed on her scanty revenues. It does not require a vivid imagination to conceive what must be the state of society, when there is one priest to every thirty persons; one cardinal to every fifteen hundred, and one soldier to every ten; and no business or commerce except traffic in the fine arts, and the entertainment of strangers. When the consuming classes are so enormously disproportioned to the producing, the result upon society can easily be reckoned. It is not strange that the streets are insecure; that robbery and assassination are of daily occurrence; that men prey on each other; that the officials of law connive at offenses; that the police are universally dreaded; that it is more dangerous to be a quiet citizen than a criminal; and that there is general disquiet and hopelessness among the people. It is not strange that the doors of private houses are bolted and barred like the gates of a fortress. The very atmosphere is filled with suspicion, and vigilance is the price of security. "It is incredible what sins and atrocities are committed in Rome," says Luther. Nor has the city changed since he noted its "disorders and murders."

To an intelligent and observing mind, everything indicates that the present state of Rome can not last much longer. There is wide disaffection to the papal government among its immediate subjects. It has ceased to have any temporal power or political influence outside of the states of the pope. Austria refuses to pay heed to the earnest remonstrances and warnings of the Holy Father. She has made a Protestant her prime minister and is taking rapid strides toward general popular education and civil religious liberty, Not a monarch in Europe has any fear of the denunciations of the Vatican or any consideration for its wishes. Even Spain has at last felt the reaction, and the land of the inquisition of Philip II. and Torquemada is

reaching forth after the boon which has always been denied her. The sceptre of ancient imperial power is falling from a nerveless hand never to be grasped again. Ancient Athens once paid tribute to ancient Rome, but the modern Athens is rapidly undermining the modern Rome. Reason is in conflict with the dead superstitions of the past, and the reaction of ecclesiasticism is an equally destructive infidelity. Causes are at work, stronger and deeper than any surface political changes, to overthrow the tottering fabric of Romanism in its seat of empire. The pope fears a Garibaldi in every Italian. Ten thousand Roman youths are voluntary exiles from their native city, because of the oppression of the paternal rule of the Sovereign Pontiff. The castle of Los Aggellos is filled with brave sons of Italy who would rid their county of priestly domination. All through that fair kingdom, old convents, monasteries and churches are crumbling to the dust. Only here and there a Capuchin, a Franciscan or a Benedictine, keeps watch and ward in their deserted halls. A few monks and friars flit like ghosts through the corridors of Monte Capri and Fiesoli. The life and spirit of Roman votaries is fast departing. Year by year the great pageantries of the church in Rome itself are less attended, and less cared for by those who attend them. Two Protestants to one Romanist witness the august ceremonies of St. Peter's at each recurring Christmas or Easter. The pope perpetually weeps over the decadence of priestly power, and the refractory course of rulers who once submitted to his nod. The vulture of infidelity has rather cut the heart of Roman supremacy. The processions of the confraternities number tens when there used to be hundreds. The most sacred ceremonies are mere exhibitions and are stript of all general reverence. Priests and pilgrims chatter in the very chapel when the *Miserere* is sung and mingle their loud talk with the solemn cadences of the penitential strain. Inquire when you will, of whom you will, the same account is given by men in whom there is any truth at all. The most prolonged experience of the city confirms the impressions of the most rapid observation. The conclusion is that Rome is as bad

as possible. There is no public faith. The Government, which is the church, is sustained in part by a lottery system which irritates the public conscience, debases the public morals, brings competence down to poverty, and sends poverty to crime and despair. There is no apparent desire for the good of the people. The charitable endowments of hospitals and schools have been diverted to the uses of the priesthood and to increase the splendor of religious shows. Peculation and corruption are practised without fear and without a blush. Public works are undertaken for private benefit and ruin those who accomplish them. All improvement is virtually prohibited. Miserable fragments of reform, when resistance would be dangerous, are granted "to the ear, but broken to the hope." The confessional covers, under a fair semblance, a mass of falsehood, oppression, impurity, which would be incredible to any but one who had lived in Rome and had the means of substantiating his words. Nor is it too much to say, that the present state of Rome can hardly be parallelled even among the darkest pages of the history of our race.

It is true that a slight reactionary movement is at work (it can hardly be said to advance) in the Roman States. Dr. Prota, of Naples,—Ventura, who has been forced to fly from Italy—Passaglia, who was excommunicated—Cardinal D'Andrea, who has but recently died after suffering everything—Panzini, a learned Capuchin, who has felt the weight of the hand of the modern Inquisition, and barely escaped to publish his experiences in a book well worthy the study of all those who would be glad to bring back the days of the hierarchy—and Salvadoro, who ministers the Gospel to a small flock of persecuted souls; these, with others still Catholic in faith, asking no aid from Protestantism, are striving to stem the great tide of corruption and superstition in the Roman Church. But they have made but little or no headway under a system whose principle it is to repress freedom of conscience, and whose infallibility binds it to perpetuate an autocracy, which Leo X aimed to establish, and which Innocent III wielded with tremendous power. No remedy can reach the disease so long as the system ex-

ists. Were the papacy reduced to a mere primacy of honor, were spiritual and temporal powers dissociated, were the Scriptures exalted above decisions of councils and dogmas of the church, and preached in the vernacular, were the local churches restored to the independence of early Christianity, were the authority of the Roman Curia in matters of conscience and opinion and interpretation, overwhelmed; were compulsory celibacy removed and the confessional abolished; the tyranny and the scandalous corruptions of the Roman priesthood might be remedied: but this would be the practical destruction of the system itself. No man and no body of men, be they ever so pure in intention and upright in purpose, can cope with the monstrous evils belonging to the temporal priestly power. They must be eventually borne away, either sinking under the current or floating with it. Nothing will ever reform Rome short of the entire extinction of the power of the priesthood. Any secular misgovernment would be better than the present hideous blasphemy against God and man. Any measure of earthly injustice is to be preferred to the perpetration of an infernal wrong under cover of celestial right. No priesthood can ever be supreme in temporal affairs without corrupting themselves and defiling the state.

The papacy is an autocracy. The hiding of its power is in the will of one man. So long as the pope appoints the bishops and the bishops control the priests, and the priests are celibate, without the ties or sympathies of home; so long as the confessional lays hold of the consciences of the people and indulgences absolve their sins,—so long will the system holds its own in the world. A structure that has survived the shocks of centuries, though it may be deprived of its temporal prestige, can hardly lose its spiritual supremacy. The changes of political affairs and the will of Providence may prostrate its power in the old seat of its dominion and force it to relinquish the seven hilled city. Intelligent Italians already predict the removal of the papal throne to this New World and the revival on these Occidental shores of the contests which have desolated and wasted Europe. While the reaction of Romanism in Catho-

lic countries is infidelity, the reaction of Protestantism is Ritualism and Romanism. The drift is perceptible both in England and America. While the church is relaxing its hold in Italy, it is extending itself in Anglo-Saxon countries. The advanced portion of the Anglican Church and of the Episcopal Church in our own land is making haste to meet and crown the Vicar of Christ. Already it has established the confessional, burns lighted candles on the altar in the day-time, uses incense at the holy sacrifice, elevates the blessed sacrament, adores and teaches the people to adore the consecrated element, believes Christ to be in them and believes that under their veil is the sacred body and blood of the Lord and Saviour. It admits and preaches that Protestantism is a failure, and only waits the time and the pretext to throw itself into the arms of the "historical church." On the other extreme, Rationalism, weary alike of superstition and of Christianity, crystallizes and organizes and arrays its forces. Between the two antagonist powers of the world, smaller than either, stronger than both, is the "City which lieth four square," occupied by the true disciples of Christ under their great Leader. Neither Rome nor Athens can overthrow Jerusalem, for the law shall go forth from Zion, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem. Ritualism and Rationalism can not stand before the Son of God when He cometh to judge and avenge His people. What changes the future has in store for the true church of God, what conflicts, what sufferings, what reverses, we know not. But though the heathen shall rage, and the people imagine a vain thing; though the kings of the earth set themselves, and the rulers take counsel together, against the Lord, and against his Anointed, saying, Let us break their bands asunder and cast away their cords from us; yet He that sitteth in the heavens shall laugh; the Lord shall have them in derision. He shall speak unto them in His wrath, and vex them in His sore displeasure. I have set my King upon my holy hill of Zion. That kingdom shall stand.

ART. V.—*A History of the New School, and of the Questions involved in the disruption of the Presbyterian Church in* 1838. By SAMUEL J. BAIRD, D. D. Philadelphia: Claxton, Remsen and Haffelfinger, Nos. 819 and 821 Market St. 1868. pp. 558.

IN the short notice given of this volume in our last number, we stated that it had then been just received. We, therefore, could speak not of the book but of its author. We expressed the opinion that no man in our Church was better furnished for the preparation of such a work, or who had devoted so much time and labor to our documentary history. This opinion has not been shaken by the perusal of the work before us. It affords abundant evidence both of ability and research. We are sorry to say, however, that it is marred throughout by a partisan spirit. It is not only acrimonious and irritating, but it is ungenerous and unjust. No matter however sincere and earnest any men may be, or may have been, in maintaining sound doctrine and Presbyterian order, if their judgment or conscience dissented from the propriety of the measures which Dr. Baird approves, then they were unfaithful, cowardly, time-serving "Moderates." Dr. Baird does not seem able or willing to admit that those who differ from him can be either intelligent or honest. This spirit will, we fear, greatly interfere with the usefulness of his book, but does not destroy its importance. It contains a great deal of valuable information on points in reference to which the present generation greatly needs instruction. Some of these points are the following, viz:

First, the origin of the Presbyterian Church in this country, and the principles on which it was founded.

In the latter part of the seventeenth century a union was effected in London between the Presbyterians and Congregationalists or Independents, and certain "Heads of Agreement" adopted according to which the ecclesiastical affairs of the united body were to be conducted. It has been frequently said that it was from that union of Presbyterians and Congregationalists, and not from the Scotch or Irish

Presbyterian Church, the Presbyterian Church in this country derived its origin and its principles. It was from the first a union of different elements; some of its members being strict, and others liberal, in their views and demands as to matters of doctrine and church order. Such being the compromise character of our Church in its origin and early history, such is its rightful and normal character, and any attempt, whenever or by whomsoever made, to render it strictly Presbyterian in doctrine and discipline, according to the standards of the Scottish Church, (i. e. the Westminster Confession and Directory,) is a departure from our true principles and a violation of compact.

Dr. Baird gives us the history of this union and the principles on which it was formed. "Shortly before the accession of William and Mary, the Rev. Increase Mather, being at the time President of Harvard College, was sent to England, and remained there several years on business of the province and college. Whilst there, he set himself with zeal to bring about such a union in the mother country as had long been familiar to him in the New England colonies. His proposals were seconded by Bates, Howe, Baxter, and others. The result was, that in 1690 the ministers of the three denominations in London—the Presbyterians, Independents and Baptists—entered into articles of union with each other. These articles, or, as they were entitled, 'Heads of Agreement,' constituted a final and complete surrender of Presbyterian principles by the ministers of that name. The example of London was speedily imitated throughout the Kingdom." p. 23.

That the Presbyterians did thus surrender their distinctive principles, is rendered manifest by the slightest inspection of these Heads of Agreement. It was agreed that the "office of deacon is of divine appoint and that it belongs to that office to receive, lay out and distribute the church's stock to its proper uses by direction of the pastor and brethren, if need be. And whereas divers are of opinion that there is also the office of ruling elder, who labor not in word and doctrine, and others think otherwise; we agree that this difference make no breach among us."

"No provision was made for stated meetings of church offices, but it was agreed, 1, That in order to concord, and in other weighty and difficult cases, it is needful, and according to the mind of Christ, that the ministers of other churches be consulted and advised with about such matters. 2, That such meeting may consist of smaller or greater numbers, as the matter shall require. 3, That particular churches, their respective elders and members, ought to have a reverential regard to their judgments so given, and not dissent therefrom without apparent grounds from the word of God. But to preclude any assumption of authority in these councils, it was agreed, 'That none of our particular churches shall be subordinate to one another, each being endowed with equality of power from Jesus Christ. And that none of our particular churches, their officer or officers, shall exercise any power or have any superiority over any other church or their officers.'" p. 26.

The Rev. Samuel Davies made the following entry in his journal while in London, which throws light upon the nature of this union. "In the evening," he says, "I went to the Amsterdam Coffee-house, where the Independent ministers meet for friendly conversation and to consult about the affairs of the Churches, for they have no other Associations, and the Presbyterians have no other Presbyteries. The English Presbyterians have no elders or judicatories of any kind, nor seem to me to agree but in very few particulars with the Church of Scotland." p. 26. Orme, himself a Congregationalist, after giving a history of this union, says, "From the date of this agreement Presbyterianism may be said to have existed but in name in England." Life of Baxter, vol II. p. 350.

Such being the character of this union of the Presbyterians and Congregationalists in England, it requires little proof to satisfy any candid man, that it was not from this source that our Presbyterian Church derived its origin and principles. Indeed, the claim would probably never have been made had the terms of that union been understood and its consequences held in mind. As Presbyterianism, after its consummation, existed in England only in name,

there was no restraint in the propagation of erroneous doctrine. First, Baxterianism, then Arminianism, then Socianism, prevailed in those churches, which, for the sake of union, had given up their distinctive principles.

Baxter was a leading promoter of this union of Presbyterians and Congregationalists, and, although an eminently good man, he was not a Calvinist. Writing of some of his contemporaries, he says: "They feign that God made a covenant with Adam, that if he stood God would continue him and his posterity; and if he fell God would take it as if all his posterity personally sinned in him." "Feigning God to make Adam not only the natural father and root of mankind, but also arbitrarily a constituted representer of all the persons who should spring from him. Whence they infer that Christ was, by God's imposition and his own sponsion, made the legal representative of every one of the elect, taken singularly; so that what he did for them God reputed them to have done by him. Hereby they falsely make the person of the mediator to be the legal person of the sinner." "They forge a law which God never made, that saith, 'Thou or thy surety, shall obey perfectly, or die.'" "They feign God to have made an eternal covenant with his Son." "They feign Christ to have made such an exchange with the elect that having taken all their sins he hath given them all his righteousness, not only the fruit of it, but the thing in itself." "They say that by the imputation of Christ's righteousness, habitual and actual, we are judged perfectly just." "They talk of justification in mere ignorant confusion. They say that to justify is not to make righteous, but to judge righteous." "They err grossly, saying, that by 'faith imputed for righteousness' and our being justified by faith, is not meant the act or habit of faith, but the object, Christ's righteousness, not stickling thereby to turn such texts into worse than nonsense."

"All these," says Mather (in his Magnalia, vol. I, p. 266), "are Mr. Baxter's words in his Defense of Christ, ch. 2. These things which our churches, with amazement, behold Mr. Baxter thus calling fictions, falsehoods, forgeries, ignorant confusion and gross errors, were defended by Mr.

Norton as the faith once delivered to the Saints; nor do our churches at this day consider them as any other than glorious truths of the gospel."

These quotations are given by Dr. Baird. They prove what was the latitude of doctrine allowed, even at the first, in this London Union. They prove that these doctrines were regarded as grave errors involving the rejection of "the glorious truths of the gospel" in New England; and, therefore, that even if the Presbyterian Church had been controlled by a New England element at the time of its organization in this country, such doctrines could not have been tolerated in its ministers. They prove, moreover, that it was not from the London Union that our church derived its origin and principles.

