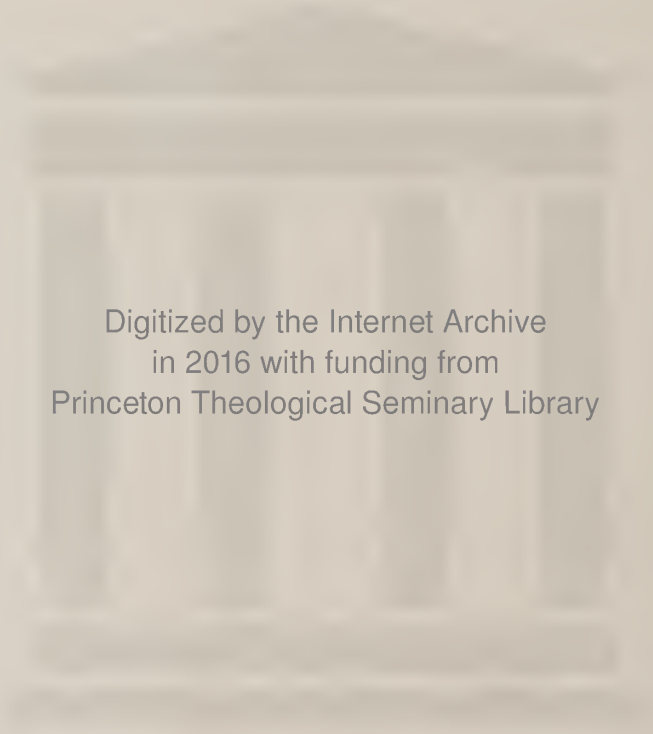

THE

PRINCETON REVIEW.

JULY, 1870.

No. III.

Art. I.—*Tholuck's View of the Right Way of Preaching.**

Although it is true that of late the churches are here and there somewhat better filled than formerly, especially where zealous preachers proclaim the Word, yet in many places we find them more and more deserted. The services of Sunday afternoon, and of the week day have been given up for want of hearers. Of entire classes, such as public officers, military and professional men, there is often seen only a single individual, like some relic of antiquity in the old cathedrals.

In numerous cities and villages, church attendance is almost wholly confined to the middle and lower classes. And even among these, many think it sufficient if they do not forbid the attendance of their wives and children. Unless there is a change, it will soon be the case in some sections of the country, that in our places of worship we shall find, as indeed on Sunday afternoons we now frequently do, only women and children, as was the case during the second century in the temples of Rome.

* This article is a translation, by an accomplished American lady, of *Counsels to the modern German Preacher*, being Dr. Tholuck's Preface to his second series of Sermons.

I speak here of what is very common in a great part of Protestant Germany. There are, of course, many cheering exceptions. In whole districts, from long-established custom, church-going is as general now as it was formerly. This is the case in Wurtemberg and in a number of the Saxon provinces. Besides, there are individual preachers who, by their brilliant oratorical gifts, know how to draw together a cultivated audience. There are also those who fill the churches by their bold exhibition of Gospel truths.

Good church-attendance, therefore, is either the continued influence of an earlier and happier period, the effect of distinguished talent in the preacher, or the fruit of a strong and newly awakened faith. But with the greater part of the public, the customs of this former period are becoming more and more obsolete. Teller once preached a sermon to *sixteen* hearers, in which he warned them against the error of considering church-going an essential part of Christianity.

This doctrine, which he and others like him inculcated, has borne its legitimate fruit. Every year in the cities, and from their example in the villages also, the number is continually lessening of those who attend divine service, either from habit or a sense of duty. The magnetic power of brilliant oratory is imparted to but few; and even of these there are many instances where neither this attraction nor that of a heart glowing with faith is sufficiently strong to turn back to the church the better-educated classes who are setting from it in full tide.

The prospect for the future appears still more gloomy. Will those times ever return when, at the sound of the bell, the father, bearing his hymn-book under his arm, hastened with all his family to the house of God? when every pew contained a household? when it was matter of common remark, if, in the seats of the church officers or magistrates, there was a single vacant place? Will those times return, when the faithful pastor shall find, not a scanty representation from different sections of the town, but his whole flock collected as one man before him. Many a preacher now stands in his pulpit who is forced to cry out with Harms, "Ah, Lord, one thing only I ask of thee, that I may not preach to *empty seats*."