This is further proved by the fact, that the overwhelming majority of the members and ministers of our church, during its formative period, were from Scotland and Ireland. This fact has been repeatedly set forth before, and the evidence of its truth is clearly exhibited in Dr. Baird's book. Francis Makemie, whose name appears as a student in the University of Glasgow 1675, was licensed by the Presbytery of Donegal in 1681, and subsequently ordained by that body. In defense of a Catechism which he had published, he says: "Ere I received the imposition of hands, in that scriptural and orderly way of separation unto my holy and ministerial calling, I gave requiring satisfaction to godly, learned, and judicious discerning men . . . of a work of grace and conversion wrought in my heart by the Holy Spirit." "And as to our doctrines," he said in his testimony before Lord Cornbury, "we have our Confession of Faith, which is known to the Christian world, and I challenge all the clergy of (New) York to show us any false or pernicious doctrines therein." Makemie, the most prominent and influential of our early ministers was, therefore, a "Scoto-Hibernus," educated at Glasgow University, ordained by the Presbytery of Lagan, Ireland, came to this country in 1682 or 1683, at the invitation of Col. William Stone, deputy-lieutenant of the province, and resident of Rehoboth, on the eastern shore of Maryland.

That part of the State had been settled by refugees from the persecutions in Scotland. "There is record evidence of the fact that there were five church edifices, and as many organized Presbyterian congregations, in Somerset County, Md., on the 13th of May, 1705." p. 42.

The first leaf of the records of the original Presbytery is lost. In 1706 that body consisted of seven, and including Mr. John Boyd, a native of Scotland, whose ordination is recorded as taking place in December, 1706, of eight ministers, and about fifteen churches. Of these ministers all but one, the Rev. Mr. Andrews, were Presbyterian by birth and training. And the churches were all composed of Scotch and Irish emigrants, except the one in Philadelphia, which was "made up" as Mr. Andrews said, "of divers nations." Of these churches, "two were in Virginia, six in Maryland, five in Pennsylvania and Delaware, and two in New Jersey." p. 49.

"On the 1st of August, 1716, the Rev. James Anderson writes to Dr. Sterling, Principal of Glasgow College: 'In this country there are, since I came here, (seven years,) settled three other Presbyterian ministers, two of which are from your city of Glasgow. There are, in all, of ministers who meet in Presbytery once a year, sometimes in Philadelphia, sometimes here, in New Castle, seventeen; and two probationers from the north of Ireland, whom we have under trial for ordination; twelve of which have had the most and best of their education at your famous University of Glasgow.' He adds, 'As to our proceedings, in matters of public worship and discipline, we make it our business to follow the Directory of the Church of Scotland, which, as well as we may, we own as our mother church.'" p. 54.

In September of that year, 1716, the Presbytery resolved itself into a Synod and constituted three Presbyteries; that of Philadelphia, embracing six ministers; that of New Castle, also consisting of six; and that of Snowhill, Md., of three. Two ministers, Messrs. McNish and Plumy, residing on Long Island, were directed to endeavor to induce some of their neighboring ministers to unite with them and form a fourth Presbytery, which was done.

From these facts it is abundantly clear that our Church, in its origin in this country, was a strictly Presbyterian body in its ministry and membership, claiming the Church of Scotland as a mother church, and receiving and acting upon the Directory adopted by that Church; and, consequently, that it did not owe its origin to the London Union of 1690, nor was it founded on the latitudinarian principles adopted by that body.

A second point which Dr. Baird's book renders abundantly plain, is, that the Westminster Confession was from the beginning the Confession of Faith of this Church, and was, in its integrity, adopted as such in 1729, and its adoption made obligatory on all the ministers and candidates for ordination.

This is a matter which has so often been discussed in our pages, that it is not necessary that we should dwell upon it on this occasion. Suffice it to say, that the motion to make the Confession formally, as it had from the first been virtually, in subordination to the Scriptures, our doctrinal standard, did not arise from any doctrinal differences among the members of the Synod, nor from any misgivings on the part of the Scotch or Irish members, in reference to the ministers either received or expected from New England. Mr. Thompson, the author of the overture, expressly states that the special object in view was to guard against the reception of unsound men from the north of Ireland. From that quarter the majority of the members had been received, and from that quarter the supplies so much needed were principally expected. Among the Presbyterians in Ireland serious defections in doctrine had already occurred, which soon issued in the division of the Irish Synod into two bodies,—the orthodox and Arian.

The Confession was adopted in all its articles unanimously by the Synod, except those clauses relating to the power of the civil magistrate in matters of religion. The full action of the Synod in 1729 not having been published, it gave rise to dissatisfaction on the ground that it admitted too much latitude in the reception of the Confession by "Intrants." To correct this misapprehension the Synod in

1730 adopted the following minute: "Whereas, some persons have been dissatisfied at the manner of wording our last year's agreement about the Confession, etc., supposing some expressions not sufficiently obligatory upon *Intrants*:

"Overtured, That the Synod do now declare that they understand these clauses that respect the admission of intrants or candidates, in such a sense as to oblige them to receive and adopt the Confession and Catechisms, at their admission, in the same manner and as fully as the members of the Synod did, that were then present:—which overture was unanimously agreed to by the Synod."

On this minute Dr. Baird remarks, "of the eighteen ministers who united in adopting the Act (in 1729), twelve were present, and unanimously concurred in the interpretation here given; and of the seventeen now in attendance, but seven could be counted of the stricter Scotch party. The exposition now given was not, therefore, in the interest of that party, nor in violation of the wishes or sentiments of the others; but must be taken as a true account of the understanding of the members, at the time of the passage of the Adopting Act, as to its effect, with relation to Intrants." p. 84.

In 1734, it was ordered that the Synod at each meeting make inquiry whether the new members had adopted "the Westminster Confession and Catechisms, with the Directory," and that the answers by the several Presbyteries be recorded in the Minutes. (Records, p. 109).

Owing to the fact already mentioned that only the "Preliminary Act," in which the Confession and Catechism were declared to be "in all the essential and necessary articles" good forms of sound words, and not the "Adopting Act" itself, in which the whole Confession, saving certain clauses relating to civil magistrates, being printed and circulated, suspicions prevailed that the Synod after all had adopted the Confession only for substance of doctrine, the Synod in 1736, declared that they "have adopted and still do adhere to the Westminster Confession, Catechisms, and Directory, without the least variation or alteration." In proof of this they quote the Adopting Act itself, in which it is said, "All the

ministers of the Synod now present . . . . have unanimously agreed in the solution of these (their) scruples, and in declaring the Confession and Catechisms to be the confession of their faith," save only the clauses so often referred to. This was, as the Synod declared, a strict and full adoption of the Westminster Confession.

That this is a true interpretation of the Adopting Act of 1729 is plain, 1, Because it is the proper sense of the words used in that Act, as just quoted. 2, Because this interpretation was given only seven years after that Act was passed, and by the very body consisting in great part of the same men who passed the Act. 3, Because this interpretation was given unanimously, or *nemine contradicente*. 4, Because there was no dissent or protest against this interpretation from any quarter for one hundred years. 5, Because the Rev. Mr. Blair, a contemporary of the framers of the Act, in answer to Mr. Craighead, a Covenanter, says: "There never was any scruple, that ever I heard of, made by any member of the Synod, about any part of the Confession of Faith; except only about some particular clauses in the twentieth and twenty-third chapters; and those clauses were excepted against, in the Synod's act receiving the Confession of Faith, only in such a sense, which, for my part, I believe the reverend composers never intended in them; but which might, notwithstanding, be readily put upon them." p. 92. He proves this strict adoption of the Confession by quoting the Adopting Act of 1729, and the subsequent Act of 1736.

A third point elucidated in this volume is the character of the schism of 1741. It is frequently said that that schism was caused by the conflict between the Scotch and the New Englanders,—the strict and the liberal element in the church, which had been in collision from the beginning. This is contrary to fact. Of the ten ministers who seceded from the Synod in 1741, and formed a separate body, only two were from New England. p. 104. The leaders of the New Body, those who constituted its life and power, and with whom almost alone the controversy was maintained, were the Tenants, who were from Ireland. In the second place, doc-

trinal differences had little or nothing to do with the schism. The Old School did indeed accuse their New Brunswick brethren of error, in teaching that every true Christian was sure of his conversion, and that he could tell the time, place and manner of its occurrence. But these were subordinate matters. The real cause of the trouble was the disorders connected with the great revival which at that time prevailed over the whole country. So far as our church is concerned, it began in 1730, in the church of the Rev. William Tenant at Freehold, within the bounds of the New Brunswick Presbytery. "Revival preachers" began to travel about the country, intruding into the congregations of settled pastors, denouncing them as unconverted men, and causing distractions and divisions. To prevent these irregularities, the Synod of 1737 passed an Act, in which ministers, and especially probationers, were forbidden to intrude in to churches outside their own Presbyteries, without the concurrence of the brethren of the Presbytery of the bounds. This Act, the New Brunswick brethren utterly disregarded.

Another difficulty related to the literary qualifications for the ministry. Hitherto the supply of ministers was from abroad, and consisted of men trained in the colleges of Britain or New England. The elder Tenant had however established a school called the "Log College," students from which were received as probationers. To ascertain the sufficiency of the education thus received, the Synod, in 1738, passed an Act, requiring that candidates not graduates of college should be examined by a committee of Synod, who, "finding them well accomplished in those several branches of learning, shall allow them a public testimonial from the Synod, which, till better provision be made, shall, in some measure, answer the design of taking a degree in college."

This Act also was disregarded, being viewed as an undue stretch of authority on the part of the Synod, and denounced by the Rev. Gilbert Tenant especially, as designed to operate against his father's school.

These difficulties led to the disorderly proceedings in the Synod of 1741. The Old Side protested against the right of ministers who trampled on the authority of the Sy-

nod continuing its members, and insisting that they should withdraw. The New Side maintained that the other party being a minority, should leave the Synod. After much confusion, a count was made, and the New Brunswick party proving to be in the minority, at once withdrew and formed a new body.

The Presbytery of New York, including then the ministers in the neighboring part of New Jersey, while sympathizing with the New Brunswick brethren in their zeal for the revival, agreed with the Synod in their acts for the prevention of disorder, and for securing a properly educated ministry. They, therefore, labored for some years to effect a reconciliation of the parties; but failing in their efforts, they applied for, and received, the consent of the Synod, and amicably withdrew, and, uniting with the other body, constituted the Synod of New York and New Jersey in 1745.

That the "New Side" were as sound in doctrine, and as strict in their adoption of the Confession of Faith, is their uniform testimony concerning themselves. Immediately after the disruption, the two Presbyteries to which the excluded members belonged, held a joint meeting, June 3d, 1741, in which they "declared and recorded that they adhered to the Westminster Confession of Faith, Catechisms and Directory, as closely and fully as ever the Synod of Philadelphia, in any of their public acts or agreements, had done." (Baird, p. 93.) Again, in a "Declaration" made by the same body of their principles, they say: "As to the doctrines of religion, we believe with our hearts, and profess with our lips, the doctrines summed up and contained in the Confession of Faith, the Larger and Shorter Catechisms, composed by the reverend Assembly of Divines at Westminster, as the truths of God revealed and contained in the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments; and do receive, acknowledge, and declare the Confession of Faith and Catechisms to be the confession of our faith; yet so as that no part of the twenty-third chapter of said Confession shall be so construed as to allow civil magistrates, as such, to have any ecclesiastical authority in Synod or church judicatories, much less the power of a negative voice over

them in ecclesiastical transactions; nor is any part of it to be understood as opposite to the memorable revolution, and the settlement of the crown of the three kingdoms in the illustrious house of Hanover." (Digest, p. 33.) The careful exception of the clauses specified, is an affirmation that all the rest of the Confession was received.

Again, after the union with the New York brethren, the united body made a declaration in which they say, as the terms of union, "They agree that the Westminster Confession of Faith, with the Larger and Shorter Catechisms, be public confession of their faith, in such manner as was agreed unto by the Synod of Philadelphia, in the year 1729;" when, as we have seen, all the articles of the Confession were received, excepting the oft-mentioned clauses about civil magistrates.

Again, at a subsequent date, the new Synod, to remove misgivings on the part of the Dutch churches, adopted a minute in which they say: "We do hereby declare and testify our constitution, order and discipline in harmony with the Established Church of Scotland. The Westminster Confession of Faith, Catechisms, and Directory for public worship and church government adopted by them, are in like manner adopted by us. We declare ourselves united with that Church, in the same faith, order, and discipline."

Still again, when the college at Princeton, N. J., was founded, the New York, or New Side, Synod addressed a letter to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland in its behalf, in which it is said: "Your petitioners conform to the constitution of the Church of Scotland, and have adopted her standard of doctrine, worship, and discipline . . . . and they most earnestly pray that this reverend Assembly would afford the said college all the countenance and assistance in their power. The young daughter of the Church of Scotland, helpless and exposed in this foreign land, cries to her tender and powerful mother for relief." (Records, p. 257.)

We have seen that the real causes of the schism of 1741 were the disorders attending the revival, and the refusal of the New Brunswick brethren to obey the injunctions of the

synod relating to intrusion, and to the examination of candidates for ordination. After protracted negociations, the two synods were united in 1758, in terms of which the following are the most important:

"I. Both Synods, having always approved and received the Westminster Confession of Faith and Longer and Shorter Catechism, as an orthodox and excellent system of Christian doctrine, founded on the Word of God, we do still receive the same as the confession of our faith, and also adhere to the plan of worship, government, and discipline contained in the Westminster Directory; strictly enjoining it on all our members and probationers for the ministry, that they teach and preach according to the form of sound words in thes aid Confession and Catechisms, and avoid and oppose all errors contrary thereto.

"II. That, when any matter is determined by a major vote, every member shall actively concur with, or passively submit to, such determination; or if his conscience permit him to do neither, he shall, after sufficient liberty modestly to reason and remonstrate, peaceably withdraw from our communion, without attempting to make any schism, provided always that this be understood to extend only to such determinations as the body shall judge indispensable in doctrine in Presbyterian government.

"VI. That no Presbytery shall license or ordain to the work of the ministry any candidate until he give them competent satisfaction, as to his learning, and experimental acquaintance with religion, and skill in divinity and cases of conscience; and declare his acceptance of the Westminster Confession and Catechisms as the confession of his faith, and promise subjection to the Presbyterian plan of government in the Westminster Directory." (Records, p. 286).

There is here no intimation of difference of views either as to the doctrines of the Confession or the principle of interpretation. The difficulties about acts of Synod and examination of candidates were adjusted on the terms above mentioned.

If documentary evidence can prove anything, the above

citations prove that the Presbyterian Church was not a union of heterogenous elements, some strict and others latitudinarian in their doctrinal views; some true Presbyterians, and others adverse to the Presbyterian policy; but, on the contrary, that the Westminster Confession, from 1729 onward, was adopted in all its doctrinal articles, i. e., all the articles embraced in the system therein contained, as the confession of the faith of all the ministers, and required of all who sought admission into the ministry in our body. These citations prove, moreover, there was no difference in this matter between the Old and New Side, at the time of the schism of 1741; and when the two synods reunited in 1758, it was on the condition that the said Confession should be received as the Confession of the united body, and that no minister or licentiate should be allowed to preach or teach anything contrary to the doctrine therein taught. So much, at least, is a clear matter of history.

When a new constitution was adopted, and a General Assembly organized, although the Church had been so much enlarged, and although such great accessions both of members and ministers had been received from New England, there was no departure from the principles of the founders of the Church. The adoption of the Confession and the rule of interpreting it, were as strict after, as before, the formation of the General Assembly. There was no reason why it should be otherwise. Until after the time of Edwards, New England was as strict in demanding conformity with the Confession and Catechisms as Old School Presbyterians have ever been. Yale was as exacting in matters of orthodoxy as the Log College.

A fourth point which Dr. Baird's book fully establishes is, that the adoption of the Confession of Faith was not a mere form, but that a strict adherence to its doctrines was enforced by the exercise of discipline; and that the special advocates of such strictness, were not the Old, but the New Side, men; the leaders of the revival and the seceders from the Synod in 1741.

In 1749, Gilbert Tenant, the great leader of the New Side, read a paper before the Synod, in which he "declared his

suspicions that some of its members were unconverted.—First, (because of) their unsoundness in some principal doctrines of Christianity, that relate to experience and practice; 1, That there is no distinction between the glory of God and our happiness; that self-love is the foundation of all obedience. 2, That there is a certainty of salvation annexed to the labors of natural men."

Mr. Thomson, the leader of the Old Side, remarks of these charges: "Although I will not take upon me to justify these expressions as sound in their most obvious meaning, yet I think it is a very strange stretch of censoriousness and rash judgment, to conclude the person unregenerate who useth them." (*Church Gov.*, pp. 9, 11.)

The next case arose in the then famous Presbytery of New Brunswick in 1758, just before the reunion.

The Rev. Samuel Harker was charged with teaching erroneous doctrines, and his case was referred to the united Synod, and a committee appointed to deal with him. This case was protracted through several years. During this time, Mr. Harker published a book entitled, "*An Appeal to the Christian World.*" In 1762, the Synod appointed a committee to examine that book, who reported the next year, when the following record was made: "The Synod proceeded to Mr. Harker's principles, collected from his book by the committee, which are in substance as follows:

"1. That the covenant of grace is in such a sense conditional, that fallen mankind, in their unregenerate state, by the general assistance given to all under the gospel, have a sufficient ability to fulfill the conditions thereof, and so, by their own endeavours to ensure to themselves regenerating grace and all saving blessings.

"2. That God has bound himself by promise, to give them regenerating grace, upon their fulfilling what he (Mr. Harker) calls the direct conditions of obtaining it; and, upon the whole, makes a certain and infallible connexion between their endeavors and the aforesaid blessing.

"3. That prescience of future events, is previous to, and not dependent on, his decrees; that his decrees have no in-

fluence on his own conduct, and that the foresight of faith was the ground of the decree of election.

"It is further observed that he often uses inaccurate, unintelligible, and dangerous modes of expression, that tend to lead people into false notions of several important matters; as, that Adam was the federal father of his posterity in the second covenant, as well as in the first; that the regenerate are not in a state of probation for heaven; and such like.

"The Synod judge that these principles are of a hurtful and dangerous tendency, giving a false view to the covenant of grace, perverting it into a new modeled covenant of works, and misrepresents the doctrine of the divine decrees, as held by the best Reformed churches; and, in fine, are contrary to the word of God and our approved standards of doctrine." (Records, p. 329.)

"The Synod called in Mr. Harker, and questioned him 'in many particulars;' and after mature deliberation suspended him from the ministry, and ordered 'that all be duly warned not to receive his doctrine, nor admit his ministration, until it shall please God to convince him of his mistake, and to bring him to the acknowledgment of the truth, and recover him from the error of his ways."

Another instructive case is that of Mr. Balch, who published in the *Knoxville Gazette* opinions deemed erroneous. The Assembly in 1797 addressed a letter to the Presbytery of Abingdon, to which Mr. Balch belonged, in which it is said: "We perceive with pain, that novel opinions, or, at least, opinions presented in a novel dress and appearance, have been openly and extensively circulated amongst you; .... we take the present occasion of declaring our uniform adherence to the doctrines contained in our Confession of Faith, in their present plain and intelligible form, and our fixed determination to maintain them against all innovations. We earnestly wish that nothing subversive of these doctrines may be suffered to exist, or to be circulated amongst the churches. We hope that even now explanations of our known principles by unusual and offensive phrases, will be cautiously guarded against." (Digest, p. 650.)

"At the next meeting of the Assembly, this case came up by a reference from the Synod of the Carolinas. His creed was examined, and besides some minor matters, to which exception was taken, he was found guilty of false doctrine in the following particulars:" (*Baird*, 132).

"In making disinterested benevolence the only definition of holiness or true religion." "In representing personal corruption as not derived from Adam; making Adam's sin to be imputed to his posterity, in consequence of a corrupt nature already possessed, and derived from we know not what; thus in effect setting aside the idea of Adam's being the federal head or representative of his descendants, and the whole doctrine of the covenant of works." "It is also manifest that Mr. Balch is greatly erroneous, in asserting that the formal cause of a believer's justification, is the imputation of the fruits and effects of Christ's righteousness, and not the righteousness itself; because righteousness, and that alone, is the formal demand of the law; and consequently, the sinner's violation of the divine law can be pardoned, only in virtue of the Redeemer's perfect righteousness being imputed to him and reckoned as his." The Assembly told Mr. Balch in its presence that he was wrong in the publication of his creed, and "that, in the particulars specified above, he renounce the errors pointed out; and that he engage to teach nothing hereafter of a similar nature." Mr. Balch read an open acknowledgment and retraction, was solemnly admonished, and was then declared to be in good standing. Having, however, admitted in the presence of the Synod of the Carolinas that he still adhered to these errors, the Synod thereupon adopted the following minutes: "The Synod, after mature deliberation, judge that Mr. Balch has acted with duplicity in expressing him as laid down in the charge, considering the judgment of the Assembly, and his submission to that judgment.

"The Synod do hereby suspend him from the exercise of his office as a minister of the Gospel, and refer him to the Presbytery of Union, to which he belongs, who will be adequate to the removal of the suspension, when reformation on the part of Mr. Balch shall open the way." (Digest, 634).

Another illustrative case is that of Rev. Thomas B. Craighead, who preached, and afterwards, in 1809, published, a sermon on Regeneration, containing, among others, the following statements: "God never was the author of sin, by will or by contrivance. He used every means consistent with the freedom of the human will, and his (man's) moral agency, to prevent the entrance of sin into the world." In reference to the saints of the primitive Church, before the completion of the canon of Scripture, he admitted that the Spirit dwelt in them, but he says, "It seems to have been his whole office to supply the want of records. He never infringed the liberty of the human will. He never infused such dispositions, made such impressions, shed such light on the mind, or otherwise laid such constraints or restraints on their nature, as to render their actions necessary or to force them to keep God's law." "It is contended by many that it is the immediate power of the Spirit that renders the Word effectual to produce either faith or holiness. Can anything dwell in our minds but thoughts or ideas? . . . . Your pretensions to immediate agency are inadmissible on Gospel principles. . . . . Do you pretend that you are enlightened, to understand the Scriptures, by the Spirit? How comes it then that good men differ in their interpretation of the same passage?" "The power of believing, in every intelligent creature, consists in the strength of the testimony. Believing is never either an independent or voluntary act. No man can believe without testimony. No man can resist the force of credible testimony, if he suffer it to enter into the view of his understanding. Neither disposition, nor will, nor motive, have the least effect. Believing is an intellectual, not a moral, act. Disposition or moral principles may affect suffering the testimony to enter into the view of the understanding; but when it enters, the desire of life, temporal or eternal, nor the fear of death, can affect it. In the licentiousness of your freedom, you may refuse to hear or obey God, and destroy your own soul; but if you admit his word to enter into the view of your understanding, as his word, it is the highest, most coersive and irresistible cause in the uni-

verse. . . . Faith acquaints us with the divine attractives, without which, we can not come to him. But when we are acquainted with these, we can never rest without devoting ourselves to him and his service."

For these sentiments Mr. Craighead was suspended from the ministry by the Synod to whom his case had been referred by the Presbytery to which he belonged. From this decision Mr. C. appealed to the Assembly of 1811. Failing to appear, the Assembly pronounced the decision of the case final. In 1822 he presented a memorial to the Assembly, and in 1824, when the case came up, the Assembly declared that he "ought so to retract or explain his sentiments, as to give reasonable satisfaction to his brethren." The case was then referred to the Presbytery of West Tennessee, where Mr. Craighead then resided, with authority, upon his giving satisfactory retractions or explanations, to restore him to the ministry." (Baird, p. 139.)

In 1809 the Rev. William C. Davis published a treatise entitled *The Gospel Plan*, the examination of which was referred to the General Assembly by the Synod of the Carolinas. The latter body accordingly appointed a committee to examine the book, which committee reported the following errors taught therein, which the Assembly pronounced to be contrary to the Confession of Faith: viz. "The active obedience of Christ constitutes no part of that righteousness by which a sinner is justified." "Obedience to the moral law was not required as the condition of the covenant of works." "God could not make Adam, or any other creature, either holy or unholy." "Regeneration must be a consequence of faith." "Faith, in the first act of it, is not a holy act." "If God has to plant all the principal parts of salvation in the sinner's heart, to enable him to believe, the gospel plan is quite out of his reach, and, consequently, does not suit his case; and it must be impossible for God to condemn a man for unbelief; for no just law condemns or criminates any person, for not doing what they can not do."

The Assembly decided that the preaching or publishing of the sentiments specified "ought to subject the person or persons so doing, to be dealt with by their respective Presby-

teries according to the Discipline of the church relating to the propagation of errors." Under this decision Mr. Davis was cited to trial, by the Presbytery of Concord; and failing to appear, he was suspended from the ministry, for contumacy; and finally deposed. (Baird, p. 38).

Passing over other matters, which, although important and interesting in themselves, do not bear directly on the object which we have in view, which is to illustrate the principles professed and acted upon by our Church in reference to matters of doctrine and order, we come to a Fifth topic of remark. This is the history of the disruption of 1838. The documents collected and published by Dr. Baird clearly establish two points. First, the causes of the conflict which issued in that disruption, were difference of opinion as to allowing Congregationalists to sit as members of Presbyterian Church courts; ecclesiastical Boards and voluntary Societies, as organizations for the spread of the gospel; discordance of views in matters of doctrine. Second, that of these, the last was by far the most important; had it not been for which, the others would have admitted of easy adjustment.

The first of these difficulties arose out of the Plan of Union adopted in 1801 by the General Assembly and the General Association of Connecticut. It provided:

1, That if a Congregational church called a Presbyterian minister, it should conduct its internal affairs on Congregational principles; but if the difficulty be with the minister, the case, if both parties consented, was to be referred to his Presbytery; if not, to a council.

2, In like manner, if a Presbyterian church called a Congregationalist as its minister, its internal affairs should be conducted on the Presbyterian Plan; but in case the difficulty concerned the minister, the case should, if the parties agreed, be tried by the Association, otherwise by a council consisting one half of Congregationalists, and the other of Presbyterians.

3, If a church consisted partly of Congregationalists and partly of Presbyterians, a standing committee chosen from the communicants should be constituted, which should

try offenders. From the decisions of this committee, a Congregationist should have the right of appeal to the male members of the Church, and a Presbyterian to the Presbytery.

4. The standing committees of any Church had the right of deputing one of their number to sit in Presbyteries as a ruling elder. Which was interpreted to permit such committee men to represent the Presbyteries in Synod and the General Assembly.

The design of this arrangement was good. It was intended to promote harmony, and to facilitate the formation of self-supporting churches in the new settlements. While confined to a limited sphere, its practical operation produced little evil. But when it gradually spread over Presbyteries and Synods, and when the Congregationalists as a body came to entertain different views in matters of doctrine and order from those which had characterized the Church from the beginning, it became an intolerable evil. From the fact that these mixed or purely congregational bodies appeared in our statististical tables as Presbyterian churches; and committee-men, when enrolled in our judicatories, as elders, (not from any intention to deceive) the mass of the Church remained in perfect ignorance of the extent to which this heterogeneous union had been carried. When the facts came to be known, they awakened the greatest solitude.

It was seen, 1, That the contracting parties, the General Assembly and the General Association of Connecticut, had no authority to enter into any such compact. The latter body had no more governing power over Congregationalists living out of the state of Connecticut, than it had over those in England. And the General Assembly was equally incompetent in the premises, because, in the second place, the terms of the compact were in plain contradiction to the Constitution of the Church, which the Assembly has no authority to alter. The Plan provided for mixed courts, composed partly of Congregationalists and partly of Presbyterians, to which Presbyterians were to be subject. It allowed Congregationalists, who had never adopted our

standards, to be members of our judicatories and to administer our government and discipline.

These provisions were in direct contravention of the Constitution, which requires that all our church courts should be constituted of ministers and ruling elders, who have made a solemn vow to maintain the doctrine and order of the church.

3. This arrangement was not only unconstitutional, but obviously unreasonable and unjust. Why should Congregationalists interpret a Confession of Faith for us which they themselves had never adopted; or administer a government over us to which they were not subject? As well might Episcopalians or Papists be admitted to the control of Presbyterian ministers and members.

4. Besides all this, the Plan was found to be productive of great practical evils. It lowered our standard of doctrine, and interfered with the exercise of discipline. The mixed churches, or their representatives, with almost perfect unanimity, insisted on the toleration of forms of doctrine which the great majority of the pure Presbyterian churches deemed inconsistent with the system contained in our standards. Under these circumstances no one can be surprised that the Church was alarmed. No one can blame the General Assembly of 1837 for abrogating the "Plan of Union." and requiring all churches and Presbyteries which desired to remain in organic connection with the Presbyterian Church, to conform to the constitution of that Church. Of this, we presume, our New School brethren are as well satisfied as we are.

The conflict about voluntary societies, the second great source of difficulty, took very much the same course. That any number of Christian men should unite to aid candidates for the ministry to obtain the requisite education for the sacred office, is a matter in itself to which no objection could be made; provided these candidates remained entirely under the control of the churches to which they belonged. But it became a portentous evil when a great National Society was formed, which assumed the control of all its beneficiaries, belonging to different denominations;

a Society having its seat in the city of Boston, controlled in a great measure by Congregationalists; having the power directly or indirectly of deciding at what academies, colleges, or theological seminaries the candidates should be educated; and especially when all its beneficiaries were required to give legal obligations to repay the money expended for education; thus bringing the young ministry into the sacred office under the bondage of debt to a few gentlemen in Boston (the executive committee of the Society), entirely free from the ecclesiastical control of our church. As soon as the system came to be understood, it was repudiated, and the great body of Presbyterians rallied in support of a Board of Education appointed by the Assembly, and responsible to that body.

In like manner, no one could object to Christians uniting to sustain missionaries and pastors in the sparsely-settled parts of the Church. But when a National Domestic Missionary body, a voluntary association, without ecclesiastical supervision, largely again under the control of Congregationalists, claimed the prerogative of sending out all the missionaries who were to labor in destitute regions of the country, assign their location, determine their salaries, it required no great acuteness to see that here was an engine of almost unlimited power. How far the power thus possessed was actually used to revolutionize the Church, may be a matter of dispute. The conviction was deep and general that it had been exercised to an alarming extent, and, if unresisted, would continue to increase until it became absolutely dominant. But whether the power was thus used or not, the fact that it was possessed by a body outside the Church, was sufficient to justify the opposition made to the Domestic Missionary Society, and the zeal manifested for the establishment and success of an ecclesiastical Board for missionary purposes.

The great source of difficulty, however, was diversity of views on matters of doctrine. It was this which gave chief importance to the questions relating to the organization of the churches, and the Boards of the Church. It was mainly because the introduction of Congrgationalism to our church

courts, the education of candidates for the ministry, and the creation and support of missionaries by voluntary societies, under their control, or under the control of men regarded as hostile to the Reformed faith, that the contest concerning the Plan of Union and voluntary societies became of so much importance and excited so much feeling. It was not until after the death of President Edwards, that any serious controversy about doctrine existed in the Presbyterian Church. Certain speculative principles which he announced, but which he himself did not carry out, to the serious modification of his doctrinal system, were taken up by his followers and pressed to their legitimate and destructive consequences. This was specially true with the principle that virtue is the love of being, or, disinterested benevolence, or, the purpose to promote happiness; that identity does not, in any case, include numerical sameness of substance; that things are one only because God chooses so to regard them; and that preservation is constant creation. God creates, *de novo*, all things out of nothing at each successive moment. The operation of these principles is wide-reaching. This is not the occasion for tracing out their consequences. It is enough to say that if all virtue consists in benevolence, there is no such attribute in God as justice. What men call by that name is only a wise regard for the best interests of the divine government. Then the work of Christ is not a satisfaction to justice. It is a benevolent devise to prevent evil resulting from the forgiveness of sin. Then, also, there is no such thing as justification, or a declaration that the demands of justice in regard to the believing sinner are satisfied. Justification becomes mere pardon and its consequences.