By what means can the educated classes be induced once more to join in public worship? Even at the very time when aversion to this worship arose, such a delusion was prevalent, that Marezoll, a very popular preacher, advised his brethren to present fewer and fewer of those positive truths of Christianity, for which the cultivated cherish unconquerable dislike; thus, in homœopathic fashion, proposing to cure the unbelief of the hearer by the unbelief of the preacher. The time of this delusion has gone by. Many now feel that the preacher, if he would fill the church, must enter it as a man called to unfold the mysteries of God. Faith, however, is not the only thing necessary in order to win back our educated classes to the service of the sanctuary.

We must extend the hand toward the despisers of religion among the learned. One important reason why evangelical preachers often fail to attract this class, is, that they speak *from* the circle of faith to those standing *within* that circle, thus rendering themselves unintelligible to those without it. The power of habit in the form and style of the sermon has an injurious influence. Although Scripture truth presented in this form bore blessed fruits for centuries, yet it was at a period when faith was a vital element in the religion of the people. This period, for the middle and higher classes, is almost entirely past. To them the Bible narratives are a fable-world, illuminated by a magical mingling of light and shade.

In order to make apparent the difference between the past and the present, the past should be recalled. Let the preacher, as was then common, request his people to bring their Bibles with them, in order to satisfy themselves that he declares not the word of man, but that of the eternal God. And to establish the truth on every important point, let him call on them to open at the text he cites. "This is altogether too simple," the cultivated ladies and gentlemen would exclaim.

We ought not, however, to find fault with them on this account, because for many of them there is no longer any word of God. In this circle there is at most only traditional faith enough to allow the minister to open the Bible and read from it a proof-text. And even this many look upon as a stage stroke for effect. The preacher must therefore begin

and build anew. Not that he should come out from the strong, high tower of his faith founded upon revelation, and descend to that wide, treeless desert where one is driven hither and thither by the rising and falling winds of doctrine. But he should turn in a friendly way toward those wandering in the mazes of error, and invitingly point them to the path leading to this tower of faith.

To accomplish this, there is needed a clear and attractive *exposition of Scripture.* George Müller wished he could lose all memory of the Scriptures, so that, studying the classics down to Pliny and Seneca, and coming freshly to the Bible, he could observe how it would then appear to him.

Reverence for the sacred oracles, is connected in numerous minds with hallowed reminiscences of the past. There is many a one who has seen the gray head of his father bowed in family devotion, and upon whom his mother, when he was a child, was wont to lay her hand in prayer—to whom a choral of Bach, or a cathedral like that of Cologne, has given the impression that a religion which calls forth such creations, *must* contain some germ of truth. Let the preacher regard such reminiscences as sacred, and weave them into his discourse.

The wish expressed by George Müller, a truly excellent man, whom a pious mother taught to lisp the name of his heavenly, at the same time with that of his earthly father, has been to many among the learned more or less unconsciously fulfilled. For such ones let the preacher expound the Scriptures, looking for hearts which, rejecting the divine, are open only to what is human. Thus, here and there, Herder has done, except that like Chateaubriand, he has exhibited the beauties of the Christian religion rather than its eternal truth. The same, yet in loftier flights, has been done by Schleiermacher for those still farther estranged. No one of later times has been so much as he the preacher of religion to the learned among its despisers. That there is something more in Christianity than in the beautiful fables of antiquity—that it is a reality enduring beyond all time—for the knowledge of this truth, many are indebted to Schleiermacher, who afterward obtained a deeper experience.

From Schleiermacher, the preacher among the educated can learn much. For the work of the ministry the most liberal culture is essential, as well as the nicest discernment. At a time, when for many, Shakespeare is higher authority than Paul—when a single distich of Goëthe has more weight than the whole Epistles to the Romans and the Galatians; at such a time if a preacher would have influence over his congregation, he should not be unacquainted with their authorities. If anywhere, certainly here may the words of the Apostle be applied: "All things are yours."

An English divine was found one Saturday studying Gibbon. On being questioned concerning this, he replied: "If I belong to Christ, Gibbon is surely mine, and a harvest-field that bears fruit for my master."

On this point the preacher of our times is met by that mode of thinking which can hardly make wide enough the separation between common life and the pulpit. For this reason, preaching appears to educated minds, pedantic, formal, mummy-like. "Even the word Russia has been used in the pulpit," complains a sensitive reviewer.