Then, again, if identity "is the arbitrary constitution of God," as Edwards asserts; if, as he says, no creature is one because of any numerical sameness of substance, life, or organism, but things are one simply "because God treats them as one by communicating to them like properties, relations, and circumstances, and so leads us to regard and treat them as one;" if "there be no identity or oneness in the case, but what depends on the arbitrary constitution of

the Creator," (Works, vol. ii., p. 556 *et seq.*,) then as God chooses to regard Adam and his race as one, they are one in the same sense that any individual man is one, at different periods of his existence. He, therefore, undertakes to prove that Adam and his posterity are not distinct agents, but one agent.

This theory of identity is the consequence of the third principle above mentioned, viz., that preservation is a continued creation. If God creates a thing, *de novo*, every moment, it is in no proper sense the same thing. It is a new effect, as Edwards says, at each successive moment. Then the soul is only a series of new effects at each successive moment, due, with all its thoughts, feelings, and volitions, to the divine efficiency. Hence God "creates volitions," good as well as bad. He is the author of sin as much as of holiness. Both sustain the same relation to the power of God. How such logical minds as Hopkins and Emmons stopped short of Pantheism, which was only one step in advance, it is hard to see. They furnish one among many examples of happy inconsistency, due to the revulsion of the moral feelings against the deductions of the understanding. Every one must see, however, that if the universe and all it contains is at each moment a new effect due to the omnipotence of God, God is the only agent in the universe, and all that is, (good and evil,) a manifestation of his life.

These principles make sad havoc with the Reformed theology. If God first created Adam holy, then, shortly after, created him unholy, there is an end of his federal headship, or of the doctrine that we fell with him, or derived a corrupt nature from him. There is an end, also, of the imputation of his sin in any form. What room, moreover, is left for human agency or responsibility, if we are created every moment just as we are, we can not perceive. It is vain to talk of ability or inability, if we are not agents, but God creates our acts. The doctrine that all virtue consists in benevolence, as said before, precludes the idea of legal satisfaction, and legal justification. This system cuts us off from Christ. What he did renders it consistent with the interests of the universe that sin should be forgiven, but

beyond this, we derive nothing from him; we are not united to him; he is not our life. Our fellowship is not with him, but with God as God. What conviction of sin, repentance, faith, or the life of God in the soul, or Christ living in us, according to this system, can be, we have never been able to understand.

When these sentiments began to percolate through the Presbyterian Church, they gave great offense. They were very repugnant to the convictions and feelings of the great body of the ministers and people. Still, after a while, they were tolerated, so far as acts of discipline were concerned. Several reasons may be assigned for this. In the first place, the great diversity of forms in which they appeared. Some carried out the principles of the system to their full length, others only half-way, while some adopted one or more of its principles and not others. Others, again, received the negative, but not the affirmative, results of the system. That is, while they rejected more or less the peculiarities of the old doctrine, they did not accept the conclusions of the new. This was due, no doubt, in great measure to the fact that the advocates of the new doctrine did not rely so much on proving their own views, as on attacking the old doctrines. This was done not only in the use of legitimate arguments, but by all the resources of ridicule, sarcasm, caricature, and denunciation. The result was, that many became estranged from the faith of their fathers, who did not adopt the peculiarities of the new system. The consequence was, that under the general name of Hopkinsianism the greatest diversity of doctrines were included, from the views of Dr. Richards, whom all parties revered and trusted, to the fanatical extremes of some of the theologians of Eastern Tennessee. This made the matter the more difficult to deal with.

In the second place, it is to be remembered that Hopkinsianism, however inconsistent with the Reformed faith in many of its aspects, was in others, hyper-calvinistic. It taught that men were not only born in sin, but that they committed actual sin before they were born. It carried the doctrine of human dependence and divine efficiency to the

length of denying all real efficiency to second causes; and the sovereignty of God in predestination was exalted to the highest point. It is worthy of remark that the same extreme results are reached by some professedly Reformed theologians of Germany, in our day, by a very different process.

In the third place, this system, in its genuine form, was so repugnant to the common judgment of men, to the religious experience of the people of God, and to the express teachings of the Bible, that it was felt it could not last. The people have an instinctive conviction that a sound church can not lose its doctrines before it loses its religion. The system has in fact passed away. We hardly know where a single thorough-going advocate of Hopkinsianism can now be found.

That system has been superceded by the New Divinity, so called, a much more formidable affair. These systems, in their characteristic principles and spirit, are antipodal. The one pushes the dependence of man and the efficiency of God to the destruction of human agency. The other so exalts the independence of man and the liberty of the will, as to preclude the effectual control of God. The one teaches that God creates the volitions of men; the other that the divine influence over free agents is by moral suasion. The one makes the power by which regeneration is affected as inresistible as omnipotence. The other teaches that men can effectually resist, and act in opposition to, any amount of influence which does not destroy their free agency. One represents God as absolutely sovereign in predestination; the other, that He elects those whom He foresees He can persuade to repent and believe. The one says that men are sinners at birth; the other, that they are free from sin until they arrive at an age in which they voluntarily transgress known law. The one, as we have seen, is hyper-calvinistic; the other verges very near Pelagianism; its author himself, avowed that he considered Pelagius right in the main point of his controversy with Augustin.

Several attempts by regular judical process having failed to secure the condemnation of these erroneous doctrines, some other measures were regarded by many as indispen-

sable to arrest their progress. A conference was therefore called to meet in the lecture-room of the Seventh Presbyterian Church, Philadelphia, May 26, 1834. At that meeting "a committee of nine was appointed to prepare an Act and Testimony on the crisis." This document certified "against the various evations employed in adopting the Confession; against a list of enumerated doctrinal errors taught in the Church; and against irregularities in discipline and violations in order, which were prevalent. It closed with recommending to the churches certain measures of reform. As to doctrine it bore witness against the following as "a part of the errors held and taught, by many persons in our church:"

"I. Our relation to Adam. That we have no more to do with the first sin of Adam, than with the sins of any other parent.

"II. Native Depravity. That there is no such thing as original sin; that infants come into the world as perfectly free from corruption of nature as Adam was when he was created; that, by original sin, nothing more is meant than the fact that all the posterity of Adam, though born entirely free from moral defilement, will always begin to sin when they begin to exercise moral agency; and that this fact is, somehow, connected with the fall of Adam.

"III. Imputation. That the doctrine of imputed sin and imputed righteousness is a novelty, and is nonsense.

"IV. Ability. That the impenitent sinner is, by nature and independently of the act of the Holy Spirit, in full possession of all the powers necessary to a compliance with the commands of God; and that if he labored under any kind of inability, natural or moral, which he could not remove himself, he would be excusable for not complying with God's will.

"V. Regeneration. That man's regeneration is his own act; that it consists merely in a change of our governing purpose, which change we must ourselves produce.

"VI. Divine Influence. That God can not exert such an influence on the minds of men as shall make it certain that they will choose and act in a particular manner, without

destroying their moral agency; and that, in a moral system, God could not prevent the existence of sin, or of the present amount of sin, however much he might desire it.

VII. ATONEMENT. That Christ's sufferings were not truly vicarious.

"The practical recommendations, embraced in the Act and Testimony, proposed to discountenance the propagators of error; to use all lawful means to bring them to discipline; to labor to reëstablish sound discipline and order; and to hold elective courts to be unconstitutional, and those who voluntarily belong to them to have virtually departed from the standards of the Church." It also called for a Convention to meet on the second Thursday of May, one week before the meeting of the Assembly in the city of Pittsburgh. (Baird, p. 424.) The Act and Testimony was at first signed by thirty-seven ministers and twenty-seven elders: ultimately it received the signatures of about three hundred and seventy-four ministers and one thousand seven hundred and eighty-nine elders and fourteen licentiates.

This Act and Testimony was not signed by more than a third of the ministers who cordially sympathized with the Old School movement. The objection was not to the document as a testimony against error; nor as a means of arousing the Church and promoting reform. The objections were principally the following: Requiring and calling for a general signing of such a paper, made it a test of orthodoxy. For this purpose it was not adapted. It not only condemned false doctrines, but it recommended ulterior measures, which neither the judgment nor conscience of many of the oldest and soundest men in the Church could approve. For example, the signers bound themselves to "consider the Presbyterial existence and acts of any Presbytery or Synod formed upon the principle of elective affinity, as unconstitutional, and all ministers and churches voluntarily included in such bodies, as having virtually departed from the standards of our Church." This was understood to mean that the signers should regard and treat the acts of the Assembly in creating any elective affinity

body as null and void. This, however, is nullification. It is precisely what the Declaration and Testimony men of our time have done, and which the whole body of the Church condemns. In the second place, the issuing such a document to be signed by the friends of sound doctrine, and the calling a Convention to sit at the same time and place with the General Assembly, were regarded as the incipient steps to secession. Dr. Baird tells us that, as other means had failed, unless something could be devised to rouse the Church, "Those who loved her standard might prepare to abandon the Church, and seek an asylum in some other field." (p. 422.) Dr. Green said, in our hearing, that if the New School should prove to have the majority in the Assembly of 1837, he would lift the standard, and who would might follow it. It is not said that this was the avowed or unanimous purpose of the signers of the Act; but such was the avowed intention of some of the leaders of the movement, and was regarded as the natural tendency of their measures. But it is the almost universally recognized doctrine, that no man, or set of men, is authorized to abandon the Church and set up another communion, unless prevented from preaching the truth, or forced to profess error. So long as the standards are left sound, and full liberty of speech is allowed, all are bound to adhere to the Church doctrine to reform it. Had the Evangelical party in the Church of Scotland abandoned the Church, when the Moderates were in the ascendancy, they would have given up all its property, prerogatives, and prestige to their opponents, which would have been a grievous breach of trust. To secede from a body, ecclesiastical or civil, because an opposing party gains ascendancy, and passes what are regarded as unjust or unconstitutional laws, would destroy all stability and unity. For these and other reasons many refused to sign the Act and Testimony who were sincerely desirous to see the Church reformed. Of course they were denounced as timid, and time-servers, abettors of heresy, etc.

The conflict was continued through the years 1835 and 1836, during which, abortive attempts were made to secure

the condemnation of obnoxious doctrines by regular process of discipline. During the sessions of the Assembly of 1836, a committee was appointed for correspondence and consultation, and, if it should be judged expedient, to call a Convention preliminary to the next Assembly. This Convention met in Philadelphia. May 11th, 1837. It consisted of one hundred and twenty-five members, representing fifty-two Presbyteries and thirteen minorities. It drew up a Memorial and Testimony which was presented to the Assembly, in which the Memorialists say: "We contend especially, and above all, for the truth, as it is made known to us of God, for the salvation of men. We contend for nothing else, except as the result or support of this inestimable treasure." The whole history of this protracted contest, as well as the above explicit declaration, show that doctrine was the great interest at stake. All other questions were entirely subordinate. The Memorial set forth a list of errors which prevailed more or less in the Church, and testified against the disorder, or violation of the principles of Presbyterianism, which had been allowed. The measures of reform which it indicated were, "The abrogation of the Plan of Union; the discountenancing of the operations of the American Home Missionary and Education Societies, within the ecclesiastical limits of the Church; the bringing into order, dissolution, or separation from the Church, of every inferior court not regularly organized; the requiring Presbyteries to examine applicants from all denominations, on theology and Church government, personal piety, and ministerial qualifications, and to require of them an explicit adoption of the standards; the enforcing of discipline against heretical ministers, and courts which tolerate them, and the adoption of measures that such of these bodies as are believed to consist chiefly of decidedly unsound or disorderly members may be separated from the Church, provision being made for any cases of orderly members or churches among them; and the admission of such voluntary societies as were not expressly condemned." (Baird, p. 522.)

This memorial, when presented to the Assembly, was received and referred to a committee, which reported a reso-

lution condemning the errors specified in the Memorial, which resolution was adopted at a later period. A resolution abrogating the Plan of Union, was carried by a vote of 143 to 110. A motion was then made and adopted, to cite to the bar of the next Assembly, the inferior judicatories charged with being irregularly organized. By this time the parties had become satisfied that a division of the Church was inevitable, and a committee was appointed consisting of five members from each side, to consider the terms of an amicable separation. This committee agreed as to everything except the question, whether the separation should take place at once, or be deferred for another year. On this point they divided, and reported to the Assembly that they could not agree.

Before this committee reported, Dr. Cuyler introduced a measure providing that hereafter no church, not Presbyterian in its organization, should be represented in any of our church-courts. The same principle would apply to Presbyteries and Synods. This would secure the exclusion from representation in the Assembly of any Presbyteries embracing Congregationalists among its members. This proposal was postponed for the time, and not afterwards called up.

The Assembly adopted a more summary course. A resolution was introduced declaring that, "By the operation of the Abrogation of the Plan of Union of 1801, the Synod of the Western Reserve is, and is hereby declared to be, no part of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America." This resolution was adopted by a vote of 132 to 105. As it was admitted on the floor of the Assembly that, of the one hundred and thirty-nine churches embraced in that Synod, only thirty were Presbyterian, the above resolution was virtually only a declaration that Congregationists are not Presbyterians, and aught not to constitute a part of a Presbyterian Church.

The same rule was afterwards passed with reference to the Synods of Utica, Geneva, and Genesee. The Assembly declared that this action was not intended to interfere with the church, or pastoral relation of the people or ministers.

Provision was also made for the recognition of all churches and Presbyteries presbyterially organized as integral parts of the Church.

Whatever may be thought of these measures, it can hardly be questioned that the Assembly was authorized and bound to see the constitution enforced, and to require that all the churches and inferior judicatories should be organized agreeably to its prescriptions.

Had the New School, while protesting against the justice of the acts of 1837, consented to separate from the Congregationalists, and claim admission to the next Assembly as regularly organized Presbyteries, there could have been no valid objection to their recognition. Instead of that, however, a convention was called to meet at Auburn, New York, August 17th 1837. In this Convention it was resolved to adhere to the Plan of Union, and to regard the acts dissolving the Synods of Western Reserve, Utica, Geneva and Genesee, as null and void. Accordingly the delegates from the Presbyteries embraced in these Synods, appeared in full force when the Assembly met in Philadelphia, in 1838. That Assembly was regularly called to order according to the rules, by Dr. Elliot, Moderator of the preceding Assembly. The next step, according to the book, in organizing the house, was the report of the committee on Commissions, giving and enrolling the names of the Commissioners. The next step would be, the reference to the Committee of the commissions of the case of any claiming seats, who had not been enrolled. Without waiting for the regular organization of the house, Dr. Patton rose to move that the clerks be instructed to include the names of the commissioners from the excluded Synods. The Moderator properly decided that no motion could be entertained until the house was organized. Dr. Mason moved that the names of the commissioners omitted by the clerks should be added to the roll. The Moderator again decided that the rules directed that a committee of elections should first be appointed. A motion was then made that Dr. Beman should take the chair. This by the New School members was declared to be carried. There were thus two Moderators and two As-

semblies. The adherents of Dr. Beman, as Moderator, then left the house to meet in the First Presbyterian Church. The Assembly of 1838, therefore, was never called upon to vote on the question, whether the commissioners from the Presbyteries in the excluded Synods, should be enrolled or not.

If the Old School would have been guilty of schism, had they withdrawn from the Church because the New School had the ascendancy, and had adopted measures which they considered unconstitutional and injurious, the New School were certainly schismatical in 1838, in thus withdrawing because the other party had passed acts which they regarded as unjust and unconstitutional. The same principle applies to both cases.

When we began this article we intended to notice the almost uniformly disparaging terms in which Dr. Baird speaks of the *Princeton Review* and its conductors. But this, as a personal concern, is a matter of little importance. This journal has been in existence forty years. If, during that long period, it has been inconsistent and unfaithful, swayed, now one way and now another, by interest or popular clamor, all the protestations of its conductors to the contrary, will avail nothing. If, on the other hand, it has been steadfast in defense of the doctrines and order of the Presbyterian Church, through good report and through ill report, then all the Dr. Bairds in the world can neither alter that fact nor prevent its being known and acknowledged.