In opposition to such purists, one might be tempted to exclaim with Harms:—

"6thly. Let the preacher speak negligently and incorrectly." *

I do not, however, here allude merely to the approximation of the *language* of the pulpit to that of common life, though in this respect, too, I am of the opinion of Harms, but also of the *doctrine* of the pulpit, the two being connected. If we would win back our educated men and bring them under the influence of the pulpit we must not avoid there, any more than in every-day conversation, a reference to those scenes among which life is spent. If the homilists complain of and condemn us, Paul, who in Athens quoted Aratus in his discourse, and among the Cretans, Epimenides, will be our protection. One of the advantages thereby gained is an increase of confidence in the preacher. He no longer appears to us a man of the sacred caste, who speaks from the schools, but with us, he has experienced the trials of a difficult and

* *Treatise on Speaking with Tongues*, p. 824.

troublous time. It is not the *preacher*, but the *man*, who speaks to us.

In order to make the understanding of Scripture more easy and attractive for this class—instead of preaching upon single texts, the homily, and still more, the *connected exposition of the sacred books* is desirable. Sermons from individual, isolated texts, have contributed not a little to strengthen the opinion that the Bible is only the magical background, of whose ancient religious gloom the preacher makes use to heighten the effect without ever daring approach it.

And, indeed, would not many a preacher feel himself under constraint if, instead of the single text to which he appends his remarks, it were required of him to present fully and clearly all he knows and believes concerning an extended portion of Scripture. This method of sermonizing, however, would tend to establish a more personal relation between the preacher and his audience. The more particular the exposition, the more will his dependence upon the Bible be manifest, and the more will disappear those miserable common-places and that vague, essay-like style which now make many sermons so tedious.

Let it also be considered what a very great want of knowledge of the Bible there is in the present generation of hearers. Apart from that abundance, nay, that superabundance of catechetical and biblical instruction which we find in the schools of former centuries, how must the mere habit of church-going have extended the knowledge of the Bible!

With this was also connected a far greater use of church history, and a fuller comprehension of the various old ecclesiastical forms which yet exist, but upon which the educated modern looks with smiles of wonder, just as the listener in the English Parliament, in the midst of a crowd among whom is seen nothing but what is new, looks upon the long peruke of the speaker.

With what increased interest will his hearers attend, when the preacher is prepared to make them acquainted with the origin of the present mode of divine worship, to inform them what relation the sermon bears to the edification, and to explain the object of the blessing and the benedic-

tion, to speak of the right kind of church order and church discipline!

One of the most pressing necessities of the times is to prove that *divine service does not consist in the sermon alone.* So long as the Protestant, satisfied with his sermon, undervalues the singing and prayer, as, on the other hand, the Catholic, satisfied with his mass, undervalues the sermon, so long public worship cannot again flourish among us. But the preacher must endeavor, so far as possible, to conform the devotional parts of divine service to the wants of a cultivated taste. Oh, how have the beautiful words, church and congregation, lost their significance among us Protestants! Let us learn once more to comprehend their import—then shall we again feel their power.

So much as to *what* should be said. Let us now consider the *manner* of saying it. On this point, Harms has expressed himself so admirably in his "Treatise on Speaking with Tongues," that I earnestly wish his words might find a loud echo in the hearts of all young preachers. "The source of right preaching," says he, "is the Spirit—the Holy Spirit, and he who preaches by His assistance preaches in the way I mean—preaches, as I call it, with tongues."

That our sermons are *made*, that they do not *grow* out of the fulness of the heart in the presence of God, is the chief reason why they do not hit the mark, why they do not new create. Says Pindar, the Nemean poet, "He who would speak, must first *breathe*."

But not merely must the *production* of the sermon be inspired by the Holy Spirit—its *delivery* should be so likewise. It is difficult to express the vast difference between the effect of a sermon delivered from memory, excellent as it may be in other respects, and that of one born for the second time in a more living inspiration. Did we Germans, in other religious services besides that of the sanctuary, know more of that power which the Word, directly inspired by the Spirit, exercises upon the hearer, above the word delivered from memory; we should be still less satisfied with the presentation of a lifeless preparation.

The sermon must be a creation of the preacher in his study

and a re-creation in his pulpit; and when he descends, he should feel a *mother's joy*—the joy of one who, under God's blessing, has borne a child. Only when the sermon is thus a double creation of the preacher, will it become a reality in his hearers. The discourses he has heard are way-marks in the life of a hearer, by which he determines how far and in what direction he has travelled.

It were much to be desired that more preachers were able to dispense with a full writing out and committing to memory; yet, it is not always necessary to discard this formal preparation. If the sermon has been born by the Spirit in the study, why should it not, under the breathing of the Spirit, live again in the pulpit? We should, however, preserve so much of our freedom that when we stand in the presence of the devout congregation, borne up by the collected feelings of the assembly, we may not reject what we receive anew from the Lord, but with free power of production, incorporate it with what we have already prepared. Mere extemporizing generally brings no salvation with it, and in our days, least of all to the educated. Even should our whole life and the entire range of our studies bear fruit for the text which we explain to the congregation, yet who can venture to trust so entirely to the spur of the moment as to expect that these resources will always be at his command?