We have submitted, at no little inconvenience, to the labor of preparing this summary of our past history, for the following objects: First, to convince the judgment and conscience of our younger brethren in the ministry that our Church has been Old School from the beginning; that the principles for which the Old School now contend, and have, as a party, always contended, are the principles on which our Church was founded, and upon which it was conducted for more than a hundred years. The Confession was adopted in its strict and literal sense; and such latitude of interpretation as has of late been demanded was stren-

uously, and, as a matter of conscience, uniformly denied. Secondly, that for us now to agree to give up those principles, and to consent to the toleration of errors which the Church has hitherto condemned, would, if these principles are sound, be morally wrong. Thirdly, that any other ecclesiastical body proposing to unite with our Church, if it acts intelligently and in good faith, must do so on the distinct understanding that no doctrine condemned by our highest judicatory in time past, is to be tolerated in the Church of the future. This is the ground taken by the unanimous vote of the General Assembly of 1868.

SHORT NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

The Church of Christ: A Treatise on the Nature, Powers, Ordinances, Discipline and Government of the Christian Church. By the late James Bannerman, D. D., Professor of Apologetics and Pastoral Theology, New College, Edinburgh; Author of "Inspiration: The Infallible Truth and Divine Authority of the Holy Scriptures." Edited by his Son. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 38 George Street. London: Hamilton, Adams & Co. Dublin: John Robertson & Co. New York: Scribner, Welford & Co. 1868. 2 Vols., 8vo. Vol. I. pp. 480. Vol. II. pp. 468.

We are indebted to the kindness of the Messrs. Clark for an early copy of this valuable work. Dr. Bannerman's volume on Inspiration we regard as the most satisfactory exhibition of that subject that we have ever seen. The same clearness, logical arrangement, and comprehensiveness, characterize the work now before us. The author's son informs us in his preface, that these lectures were found in a state of preparation for the press which left very little for him to do. This is always a satisfaction to the readers of posthumous works. Notwithstanding the vital importance of questions concerning the nature, prerogatives, and powers of the Church, we know of no modern discussion in our language of the subject, by any other than prelatical writers, which has any pretension to thoroughness. This gives special importance to this work of Dr. Bannerman. The whole Protestant world, speaking in general terms, the Church of England excepted, renounced prelacy as a human device when it renounced popery. It is time, therefore, that the true doctrine of the Church, not as a body governed by bishops having apostolic authority without apostolic gifts, should be satisfactorily set forth and vindicated.

The Divinity of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ: Eight Lectures preached before the University of Oxford, in the year 1866, *on the foundation of the late Rev. John Bampton, M. A., Canon of Salisbury.* By Henry Parry Liddon, M. A., Student of Christ Church, Prebendary of Salisbury, and Chaplain of the Lord Bishop of Salisbury. New Edition. New York: Scribner, Welford & Co. 1868. pp. 535.

The Bampton Lectures constitute an important part of the contributions of English theologians to the Christian literature of our age. This work is worthy of a distinguished place in the series. After stating the leading doctrines concerning the person of Christ, the Humanitarian, the Arian, and the Catholic, the author proceeds to vindicate the common faith of Christians on this absolutely fundamental doctrine. He first exhibits the evidence of the divinity of the Messiah set forth in the Old Testament; then the proof deriv d from

the work of Christ in the world; then from our Lord's own assertions; then from the writings of St. John; then from those of the apostles, Peter, James, and Paul. The seventh Lecture is devoted to the Homoöusian theory, and the last to the "Consequences of the doctrine."

Jesus Christ: His Times, Life, and Work. By E. De Pressensé, D. D. Second Edition, revised. New York: Scribner, Welford & Co. 1868. pp. 496.

It is God's prerogative to bring good out of evil. Strauss' "Leben Jesu," probably the most formidable assault ever made on the foundations of the Christian faith, has been made the means of a thoroughness in the examination and vindication of the Gospel History, which no less serious attack could have called forth. It would be difficult to enumerate the books to which the work of Strauss and that of his French coadjutor, Renan, have given rise. Among these, that of Dr. Pressensé is one of the most valuable. It begins with a discussion of the fundamental question of the supernatural. If there neither is, nor can be, any other agency in the world but what is natural, then Christianity, as it enters into the faith of the Church, is an impossibility. After settling this preliminary point, the author passes in review the religions of the ancient world, Pagan and Jewish. The fourth chapter is devoted to the credibility of the Gospel History. After these preparatory chapters, comes the consideration of the Life of Christ in its several stages. Dr. De Pressensé says that the theological questions concerning the person of Christ, lie outside of the proposed range of his book. Nevertheless, while avowing his cordial belief in the true divinity of our Lord, he declares himself to be an adherent of the modern German doctrine, that the Logos himself became man, not by assuming a true body and a rational soul, but by a process of self-limitation the infinite became finite; the omniscient ignorant; the almighty feeble, retaining, nevertheless what he calls (p. 184) "the moral essence" of his divinity. Whatever else may be said of this doctrine, it is confessedly a renunciation of the Catholic faith; or what the author stigmatizes as "the dogma of two natures." As this doctrine, in our view, necessarily involves the deification of humanity in the denial that Christ is truly God, we regard its operation as a great drawback to the value of the work before us.

The Human Intellect: With an Introduction upon Psychology and the Soul. By Noah Porter, D. D., Clark Professor of Moral Philosophy and Metaphysics in Yale College. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1868.

After a careful examination of this truly great work, we are ready to pronounce it the most complete and exhaustive exhibition of the cognitive faculties of the human soul to be found in our language, and, so far as we know, in any language. More extended and elaborate discussions on some single faculties, or questions emerging from them, may perhaps be found, though even these are few and far between. This massive octavo, with its nearly seven hundred pages, so filled as to leave only the narrowest margin, with type of three sizes, all clear and legible indeed, but the largest only medium, while

the smaller, and smallest, will pack a marvellous quantity of words on a single page, contains as much matter as several of the average volumes in which our standard historical, metaphysical and other works are usually published. Its contents fully equal those of a collected volume of Reid's, and another (somewhat abridged) of Locke's works, and we think of more than half the seven volumes of Dugald Stewart's works now before us. Hence there is ample room for the thorough discussion of a large number of topics; indeed, all the more momentous questions which now agitate the philosophic mind of the world. These are duly attended to by the author; indeed, his book is not only a manual, but a thesaurus, on intellectual psychology, and the metaphysics implicated therewith. The several chapters of Introduction, on the Presentative, the Representative, the Thought, and the Supersensual Intuitive Faculties, would each, if set in ordinary type and page, make a solid volume. Although its retail price is five dollars, we know not where else any such amount of valuable matter can be purchased for the money.

The author's qualifications for so great a work, familiar to all acquainted with him, are prominent and conspicuous throughout the volume. They know full well his great acuteness, capacity for subtle analysis, delicate discrimination, persistent attention to fugitive phenomena and tenuous trains of thought, his catholic comprehension, his calm and judicial habit of mind, his mastery of the learning and literature of the subject, combined with the advantage of life-long study, thinking and teaching, in a field which he has cultivated with passionate enthusiasm. We have been much struck with the union of two qualities not often conjoined in the same person—the microscopic eye of the minute philosopher, which lets no atom escape it, and a telescopic reach and sweep which take in and adjust the great suns, and stars, and systems of intellectual and metaphysical philosophy.

No less than this appears in the very threshold, the introductory chapter of the work. The discussions there presented, the array of arguments against materialism; the analysis of the relations of the soul and body, and especially the argument to prove the soul the vitalizing principle of the body; the unfolding of the three meanings of the Ego, first used for the pure rational spirit, distinct from the body and its nervous sensorium; second, as combined with the latter only, and distinguished from the residue of the body; third, as united to and energizing or animating, and thus one with the entire body, in distinction from other bodies, are fine specimens of fresh and original thinking on difficult subjects, which does not disdain to incorporate with itself the results of the best thinking of others. These are only samples of what is continually recurring throughout this great work.

Prof. Porter is very strong and pronounced in his opposition to both materialism and idealism, and to the atheistic and pantheistic tendencies of each. He holds an even balance between the Sensational and Transcendental schools. He exhibits, with remarkable fairness and intelligence, the positions of such authors as Spinoza, Locke, Descartes, Hume, J. S. Mill, Herbert Spencer, Reid, Stewart, Brown, Kant, Fichte, Schelling, Hegel, Hamilton, Trendelenburg, and other representatives and leaders of the different schools of philosophy. His summation of the opposing arguments on great philosophical controversies is generally that of an impartial and competent judge. The

historical chapters, in which so much is compressed in a few pages of fine type, are especially valuable, and convenient for philosophical, historical and literary reference.

But while the work is thus meritorious in its speculative side, it abounds in practical teachings and counsels which are at once sagacious and profound, and often not without the charm of novelty. Some admirable specimens of this may be found in the chapters on the Development and Education of the Senses, and the power of cognition through them; but more especially in the closing parts of the chapters on Phantasy and Imagination. Indeed, the speculative as well as the practical treatment of this subject is singularly able and instructive.

The metaphysical discussions which arise in treating of the faculty of intuitive truths are also keen, deep and broad. The doctrines of Efficient and Final Cause, Substance and Attribute, the Conditioned and Unconditioned, Absolute and Relative, are powerfully elucidated.

In short, the work is a monument of the author's insight, industry, learning and judgment; one of the great productions of our time; an honor to our country; and a fresh proof that genuine philosophy has not died out among us, and that those are not wanting who see that false philosophy must be counteracted by that which is true. In saying all this, we of course need not say that it contains no passages which would bear criticism, no statements which we would not choose to modify. This would be virtually saying that our commendation of so extended a work as this is worthless.

Mental Science; A Compendium of Psychology and the History of Philosophy; designed as a Text-Book for High Schools and Colleges. By Alexander Bain, M. A., Professor of Logic and Mental Philosophy in the University of Aberdeen, Author of "The Senses and the Intellect," "The Emotions of the Will," etc., etc. New York: D. Appleton and Company. 1868.

The position of Professor Bain as a mental philosopher has been definitely established by his previous works, of which this is an abridgment specially prepared for the class-room. It contains the essence of his system of philosophy in a concentrated form, well distributed into chapters, sections, paragraphs, headings, principal propositions, with larger and subsidiary comments and explanations in smaller type, as only an experienced and successful teacher would be likely to divide it. It shows not only the author's tact as a teacher, but his power and eminence as an original investigator, thinker and champion of Sensism or the sensational school in philosophy. Here we reach the climax in which commendation and condemnation of this and other works of Prof. Bain culminate. They show great ability, research, acuteness, ingenuity. But these are devoted to the support of principles which can not be too strongly reprobated; the current materialism which now parades itself pretentiously as physiological psychology; which considers mind as little else than a manifestation or energy of the body it inhabits and animates, and psychical force as convertable with nerve force. Substance, power, cause, will, freedom, right, yea, what he describes as "a certain entity called self," are reasoned away. How much, then, is left? Shall such principles be taught to our American youth?

The Revelation of Law in Scripture: Considered with respect both to its own Nature, and its Relative Place in Succesive Dispensations. By Patrick Fairbairn, D. D., Author of Typology of Scripture,etc. New York: Robert Carter and Brothers. 1869.

Dr. Fairbairn's book consists of Lectures, delivered in Edinburgh on the Cunningham foundation recently established by Dr. William Binney Webster. He begins by a rapid examination and refutation of some of the theories, which, either on the Pantheistic or Positivist side, exaggerate the supremacy of Law, till they uplift it above the Lawgiver, degrading him below it, if they do not disown and ignore Him utterly. Those who either make God powerless before the might of the laws of nature, or who acknowledge no Almighty who ordained and presides over them, do equally ungod the universe. They set up the relentless reign of blind force, and objure the dominion of a Personal God, All wise, All holy, All gracious, Sovereign, Omnipresent, Omnipotent.

As all extremes meet, so the transition is natural from those who enthrone Law above God, to those who in various degrees set aside all law, or impair or annul its authority. We have the Materialists, who make man subject to a material organism instead of a government of moral law; the Idealists who, developing into Pantheists, by deifying man, annul the supremacy and authority of God over him, and even, sometimes, under guise of teaching Christianity, make every man his own supreme lawgiver, or law unto himself; the Neonomians and Antinomians who evaporate the rule of Christ into an extreme of Christian liberty that scorns the guidance and control of law. These radical errors he sweeps before him in a brief preliminary review

He then gives a masterly survey of the Law as inscribed on man's nature, and otherwise made known to him at creation; of the special prohibition to eat the forbidden fruit, as the grand test of his rectitude; of his failure under it, whence obedience and conformity to it, were ever afterwards rendered impossible, except through a redemptive system. emancipa g men from the curse, bondage, and pollution of sin; and of the more full, formal and articulate promulgation of the Law, in the several successive stages of the Divine economy of grace. The respective places and offices of the ceremonial and moral law, and of both as related to the whole method of Christian livin:, and to modern sacramentarianism are well exhibited in this volume.

As might be expected, Dr. Fairbairn takes decided ground against all those lax theories of the law, as related to the death of Christ, which have been of ate so confidently and profusely put forth. He says: "it is not in such a mystified, impalpable gospel as those fine-spun theories present to us that any effective aid is to be found. We must have a solid foundation for our feet to stand on, a sure and living ground for our confidence in God. And we can find this only in the old church view of the sufferings and death of Christ as a satisfaction to God's justice for the offence done to God by our sin to his violated law. *Satisfaction*, I say emphatically, *to God's justice*, [the italics are the author's] which some even evangelical writers, seem disposed to stumble at; they would say satisfaction to God's honour indeed, but by no means to God's justice. What then, I would ask, is God's honour apart from his justice? His honour can be nothing but the reflex action or display of his moral attri-

butes; and in the exercise of these attributes the fundamental and controlling attribute is justice. Every one of them is conditioned; love itself is conditioned by the demands of justice."

"The Church doctrine of the atonement undoubtedly is, and always has been, as stated by the younger Hodge, that the legal responsibilities of His people were, by covenant, transferred to Christ, and that He, as Mediator, was regarded and treated accordingly. The sinful act and the sinful nature are inalienable. The guilt or just liability to punishment is alienable, otherwise no sinner can be saved."—Pp. 250–1.

Our friends of contrary views may thus see that this and affiliated doctrines are not peculiar, as is so often asserted or implied, to "Princeton theology," or the *Princeton Review*; and that it is no specialty or arrogance in us to style them "Church doctrines," as is so often affirmed or insinuated. It is the common language of well-instructed theologians.

The New Englander for October, 1868. Art. VI.

While we desire and hope, as soon as the requisite arrangements can be made, to take some survey of noteworthy things in the recent Quarterlies in each number, we can now refer only to the last *New Englander*, in which Dr. Fisher publishes a rejoinder to our reply to him in our July number. As to the main issue, viz., whether this journal had given a false and injurious representation of the New Haven or Taylor Theology, we are perfectly willing to leave the discussion just as it now is, without another word We have no fear of the candid judgment of those who read what has been written on both sides Dr. Fisher, however, at the close of his article, passes from the defensive to the offensive in the following terms:

"It is true that Dr. Taylor was a life-long opponent of the Princeton theology. Gratuitous condemnation for Adam's sin; congenital sin inflicted upon the sinless by a judicial decree prior to their existence; sin meriting damnation, before the least consciousness of a rule of right: absolute natural impotency of the soul to throw off the bondage to evil thus engendered in it; literal endurance of the legal penalty by Christ, but only for a part of mankind, selected by mere will, without reference to results in the general good; right of this fraction to claim salvation as a matter of strict justice, their punishment having been endured; conversion of this fraction by dint of creative omnipotence acting irresistibly within their souls; perdition of all the rest, judicially inflicted for a sin done before they were created, for propagated sin which they could not prevent, and for not believing in an atonement never provided for them, and when all power of thus believing had been extirpated from their souls, through the necessary effect of an ancestor's transgression; this system, Dr. Taylor thought, in its logical implications, blots out human probation, and with it the moral government of God."—Pp. 760–1.