The sermon thus inspired by the Spirit speaks to the whole man; it contains, first of all, a substantial doctrine, with the thoughts and conclusions suggested by it. Upon this point I cannot agree with the man in Kiel, who speaks with tongues, expressing himself slightingly of doctrine and the communication of knowledge from the pulpit. When the Holy Spirit once takes up his abode in the heart of a hearer, every accession of knowledge of the truth and every new application of it to the life will be an inward quickening power.

Well does Harms say of the instruction connected with confirmation—"if it only were what it should be!" If, indeed, it were this, would it not always be the principles of the doctrine of Christ—the foundation upon which perfection should be built? In our time especially, when all hands are stretched out toward the tree of knowledge; when, even in the middle

classes, intelligence is more and more diffused, and the truth needs an attractive mediation—at such a time the continued study of the Scriptures, of theology, of literature, is indispensable in order to teach the principles of Christianity in a thorough manner and to assist the spring of thought to a new outflow. Yet these principles should always be clothed with illustrations and quickened by feeling.

On this point we must explain ourselves farther, as what we demand might appear to contradict that which gives primarily to all Christian development its highest rank, a *holy simplicity.* We have here to do with those in whose eyes perfect intelligibleness and popularity are the highest predicates of a sermon. This may seem a singular demand when the question is proposed how far Scripture satisfactorily meets it. Does then, the predicate of perfect intelligibleness belong, above many other books, to the Gospels of John and the Epistles of Paul?

We are now told by quite a numerous class, that the range of subjects in the New Testament from which a preacher is allowed to select is very limited. The mysteries are stricken from the Word of God, and the *caput mortuum* of the so-called simple religion of Jesus, is delivered over to the preacher for him to hammer out as thin as possible.

"I should like," said one of the dictators, when Christianity was about to be introduced anew into France—"I should like a simple religion, with only a couple of dogmas." The atmosphere where there are no objects is clear, indeed, but at the same time empty and cold. With that illumination which assumes to itself the name of simplicity, we have nothing to do. But in respect to that which the counsel of God has revealed for the salvation of men, the preacher must be silent in nothing. Nor must he speak otherwise of divine things than God himself has spoken of them. If, however, we are careful to introduce Scripture correctly into our sermons, we may be permitted at the same time to drape them with imagination and feeling.

They are strangely mistaken who think that the people prefer from the pulpit the language and style they are accustomed to use in their hours of labor. When they go to church

they put on their Sunday dress; therefore it pleases them that the sermon which they hear should be clad in festal garments, only let the preacher not confound the festal garment with what the Scriptures call high sounding words, where the thirsty hearer is forced to exclaim with Augustine when he was in error: "*Sed quid ad meam sitim pretiosorum poculorum decentissimus ministratur.*"

We do not commend him who walks on stilts. When the tongue goes upon stilts, reason spreads but half her sails. What Denham says of the Thames is applicable to the stream of words:—

> "Though deep, yet clear; though gentle, yet not dull;
> Strong without rage, without o'erflowing, full."

We ask only for the simplicity of Scripture language;—for the illustrative, the sententious, the enigmatic, which more or less pervade all the books of the Old and New Testaments. This is the language of which it may be said, as a father of the church says of Scripture in general: "It is a stream in which an elephant can swim and a lamb not be drowned." It is this language which is attractive to the educated,—this which belongs to the beauties of the Gospel.

Is the sermon a living reality of the preacher in the pulpit? and has it been a living reality in his study? Then it will not be likely to want imagination and feeling. And if the full tide of words, as in a confidential, heart-to-heart intercourse with the hearer, breaks suddenly into the ordinary language of life, it will take so much the deeper hold.

It is not enough that one says the truth; it is also of essential importance *how* he says it. Can it be the perspicuity of the argument merely which obtains the victory in the English Parliament? The two political parties that oppose each other have, indeed, their clubs where their votes are prepared, yet the power and the gift of eloquence have now, as in the time of Demosthenes, their inalienable rights. "The secret of eloquence," says Pope, "is the right word in the right place."

Let no one think that it is only through the artistical arrangement of its sentences, as in battle array, that the ruling

mind gains the victory. Fox, the greatest of modern orators, conquered by means of *feeling*,—to whose impetuous torrent it was willingly forgiven that all *the waves did not form waving lines.* And if there, where the worldly interests of a commercial people cause the calculating understanding to spread all its sails,—if there the force of eloquence and the power of feeling obtain such conquests, how much greater will be the victory upon an arena where the orator has, in the hearts of his hearers, the Holy Spirit for an ally.