The system here pointed at and distorted is spoken of as if it were peculiar to Princeton. All competent judges will see it to be equally that of the Westminster symbols adopted by every English speaking branch of the Presbyterian Church. And not only so: they are the only symbols ever adopted by the Congregational churches of New England in General Council assembled. By them also have they been reaffirmed in their last great Congregational Council in 1865, in the words and figures following, to wit:

"Standing by the rock where the Pilgrims set foot upon these shores, upon the spot where they worshipped God, and among the graves of the early gen-

erations, we, elders and messengers of the Congregational churches of the United States, in National Council assembled, like them, acknowledging no rule of faith but the Word of God, *do now declare our adherence to the faith and order of apostolic and primitive churches held by our fathers, and substantially embodied in the confessions and platforms which our Synods of* 1648 *and* 1680 *set forth and reaffirmed.* We declare that the experience of nearly two and a half centuries which have elapsed since the memorable day when our sires founded here a Christian commonwealth, with all the development of new forms of error since their times, *has only deepened our confidence in the faith and polity of our fathers. We bless God for the inheritance of these doctrines.* We invoke the help of the Divine Redeemer, that through the presence of the promised Comforter, he will enableus *to transmit them in purity to our children.*"

The "Confessions" so adopted were the Westminster and the Savoy, which, as to all the points herein involved, were identical. The original, of which Prof. Fisher, in the name of Dr. Taylor, in the above passage, has assumed to draw the true portrait, is not Princeton theology merely, nor that of Old School Presbyterians merely, but of the symbols of all the Presbyterian bodies, to which also the most representative and authoritative body of American Congregationalists solemnly declare their adherence. So far as our own Church is concerned, the following comment from the most distant jonrnal of our Church, the *North-Western Presbyterian*, is conclusive proof:

"Thus it is that Taylorism misrepresents, caricatures, renders odious, and spurns the great doctrines of the Presbyterian Confession of Faith, relative to the fall in Adam, personal election, and redemption by Christ. Dr. Fisher says "Princeton theology," but every intelligent Presbyterian knows that he means the theology of the Old School Presbyterian Church, for the one is the other, in all the points caricatured in the quotation."

If it is still mooted what Taylorism is, it can no longer be a question what is its conception of, and animus toward, the system of doctrine contained in our confessions, and held by our Church. "This system," Dr. Taylor thought, "in its logical implications, blots out human probation, and with it the moral government of God!" Hence it is self-evident:

1. That those who hold to Taylorism, and cherish its spirit, cannot live in harmony in the same church with the adherents of a system thus abhorrent to them. The attempt to unite them in one ecclesiastical organization is like the attempt to unite believers in apostolical succession and ministerial parity. It must result in collision, discord, and division. So it has been whenever Taylorism has become a self-asserting and self-propagating power in Calvinistic communions. It was a main cause of the disruption of our Church in 1837. It led to the formation of a special Congregational organization, and a second theological seminary, in the little State of Connecticut.

2. Hence we see the wisdom of our Presbyteries, and the necessity laid upon them, in rejecting the doctrinal basis of reunion sent down to them by the last two Assemblies. This basis, according to the interpretation of the New School, of which it was honestly capable, provided for the toleration in he united Church of whatever had been allowed in either branch. That the adherents of Dr. Taylor and his system had been so allowed is past all question. What their views and feelings are towards the doctrines of our Church, is now placed beyond controversy. The two systems can not cohere. They are so antagonistic that they must breed incessant and divisive conflict, where-

ever they come face to face. Reunion on such a basis would have within itself an explosive force which would insure disruption.

Cyclopedia of Biblical, Theological, and Ecclesiastical Literature. Prepared by the Rev. John M'Clintock, D. D., and James Strong, S. T. D. Vol. II.—C. D. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1868.

An examination of the first two volumes of this great work satisfies us that the strong and quite unanimous verdict in its favor, by the most competent organs of enlightened criticism, is fully justified. It is, as its title indicates, not merely or chiefly biblical in its range. It is, indeed, in this department scarcely less thorough than the most complete Dictionaries of the Bible, all of which are made tributary to it. It embraces the entire field of theology and ecclesiology. Nor does it even stop here; it grasps other topics, and leaves little untouched, some knowledge of which is essential to a minister of the Gospel. Of this, such articles as those on Aristotle, Bacon, Comte, are indications. Indeed, the range of the work is immense. In the two volumes already published, nearly six thousand topics are treated, most with needful brevity, but many with elaborate and comprehensive discussion. Of this, the articles on Augustine, Arminius, Calvin, and their respective doctrinal systems, the Church, Congregationalism, and numerous others, are striking examples. And it is remarkable how often capital justice is done to important subjects, in a terse dissertation of a page or column, giving the quintessence of bulky volumes in a few strong and weighty sentences.

These volumes contain nearly 1900 large octavo pages, closely printed, in double columns, and clear, though fine type, and will be hardly less indispensable to ministers and intelligent laymen than a good dictionary or concordance. While we could not expect Calvin to be praised like Arminius, the Editors are generally just and candid on disputed points.

English, Past and Present. Eight Lectures, By Richard Chenevix Trench, D. D., Archbishop of Dublin. Sixth Edition, Revised and Improved. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1868. pp. 325.

These Lectures were originally published in 1855. That they have reached a sixth edition, is proof of the estimation in which they are held. The subject is one of so much interest, and has of late years received so much attention, that this popular view of one aspect of it, will be welcome and useful to a large class of readers.

Christ in Song: Hymns of Immanuel; Selected from All Ages, with Notes. By Philip Schaff, D.D. New York: Randolph & Co., No. 770 Broadway. 1869. Small Quarto. pp. 711.

This volume has every thing to recommend it. Its subject is the glories of Immanuel, of all others the surest to find a response in every Christian heart. The intrinsic merit of its contents as poetic and devotional productions, the important historical evidence here exhibited that Christ has been in all ages and in every part of the Christian Church worshipped, loved, and praised as the true God and eternal life; edited by one of the most accomplished scholars of our day; the notes, with which it is furnished, full of biographical and bibliographical information; and finally, the book is got up in

a most attractive style of printing and binding. We wish that devout Unitarians, of whom there are not a few among us, could be induced to read and ponder the contents of this volume. To be a Christian is to be a worshiper of Christ. This is the lesson which this volume teaches.

Travels and Adventures in South and Central America. First Series. Life in the Llanos of Venezuela. By Don Ramon Paez. New York: Charles Scribner & Co., 645 Broadway. 1868. pp.

The Author of this work is a native of the lands which were the scenes of his adventures. Educated in England, and living the greater part of his life in this country, he is specially qualified for the task which he undertook. He has produced a book full of interesting information relating to a land which is comparatively little known.

A Text-Book of Natural Philosophy: An accurate, modern, and systematic explanation of the Elementary Principles of the Science; Adapted to the use of High Schools and Academies; with 149 Illustrations. By Le Roy C. Cooley, A. M., Professor of Natural Science in the New York State Normal School. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1868. pp.

As far as we are able to judge, this work is well adapted to the end for which it was intended.

Ecce Cœlum: or Parish Astronomy. In Six Lectures, by a Connecticut Pastor. Boston: Nichols & Noyes, 117 Washington Street. 1869. pp. 198.

This small volume gives an admirable popular summary of the science of Astronomy. This is a new edition. The work has been long enough before the public to elicit the very strongest testimonials to its excellence. Dr. Stearns, President of Amherst College, pronounces it "a grand production—very clear and satisfactory, scientifically considered—very exalted and exalting in spirit and manner." The *Bibliotheca Sacra* says, it is "one of the most remarkable books which has proceeded from the American press in a long time." The author is the Rev. E. F. Burr, D.D. The book will be sent by the publishers through the mail on the receipt of the price, one dollar and twenty-five cents.

The Primitive Eirenicon: One Evangelical Ministry. Apostolical Succession, Doctrinal, not Tactual, nor exclusively Episcopal; Illustrated by the History of the Patriarchal Church of Alexandria. By Rev. Mason Gallagher, Rector of St. Paul's Church, Paterson, N. J., Author of "True Churchmanship Vindicated," &c. New York: Hurd & Houghton. 1868. pp. 236.

Our sympathies have always been strongly with the low-church party in the Episcopal Church; not only because they hold the truth where they differ from the opposite party in that Church, but also because they alone are faithful to the staudards and original faith of the body to which they belong. It is true, indeed, as every one knows, that the Reformation was not carried out in England as far as the clergy and the people desired, especially as it regards ceremonies and the liturgy. But for one hundred years that Church, was

evangelical in doctrine and catholic in spirit, recognizing the orders and church state of all their fellow Protestants. The Romanizing spirit which afterwards prevailed through the influence of Archbishop Laud, and which has of late years regained the ascendancy, is an apostacy. We rejoice, therefore, that there are more like Mr. Gallagher, who stand up for the truth. We doubt not they will ultimately prevail. True religion must kill Ritualism.

Madame Thérèse; or the Volunteers of '92. By MM. Erckmann-Chatrin. Translated from the thirteenth edition. With ten full-page Illustrations. Third Thousand. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1869. pp. 289.

This is a graphic story of the early struggles of the French Republic. The scene is laid in a German village. The story is told by a child, but is none the less interesting on that account. The writers are two friends who have so identified themselves as to pass for one author. They have raised themselves to the first class among the producers of the light literature of the day.

Constance Aylmer; a Story of the Seventeenth Century. By H. F. P. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1869. pp. 347.

The scene of this story is laid in New York under the Dutch dynasty, and is designed to illustrate the manners and state of society during that period.

A. D. F. Randolph sends the following little books, published in the most beautiful style:

The Heritage of Peace, or Christian Life. By T. S. Childs, D. D.

This work is what might be expected from its author,—full of the marrow of the Gospel, fitted to instruct the ignorant, guide the doubting, comfort the disconsolate, in short, to build all up upon their most holy faith.

Hymns. By Francis Turner Palgrave, late Scholar of Balliol, and Fellow of Exeter College, Oxford. Second edition, enlarged.

We find here the heavenly aroma of a true hymnology.

Saint Paul. By Frederic W. H. Myers.

We discover little poetry here besides the form of verse, and little beauty except in the paper, type, and binding.

The Law of Love, and Love as a Law, or Moral Science, Theoretical and Practical. By Mark Hopkins, D. D., LL. D., President of Williams College. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1869.

Dr. Hopkins has given to this volume whatever advantages could arise from his eminence as a thinker, and his long experience as a teacher, in constructing a text-book. In its form and structure it accordingly surpasses most of the text-books now in vogue on this subject. The publishers, too, have done their part to render the volume attractive for this purpose.

We regret, however, that we can not coincide with the author's views and speculations on the nature of virtue, in which he avows his probable dissent from the majority. We much more nearly agree with the views he quotes from Prof. Haven, and combats; indeed, with the system once held by Dr

Hopkins himself, as indicated in the Preface to his "Lectures on Moral Science," published some years ago. We reserve more thorough examination to a future opportunity.

Lectures on the First and Second Epistles of Peter. By the Rev. John Lillie, D. D., late Pastor of the Presbyterian Church at Kingston, N. Y., Author of "Lectures on the Epistles of Paul to the Thessalonians," etc. With an Introduction by Philip Schaff, D. D. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1869.

Although posthumous, these Lectures were fully prepared for the press by the lamented author, during his life. They bear the impress of his exegetical learning and skill, not less than his piety, orthodoxy, and spiritual discernment. The tinge of Millenarianism in them will enhance their value for believers in that doctrine, but will not diminish the essential worth of the book for others. Although in the form of popular expository Lectures, yet they are solid and thorough, and evade none of the difficult passages so frequent in these epistles. The learned references and quotations, collated "with the help of the most extensive exegetical library of New York City," which were unsuitable for the text, are supplied in ample and well-wrought foot-notes. Altogether the volume is a timely successor and supplement to the great work of Leighton. It meets a real want, and is not unworthy of the unaffected tribute bestowed upon it and its author by Dr. Schaff, in the Preface with which he honors it.

An Introduction to the Study of English Literature: Comprising Representative Masterpieces in Poetry and Prose, Marking the Successive Stages of its Growth, and a Methodical Exposition of the Governing Principles and General Forms, both of the Language and Literature; with Copious Notes on the Selections, Glossary, and Chronology, designed for Systematic Study. By Henry N. Day. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1869.

This is what its title promises, and a fit continuation of that series of Rhetorical works in which Prof. Day has done so much to promote thorough discipline and culture in the matter of good thinking, and writing, and literary taste.

Religion and the Reign of Terror; or the Church during the French Revolution. Prepared from the French of M. Edmond De Pressensé. By Rev. John P. Lacroix, A. M. New York: Carlton and Lanahan. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. 1869.

While all are familiar with the anti-christian spirit of the French Revolution generally, few have a definite and critical apprehension of the relation of the movement as a whole, or of its great personages, leaders, parties, associations, clubs and coteries to the Church of God and the Gospel of His Son. Perhaps no living writer is better qualified to supply this desideratum than De Pressensé, the eminent French Protestant divine, who has so long been favorably known to the churches, and in his "Life of Jesus" has furnished an excellent antidote to that of Renan.

The present volume is made up from that of De Pressensé, partly by translation, partly by condensation of some parts and amplification of others.

The Parables of our Lord Explained and Applied. By Rev. Francis Bourdillon, M. A. New York: Published by Carlton and Lanahan.

As the most momentous and impressive of our Lord's teachings were frequently given in parables, so to explain and apply them is eminently profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, and for instruction in righteousness. Among the many attempts in this field, which have been made with various success, this holds a worthy place. It treats as parables, "All those parts of our Lord's teaching in which religious lessons are conveyed under the form of a history, a tale, a similitude, excluding, however, those similitudes which are mere figures of speech or illustrations."

The Moral Uses of Dark Things. By Horace Bushnell. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1868.

We think that Dr. Bushnell nowhere appears to better advantage than in the essays which compose this volume. They are on a great variety of subjects, dark, difficult, yet profoundly interesting, strung together by the thread of unity given in its title page. They are in close proximity and relationship, as the author abundantly recognizes, to the most profoundly 'dark' and baffling of all problems—the existence of sin, and origin of evil. Upon this he does not directly enter; yet in his ingenious discoveries of the "moral uses of dark things," he sometimes comes very near furnishing premises for some aspects of the doctrine that evil of all kinds, through God's admirable disposal, use and counteraction of it, is essential to the greatest good.

Although we occasionally observe expressions or implications of opinions against which we have had occasion to protest in reviewing some previous publications of the author, yet these are not prominent or characteristic in the volume. Its leading principle is a great and precious truth which is assailed by many, and appreciated by few. It is that the great end of the natural, providential, including even the physical arrangements of the universe, is moral: that all things and events are so planned and adjusted as to have a moral result for their final cause. He is utterly dissatisfied with the "Paleyizing and Bridgewater School of theologians," that they so often stop short with finding the mere material end designed in animal, vegetable, and inorganic structures, without reaching on to the moral ends which alone can justify many of them, or even render them intelligible. Grant that a particular bag, fang, or sting, is fitted to inject poison, where is the fitness or advantage of this poison being injected unless it subserves some moral end, punitive or disciplinary? This is a grand line of thought, and Dr. Bushnell follows it out with that originality, force, and beauty, which have made him famous among our writers.

Another marked and precious feature of these essays is their pronounced and demonstrative anti-utilitarianism, even though its great subject be the "uses" of these certain things. But these "uses" are "moral," *i. e.*, useful to promote what is morally good, *i. e.*, good in itself, whether good as a means to anything beyond itself or not. "Use or utility is not any certain law of religious conduct. That box of ointment that was going to be spent for nothing, how plausible was the appeal to use, recounting the pennies it would have sold

for, and the nice things it would have bought for the poor? Only it was Judas, and not Christ, that was forward in the argument." (p. 50).

It were easy to point out occasional extravagances and conceits of sentiment and style, which here and there deform the writer's undoubted and strong originality, with what looks like affectation of or needless straining after it. We make little of these minima, when the book, as a whole, has such great and undeniable merits. As we, however, read its strong representations of the retributive nature of infirmity, disease, and insanity, the question arises: "Suppose ye that those eighteen men on whom the Tower of Siloam fell, were sinners above all them that dwelt in Jerusalem?"

The Garden of Sorrows; or The Ministry of Tears. By Rev. John Atkinson. New York: Carlton & Lanahan. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden.

This elegant volume traverses to a large extent the same ground as that of Dr. Bushnell, but from a different point of view: from the standpoint of Gethsemane, in the light of Revelation and Christian faith. We do not mean that Dr. Bushnell's book is outside of this, or does not include it. Quite otherwise. He never forgets the Christian, along with the "moral" uses of dark things. But it is not so exclusively devotional as the work before us. This deals with the sorrows of the "man of sorrows," in which it finds the cure and the balm of the sorrows of his people, in all their various forms and phases, till they culminate in the sick-room and the chamber of death, which our glorious Forerunner has transfigured into a vestibule of the heavenly mansions.

Scotia's Bards. The Choice Productions of the Scottish Poets, with Brief Biographical Sketches. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1869.

The lovers of good poetry will feel obliged to the Messrs Carter for another edition of this collection of the finest of Scotch poetry, being made up of the best poems of the best poets of Scotland. No where else can we find access to such treasures of the Scottish Muse at so small a cost, and within so small a compass. The volume is elegant in its paper, typography, and binding, without being needlessly costly or luxurious. It is equally fitted for a valuable gift-book, as well as acquisition to the parlor table or the library.

Wind-wafted Seed. Edited by Norman Macleod, D. D., and Thos. Guthrie, D. D. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1869.

Studies of Character from the Old Testament. By Thomas Guthrie, D.D., Editor of the Sunday Magazine. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1869.

These, like previous books by the same favorite authors given to the public by the Messrs. Carter, form a fresh contribution to the store of select, fresh, instructive, and entertaining Christian reading.

Inauguration of James McCosh, D. D., L.L. D., as President of the College of New Jersey, Princeton, Oct. 27, 1868.

We are also indebted to the Carters for this important and interesting document. Of its contents we need not give an account, as they have, in sub-

stance, already been spread through the country, by an almost ubiquitous circulation, through a thousand channels. We trust that the sound and judicious educational views so forcibly presented by Dr. McCosh in his inaugural will be felt, so far as applicable, not only in the venerable college over which he presides, but in all our higher institutions of learning.

Our Life in China. By Helen S. C. Nevius. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1869.

We have received from Messrs. Stelle & Smith, Princeton, the following recent publications of the American Tract Society, New York:

The Christian's Present for All Seasons. Containing Devotional Thoughts of Eminent Divines, from Joseph Hall to William Jay. Selected and edited by D. A. Harsha, M. A., Author of "The Star of Bethlehem," "A Guide to the Saviour," &c., with an Introductory Essay on Devotion, by W. B. Sprague, D. D.

A collection of the holiest aspirations of the holiest men.

Conversations of Jesus Christ with Representative Men. By Wm. Adams, D. D., Pastor of Madison Square Church, N. Y.

The topic and the author of this volume will be its passport and welcome to large numbers, who will get only good from it.

The Dutch Reformation: A History of the Struggle in the Netherlands for Civil and Religious Liberty, in the Sixteenth Century. By W. Carlos Martin.

The Perfect Law. By Rev. George S. Mott: *Our Earthly House and its Builder; or the Wisdom of God as displayed in the Body of Man, with numerous Engravings. Among the Crags or Legends of the Covenanters. Mark Steadman, or Show your Colors. The Message of Life. The Child's Life of Luther. Fanny Lightman's Choice. The Star of Bethlehem. The Family Christian Almanac.* 1869.

The following publications of the Presbyterian Board can also be had of Messrs. Stelle and Smith, Princeton:

Ulrich Zwingli, the Patristic Reformer. A History. By the Rev. Wm. M. Blackburn, Author of "William Farel," "College Days of Calvin," etc. etc.

Prof. Blackburn has established his reputation as an excellent historical writer, especially in persons and subjects connected with the Reformation. His usual characteristics appear in this volume.

An Earnest Ministry the Want of the Times. By John Angell James. With an Introduction by Jonathan B. Condit, D. D., Professor of Sacred Rhetoric and Pastoral Theology in Auburn Theological Seminary, N. Y.

This has for years had the character of a standard work, on the great subject to which it relates.

Under the Oak. By Rev. W. P. Breed, D. D., Author of "Lessons in Flying," etc. etc.

Under this title the author has strung together a number of pieces for children, on great evangelical topics, in the form of a dialogue.

Grandma's Story about Saint Bartholemew's Eve. By Cousin Georgie.

The Children's Church. By Faith Latimer.

Rosa, by Madame E. De Pressensé. Translated from the French.

Life Scenes from the Old Testament; With Maps and Illustrations. By Rev. George Jones, M. A., Chaplain in the United States Navy. Philadelphia: J. C. Garrigues & Co. 1868.

So fair an exterior, so clear a typography, and illustrations so well selected and so well executed, certainly put a critic in an amiable mood. And one can not read many paragraphs in the work itself, even though he may not have been conciliated by a presentation copy, or by a personal acquaintance with the author, or by a knowledge of his former excellent work, "Life Scenes from the Four Gospels," without finding that the work itself well rewards his attention. These scenes are taken from the period between Abraham and Moses, and the author's diligent study of the Scriptural narratives has been well supplemented by a careful and discriminating use of the best materials accessible for the illustration of ancient life in the homes of the patriarchs and the great lawgiver. Bunsen, Lepsius, Wilkinson, and Kenrick are made to add life to the scenes that lie in Egypt; Robinson, Hanley, Layard, Porter, Burckhardt, and others, enrich the descriptions of places, events, manners and customs among the Semitic peoples of Western Asia. And these rich materials are well managed, so that we are confident that every reader of this book will not only better understand the Scriptures, but will find himself among its earlier scenes and characters with more of the feeling of a personal witness and acquaintance.

Popular Commentary on the Gospel according to Luke. By Alfred Nevin, D. D. Philadelphia: William Flint. 1868.

The ruling aim of the author, which has determined the shape as well as many of the internal qualities of his work, has been to supply a commentary that should meet the wants of Bible-classes and Sabbath-schools. The work is therefore divided into 139 lessons, each of which is followed by a series of questions directing attention to the main points of the exposition. This characteristic of the book seems to us to be developed to an extreme. The scholar must not expect to find here sharp critical discussion, and the expositions are designedly cast in those forms which will secure the general asssent of evangelical Christians. Judged by the standard which the very form of the book sets up for it, the work appears to be fitted for its purpose; and with clear and sensible exposition combines research quite ample for its objects also useful auxiliary illustrations, tables, etc.

Seeds and Sheaves; or Words of Scripture, their History and Fruits, By A. C. Thompson, D. D. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1869.

Those of our readers who have found consolation in "The Better Land," instruction and encouragement to their faith in "The Mercy Seat," and aid in their hours of meditation and worship from the "Lyra Cœlestis," will welcome another work from their author, whose tongue and pen have been honored instruments in the Master's service. And they will not be disappointed in their expectation of rich stores of Christian suggestion, instruction and consolation from this attractive volume.

The Translated Prophet. By John M. Lowrie, D. D. Presbyterian Board of Publication. 1868.

We have here another in the series of works illustrative of the Scriptures by which Dr Lowrie has before done good service. The life, work and times of the prophet Elijah are earnestly and skilfully set forth, with a discriminating analysis, a sterling sense, and a Christian fidelity, that command attention, and will not lose their reward. While full justice is done to the honored prophet who wrought such a work in apostate Israel, He is plainly ever before our author's eye whose servants all the prophets were.

The Pearl of Parables. Notes on Luke xv. 11–32. By the late James Hamilton, D. D. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1869.

The glowing pen of the lamented Hamilton could touch no theme to which it did not impart life and beauty. These qualities appear in this volume.

Anchored. By the Author of "The Climbers." New York: American Tract Society.

Our young friends will find here a pleasant story, full of a devout and genial piety, one of whose chief aims is, and one of whose best effects will be, to deepen interest in the study of the Scriptures.

Daughters of the Cross; or The Cottage and the Palace. New York: American Tract Society.

Monica, the mother of Augustine, Elizabeth of Hungary, Rosa Govona of Piedmont, Mrs. Godolphin, and Maria Mathsdotter, of Lapland, are pleasantly and skillfully presented to the readers of this pretty little volume, as illustrating in very different scenes and relations the power and preciousness of the one faith that saves. This and the volume above noticed belong to the "Life Illustrated" series.

Address on Christian Missions India. With General Reference to the Educational Missions of the Church of Scotland. By Norman Macleod, D. D. Edinburgh and London: Blackwood & Sons. 1868.

This substantial pamphlet of 100 pages contains, in a somewhat fuller development, the report made to the General Assembly of the Established Church of Scotland last May, by the author, who had recently visited India as one of a deputation sent for missionary inquiry. It exhibits, with a distinctness and power which might be expected from the author, the general condition of Christian Missions in India, their peculiar hindrances, the results already ensured, the difficulties of the preaching system as a sole or chief reliance, and the proper mode (in the author's view) of combining teaching and preaching. His thrilling appeals in behalf of greater energy in the missionary work, an energy put forth, moreover, in coöperation with other Christians, that shall make "the union of life and character visible as it may be, and ought to be, among the members of the Christian Church," form a fitting close to this grand report.

Life Below, in Seven Poems. New York: Published by Hurd and Houghton.

This little volume is the production of a young poet of more than common promise; but who fails to appear in all his true merit from an unfortunate way of expressing his best thoughts enigmatically, and, when he wishes to be familiar, of being too familiar for poetry. The poem, for the seven are but one, has been carefully elaborated, but without sufficient discrimination. It it a mass of rich ore which has been shaped and polishedwithout being smelted. We have seen few efforts of a beginner equally worth the labor of thorough refining.

A Grammar of the Idiom of the New Testament. By Dr. George Benedict Winer. Seventh Edition, enlarged and improved by Dr G. Lünemann. Revised and authorized translation. Andover: W. F. Draper. 1869.

This is virtually the fourth translation of Winer; for while it is based upon Masson's translation of the sixth (German) edition, Prof. Thayer of Andover has not only thoroughly revised Masson, but has incorporated all the new matter introduced in Lünemann's (the 7th) German edition. Prof. Thayer exhibits the most scholarly and painstaking accuracy in all his work, especial attention being given to references and indexes on which the value of such a work so much depends. The indexes alone fill 86 pages. The publisher's work is handsomely done, and we can not conceive that a better Winer should be for many years to come accessible to American scholars. Whether a better Grammar than Winer's can not be made is another question.

Sermons by the late Rev. George Shepard, D. D. With a Memorial by Prof. D. S. Talcott. Boston: Nichols & Noyes. 1868.

Prof. Shepard's reputation was by no means confined to New England, although nearly all of his working life was spent in one of its less conspicuous institutions in its remotest state. Earnest efforts were at various times made to draw him away from the chair of Sacred Rhetoric in the Bangor Theological Seminary, and to secure him for Metropolitan pulpits. One who reads this volume will understand why he was so highly prized where he lived, and why he was at times so earnestly sought for other important stations. We have seldom heard or read discourses more filled with power and effectiveness than some that we have heard and read from him.

The memorial discourse by his colleague, Prof Talcott, is a worthy tribute to the man and his work. The engraving very pleasantly recalls his stalwart form and his strong and genial face. We know no recent volume of discourses better adapted to correct some popular tastes and fancies in regard to sermonizing, or more stimulating to the cultivation of a grand Saxon strength of style. One might search these more than thirty sermons in vain for any prettinesses in preaching; he can not read one without feeling its power.

Congregationalism: What it is; Whence it is; How it works; Why it is better than any other form of Church Government; and its consequent demands. By Henry M. Dexter, D. D. Boston: Nichols and Noyes. 1868.

Three years ago, Dr. Dexter's first edition supplied a very important want

of his own denomination, and furnished a very important help to any who for whatever reasons have occasion to ask, What is Congregationalism? The second edition modifies but slightly the former matter; in an Appendix, however, amounting to nearly one quarter of the present work, it discusses more or less fully many additional points that have, in one way or other, been brought under the editor's notice. Dr. Dexter's superior qualifications for his work are every where apparent. While, from the very nature of his system, he can not cite a decree in favor of all his statements and interpretations, his book has become a first class authority in his own ecclesiastical body, and as such will be sought and consulted by others seeking information in regard to this form of church polity.

A Half-Century with Juvenile Delinquents: or the New York House of Refuge and its Times. By B. K. Peirce, D. D., Chaplain of the New York House of Refuge. New York: D. Appleton and Co.

Geographisches Jahrbuch. II. Band, 1868. Gotha: J. Perthes. (pp. viii. 488, cxiv.) 1868.

The preceding volume of this annual appeared in 1866, and at once attracted much attention by the great value of its information, both narrative and statistical, and the freshness of its discussions. The editor-in-chief, E. Behm, one of Petermann's most valued co-laborers, has, in this annual, the pledged cooperation of ten or twelve of the most competent of his countrymen. Chronological and statistical tables of all kinds supply the most important and reliable material in their way. Articles of from four to sixty pages each present the results of recent explorations, with scientific discussion of various questions in physical and historical geography, ethnography, and the related sciences. For example, the present volume contains, among others, articles on "The Progress Made in the Doctrine of Race," by Prof. F. R. Seligman; "A Proposal of a System of Linguistic Ethnography," by Prof. F. Müller; "A Paper on the World's Traffic and the Most Important of its Means," by Dr. Von Scherzer; and an account by the editor of the more important journeys for geographical exploration accomplished in 1866 and 1867. We know of no other volume that approaches this in the value of its communications in this department.

Römische Geschicte. Von Wilhelm Ihne. I. Band. Leipzig: (pp. viii., 483). 1868.

"Another Roman history!" And yet it is one that will fill a useful place among the works in its department. The author is known to English readers, perhaps, only through his contributions to Dr. Smith's Classical Dictionaries These, however, demonstrate his qualifications for his work. The author's professed object is to bring the results of the most critical study of Roman history in a popular form before the unlearned public. At the same time, by copious notes and references, he puts it within the power of any reader to investigate for himself, and verify, qualify, or dissent intelligently from the views advanced in the text. In the early period covered by this volume, B. C. 753–264, Schwegler is the chief authority. One who wishes to see a clear, concise, and able presentation of the negative views of the critical school in the department of history, will find it in attractive form, and within

easily manageable amount in this volume. This is not the time to discuss in detail the theory of ancient history which is here followed, or the results reached by its application.

Der Kanon des Alten Testiments nach den Ueberlieferanzen in Talmud und Midrasch. By Prof. Dr. Julius Fürst. Leipzig: (pp. viii., 150.) 1868.

A useful supplement to our treatises on the Canon of the Old Testament, exhibiting Jewish views of the titles, classification, authorship, compilation, compass, and religious character of the elder Scriptures. The author's name vouches for the ability and learning of his treatise.

Origin of the Chinese. By John Chalmers, A. M. London: Trübner & Co. 12mo. pp. 78. 1868.

The author, whose preface is dated at Canton, announces his little treatise as "an attempt to trace the connection of the Chinese with Western nations, in their religion, superstitions, arts, language, and traditions." His main result, summed up in a positive and negative thesis, is: "The people and the civilization of China are derived from the West, and only some important inventions belong to the race. And it is not true that the Chinese and their civilization are derived from primeval *Tis* and *Sages*, who invented and taught such philosophy and other learning as were never read of nor heard of by any men before." His little book is written in the interest of the doctrine of human unity, and that not a unity so comprehensive as fraternally to include, like Dr. W. H. J. Bleek's "*Ueber den Ursprung der Sprache*," the gibbon, ourang, chimpanzee, and gorilla, with man.

The Ecclesiastical Catechism of the Presbyterian Church: for the Use of Families, Bible Classes, and Private Members. By Rev. Thomas Smyth, D. D., Author of "Lectures on the Apostolical Succession," "Presbytery and not Prelacy the Scriptural and Primitive Polity," "Ecclesiastical Republicanism," etc. Sixth Edition, Revised. Richmond: Presbyterian Committee of Publication.

This work, prepared by the author at the special request and under the careful revision of the late Dr. Miller, met a demand which exhausted previous editions, till it was out of print. We are glad that it is again within the reach of Presbyterians, with the author's latest editions and emendations.

Query in History. Was Gibbon an Infidel? By Rev. James Macdonald, D. D. From the Bibliotheca Sacra, July, 1868. Andover: Printed by Warren F. Draper.

Dr. Macdonald has given a masterly analysis of the facts bearing on the question, whether Gibbon was or was not an Infidel. His conclusion in the negative, although somewhat startling, because counter to the hitherto accepted and almost unquestioned view, is supported by a large and cogent array of proofs, which have produced a strong impression on thoughtful minds. This effect might be expected from the persuasive force of his argument itself. That it has been produced is evident from the nearly unanimous verdict of the press.

LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

ENGLAND.

It is proposed to bring before the readers of the Repertory in its successive numbers, some outline of the literature, theological and general, that is appearing, especially in Europe. Our readers have so many means of knowing what is published in this country, and our book-notices will naturally relate so much more frequently to American publications, that it will be our special aim to inform them of the more important foreign works. In the present issue we restrict our notices to England and Germany. Kindred items of personal and other intelligence may now and then be added to the literary.

While the last few months have not been characterized by any unusual activity among authors and publishers in Great Britain, some noteworthy books have appeared. We point first to a group of less permanent worth than some others that will be afterwards mentioned, which, however, show the excitement of thought on religious and ecclesiological questions.

"The Doctrines of the Church of England," (as stated in Ecclesiastical documents set forth by authority of Church and State in the Reformation period, between 1536—1662.) The documents referred to are The Articles of 1536, The Institution of a Christian Man, The Necessary Doctrine and Erudition for any Christian Man, The Book of Common Prayer, The Canons of 1603, and The Thirty-nine Articles. The testimony of these is minutely cited on the twelve articles of the Creed and on the Sacraments. Another kindred book is "England vs. Rome,"—which gives a concise statement, in twelve chapters and an appendix, of the differences between the two Churches, as set forth in their recognized and authoritative documents.

"The Holy Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, according to Scripture, Grammar and the Faith," by Rev. S. C. Malan, quotes the early Fathers and the Anglican Divines as maintaining the evangelical view.

"Principles at Stake," "The Rector and his Friends," and "Essays on Church Policy" are more miscellaneous discussions of similar themes. The first of these contains essays by such men as Lord Arthur Hervey, Dean Howson, Prof. R. Payne Smith, (of Oxford,) and Prof. Salmon, (of Dublin,) and strenuously opposes all ritualistic tendencies.

Ryle's "Bishops and Clergy of other days," and "Christian Leaders of the Last Century" effectively rebuke the Churchism of one party in the establishment by the great examples of other days.

Wylie's "Road to Rome viâ Oxford" explains its object by its title.

Keble's Tract (No. 89 of Tracts for the Times) on "The Mysticism attributed to the Early Fathers of the Church" has been reprinted in a popular form.

Among the theological works less specifically connected with the Ecclesiastical debates of the day, we find the late Dr. Bannermann's "Church of

Christ," (T. & T. Clark,) published under the supervision of his son; Dr. Moberly's Bampton Lectures for 1868, on "The Administration of the Holy Spirit;" Dr. S. Leathe's Boyle Lecture for 1868, on "The Witness of the Old Testament to Christ;" Thom's "Scripture Doctrine of the Atonement;" and two more *Eccs*, "*Ecce Agnus Dei*," and "*Ecce Spiritus Opus*."

In the department of Exegesis, Bishop Wordsworth's Commentary has reached Part 1 of Vol. V. of the Old Testament, (Isaiah;) another of the excellent Commentaries of Rev. Dr. Lightfoot has appeared, on Philippians; the 2d and 3d Volumes of Rev. Albert Barnes' Commentary on the Psalms, Vol. II. of Perowne's Psalms, (completing the work,) Rev. Dr. E. Bayley's Commentary on Galatians, Tomlin's Interpretation of the Revelation of St. John, (a millenarian work,) Rev. E. A. Thompson's "Four Evangelists," Rev. J. B. Brown's "Misread Passages of Scripture," and a Temperance Bible Commentary are among the late announcements. Dr. Hanna's "Ministry in Galilee" will be followed by "The Close of the Ministry," which will complete, in six volumes, his account of the Life of Christ. Dean Alford will soon add to his Commentaries on the New Testament an edition in a single volume with notes, "for the use of schools and universities." Bleek's "Introduction to the Old Testament" is forthcoming in a translation by Canon Venables. Samuel Sharpe has added to his works expository and illustrative of the Scriptures, a "History of the Hebrew Nation and its Literature." Boase's Elijah's Ministry, and Macduff's Noontide at Sychar, Westcott's General View of the History of the English Bible, and Walcott's Sacred Archæology belong to the same general department.

"The Seven Churches of Asia," illustrated by twenty full page photographs, and illustrated by a text embodying the results of two years' research, by Svoboda, is pronounced one of the best works of its kind. An edition of the Vatican MSS. of the New Testament, a *fac simile*, is to appear in five volumes of text, with one volume of notes, critical apparatus, etc., edited by Fathers Vercellone and Cozza. Vol I. we believe is already out.

Passing to Ecclesiastical History and Religious Biography, we welcome the publication, after long delay, of Vol. II. of Wiltsch's Handbook of the Geography and Statistics of the Church, (translated by Leitch.) The Wesleyan Conference Office publish a "History of the Inquisition from the 12th Century to the Present Time," by Rev W. H. Rule, D.D.; (an appendix contains the cartilla, which in Spain was the Directory followed). Vol. V. of D'Aubigne's "Reformation in France and Switzerland" is in press. Among the other announcements of books already out, or soon to appear, we find "Lives of the English Cardinals," in two vols., by F. Williams; "Life and Times of St. Gregory the Illuminator, the Founder and Patron Saint of the Armenian Church," by Rev. S. C. Malan; Lady Herbert's "Mother of St. Augustine;" Romanoff's "Sketches of the Rites and Customs of the Greco-Russian Church," Miall's "Congregationalism in Yorkshire," Dr. Halley's "Lancashire: Its Puritanism and Nonconformity;" a new edition of Morrison's Life and Times of St. Bernard;" a new "Life of Rev. John Newton," by Rev. J. Bull (Religious Tract Society); "Memoir of Rev. Hugh Stowell;" an abridged "Life of Wilberforce," by the Bishop of Oxford; "Memoirs and Correspondence of Bishop Atterbury;" Sir J. T. Coleridge's "Life of Keble;" "Life of Dr. Malan

of Geneva," by his Son; and Arnot's "Memoir of Rev. Dr. Hamilton, of London."

Of a somewhat more miscellaneous religious character, are De Pressensé's Mystery of Suffering, and other Discourses; The Centenary Celebration of Cheshunt College, (an occasion specially memorable for the very liberal and catholic address of Dean Alford;) Bishop Staley's Five Years' Church Work in Hawaii; Dr Mullen's (Sec. London Miss. Soc.) London and Calcutta; Savonarola's Triumph of the Cross, translated with notes and a biographical sketch; Miscellanies from Rev. J. H. Newman's Oxford Sermons; Keble's Village Sermons; and a volume of Eleven Short Discourses by Dr. Pusey.

In the department of general history and biography, a handsome library edition, 4 vols., of Mommsen's History of Rome, translated, and Vols. I. and II of a translation of Curtius' History of Greece have been lately issued. These works are both of great value. Vols. III. and IV. of Von Sybel's History of the French Revolution, Malleson's History of the French in India, De Leifde's The Beggars, or the Founders of the Dutch Republic, and Keyser's Private Life of the Old Northmen are out, and Earl Stanhope's Reign of Queen Anne is announced. Bunsen's Memoir has recently appeared in England, and Vol. I. of the German edition, enriched by additional material. Sir Walter Raleigh's Life and Letters, in two vols., by E. Edwards, contain much fresh material well wrought up. Lord Campbell's Lives of Lord Lyndhurst, and Lord Brougham, (both of whom survived the great biographer of the Chancellors of England;) The Life of Leopold I. of Belgium, by Justi, that of Sir John Richardson, the Arctic explorer, that of the Earl of Liverpool, the last Tory Premier. Vols. III. and IV. of Spedding's Life and Letters of Lord Bacon, Dr. Lonsdale's Life of Sir James Graham, and the Recollections of Massimo D'Azeglio, make up a list of unusual richness. Arthur Helps' Life of Columbus, which will be immediately followed by one of Pizarro and his Associates, exhibits both in substance and in style the well-known characteristics of the author. Sir Neil Campbell is the Author of "Napoleon at Fontainebleau and Elba." Dr. W. W. Hunter's Rural Life in Bengal, to be republished by Leypoldt & Holdt, New York, is pronounced a historical work of the very first rank. Dr. Hunter appears also as a philologist in a Comparative Dictionary of the Non-Aryan Languages of India and High Asia, illustrating Turanian speech from a great number of dialects. Shewing's Sacred City of the Hindoos, an account of Bevans in ancient and modern times, is another useful contribution to our knowledge of India. Another missionary contribution to our knowledge of the world comes to us in Rev. W. H. Brett's Indian Tribes of Guiana. Dr. Van Lennep's Missionary Travels in little known parts of Asia Minor will be expected with interest. Prof. A. S. Bickmore's Travels in the East Indian Archipelago is the very creditable work of a young American Naturalist. He who would know something of Abyssinia may learn from Plowden, or Rassam, or Parkyns, or Stern, or Blanc, or Henty, and we know not how many more. Whymper's Alaska is our most reliable source of information concerning the new acquisitions of the United States in the North West. C. W. Dilke's Greater Britain is already accessible to our readers in a reprint.

Prof. Maurice's Lectures on Conscience, Dr. McCosh's Philosophical Papers, (an examination of Sir Wm. Hamilton's Logic, a Reply to J. S. Mill, and the Present State of Moral Philosophy in Britain.) Burnett's translation of Lübke's

History of Art, a new volume of dissertations and discussions, by John Stuart Mill, the late Dean Milman's Annals of St Paul's Cathredral, and Dean Stanley's work on Westminster Abbey, must close our present survey of the recent English Literature.

GERMANY.

From among the numerous publications that have recently appeared in Germany, we select a few items such as will be most likely to interest our readers. In the department of Exegesis, the prophecy of Daniel claims the largest share. Three commentaries have appeared within a few weeks; one by the well known Dr. Kliefoth of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, one by a Pastor Füller, and one by R. Kranichfeld, a "Privatdocent" of Berlin. Part 2 of Hengstenberg's Commentary on Ezekiel completes the work. Keil's Commentary on the same prophet has just been issued in Keil and Delitzsch's series. In Lange's *Bibelwerk*, Nägelsbach's Jeremiah and Bähr's Kings are the latest issues. A Commentary on Lamentations by E. Gerlach is also just out. Fürst's position and reputation will attract unusual attention to his Illustrated Bible, the first number of which (pp. 32, 4to.) is just published. It is to appear in 50 numbers, and will contain the Masoretic text, a fresh German translation with notes and illustrations.

Of the auxiliary literature we select as the most important a new edition (the 3d) of Ebrard's "Wissenschaftliche Kritik der Evangelishen Geschichte." Eighteen years have intervened since the publication of the 2nd edition, and the recent works of Strauss, Renan, Schenkel and others are vigorously handled in the new and enlarged edition, the bulk of which exceeds its predecessor about one quarter. The quality is too well known to require commendation. We have to report also Diestel's (of Jena) History of the Old Testament in the Christian Church (pp. xvi, 817); Vol. I of Eber's Egypt and the Book of Moses (a Commentary on the passages in Genesis and Exodus that relate to Egypt,—pp. xvi, 360): Nöldeke's Old Testament Literature; Delitzsche's Physiology and Music in their relations to Grammar, especially the Hebrew; C. E. Caspari's Chronological and Geographical Introduction to the Life of Christ (with maps and plans); W. Christern's "Attempt at a Practical History of the formation and development of the Gospels;" R. T. Grau (Königsberg) "*Zur Einführung in das Schrifthum Neuen Testamentes*; two works on the Theology of the New Testament,—one by Prof. Weiss of Kiel (pp. xv, 756), and the other by the well known Dutch theologian Van Oosterzee (a manual for academical lectures and private study)." The Shepherd of Hermas has been subjected to a very through investigation by Th. Zahn (Privatdocent at Gottingen). Tischendorf's latest contribution is entitled "Conlatio critica Codicis Sinaitici cum textu Elzeviriano, etc." [16 mo., pp. xxii, 109.]

Within the department of dogmatic theology, general and special, we find the following works: Vol. III. of Kahnis's System of Lutheran Dogmatics; a treatise by Ed. Preuss on "The Justification of the Sinner before God (pp. xii 205); a prize essay by Zollmann, on "The Bible and Nature in the Harmony of their Revelations (pp. viii, 280);" a treatise by Dr. Ernesti (General Superintendent in Brunswick) on the Ethics of the Apostle Paul (pp. xii, 157); "The doctrine of Revelation," by A. E. Krauss: and Von Marburg's "Knowledge and Religious Faith."

Hagenbach's works on Church History are now to be published in a uniform edition, appearing in 15 or 16 numbers, the first of which (large 8vo, pp. 240) is just out.

Among the recent contributions to philosophical literature, the first half of Vol. V. of Kuno Fischer's History of Modern Philosophy, has Fichte for its main theme (pp. XL, 832). Trendelenburg of Berlin has just brought out *Naturrecht auf dem Grunde der Ethik;*" and Ueberweg his Logic and History of Logic (pp. xvi, 427). Haims of Berlin is the author of "*Abhandlungen zur Systematishen Philosophie.*" Stöckl, of the Catholic University at Münster, has just brought out in one plump volume a Manual of Philosophy; E von Hartmann, a "Philosophy of the Unconscious:" Prof Schmid of Erlangen his "Outlines of Philosophical Ethics" (Vol. 3 of his System); and Prof. George of Greifswald his "Logic as Doctrine of Science." We notice also Vol. I of L. Geiger's "Origin and Development of Human Speech and Reason."

Within the department of History and Ethnology, we notice Vol. II of Hertzberg's History of Greece under the Romans (covering the period from Augustus to Septimius Severus); Th. Preuss's Emperor Diocletian and his Times; Dr. A. Bodek's "Roman Emperors in Jewish Documents. Vol. I: M. Aurelius Antoninus as Contemporary and Friend of Rabbi Jehudaha-Nasi;" A. Bastian's (President of the Royal Geog. Soc. at Berlin)"The Permanent element in Human races, and the Limits of their Mutation;" and Jellinck's "Studies and Sketches, Part 1. The Jewish Race; An Ethnographical Study."

Bragsch's great Hieroglyphic and Demotic Dictionary is at length completed. Rödiger's excellent Syriac Chrestomathy has been brought out in a second improved edition. Grandemann's exceedingly valuable Missionary Atlas has reached the fifth number. Three numbers (20 maps) were given to Africa; this is the second of three or four of like size on Asia. Their wider use would add immensely to the definiteness and life of our missionary knowledge and interest.

Date Due