To all this, one thing more has to be added. The sermon should *grow out of the circumstances of the flock.* There are sermons which have their origin *without* the flock, and sermons which spring up within it. The first are those which the preacher forms in accordance with the common maxims of homiletics, and also with the idea of a Christian sermon of ecclesiastical times and seasons. Thus he will continue to do so long as no living reciprocity of relation exists between himself and his people.

It is otherwise when the Sabbath sermon is the echo of experiences which his visitings through the parish during the week have enabled him to gather. The more the sermon is the result of this, the more individual, the more local, the more pertinent will it be. As it has its origin in the life of the flock, it will also serve to increase still more that life. The first consideration I have named should not be excluded from the sermon, but it should embrace this second, or be connected with it. Then will preaching without the pulpit furnish the true enlivening material for preaching *in* the pulpit.

But here rises up again that grim spectre of the general rules of pulpit style and pulpit decorum, which frightens back every particular application springing up in the mind of the pastor. If, however, the preacher only bears the souls of his flock upon his heart,—if he sorrows and rejoices with them, he is in a condition to exclaim with Paul, "Besides those things that are without, that which cometh upon me daily, the care of all the churches. Who is weak and I am not weak? Who is offended and I burn not?" Then the monotonous, essay-like tones, soaring far above the heads and hearts of the people, will disappear; the sermon will cease to be a formal

preparation, and will become the voice of nature, an audible sigh of the warm, throbbing heart.

And oh! if, finally, all other gifts which we have here considered fail, let the sermon only be *natural;* let it be a fresh witness drawn from the life of the flock, and it will not be in vain. And for this, it is astonishing how little is necessary. For example, on certain festive occasions, to awaken emotion, let a mere faithful, unsupported word of truth be uttered; let language be given to those feelings which the hearer has already brought with him. But when, instead of this, you present the formal preparation of the study—the essay, spun out in long-drawn, honeyed accents, like an old-fashioned beauty wrapped in a hundred envelopes, with her fan in her hand,—then, instead of a holy flame enkindled in the breast which needed only a few sparks, a frosty lethargy will chill the whole assembly. O ye full-souled men! Chrysostom and Augustine, Heinrich Müller and Harms, would that your spirit of life might breathe in our sermons!

If now, after this full utterance of the heart, I come to my own sermons, I remark, in the first place, that they are prepared according to the circumstances of the people before whom I preach; and, secondly, that they are prepared for an audience from the higher classes. But it has given me great pleasure that under this very preaching, if the sermons are not merely elaborately wrought as a logical or rhetorical piece of art, other classes need not go away empty. If, however, they do go away unprofited, I then conclude that however good the sermons may be *as sermons*, either they contain not the Gospel, or it has not been evangelically set forth.

I acknowledge, further, that I have by no means satisfactorily met the requisitions here exhibited; I confess that a certain timidity has withheld me, and still withholds me, from proceeding in respect to the whole structure as I might do, and as, under many circumstances, I should consider it more profitable to do. The unconstrained homily, as Chrysostom used it, is the form most suited to my wants as a preacher, and in which, as I think, I could also obtain the best fruits, though I would by no means reject other forms.

In this prefatory discourse, however, I have conformed

myself to the custom which in our days proscribes this kind of homily; yet I go on in the usual course with constraint. I have a special aversion to the violence done to the connection of Scripture in the common treatment of a text. Yet if we take the parts logically derived from its fundamental idea, and then attach to this logical division, in a neat, beautiful, and even rhythmical fashion, the separate parts of the text, such violence will often hardly be avoided. How frequently will it be with the preacher who is frittering away his powers on this artificial structure of the sermon, as with the poet whose rhymes are not at hand; the spirit's bloom is withering. Hence Jean Paul wrote poetry in prose.

In many other respects, also, I have not found it best to make use of the freedom which in the preceding remarks is required for the sermon, and in which I should, under other circumstances, have indulged myself. Since my duties as a preacher are only the smallest part of my calling, I have generally been unable to bestow that labor upon my sermons which he is able to give them whose duties find their central point in his weekly sermon. All this may serve as an apology for the imperfections which exist in them.

In one point only, as I think, have I met the expressed requisitions. They are not formal preparations which I lay before my people, but *spontaneous outgushings*, created in the study and born anew in the pulpit. Nor have they had their origin *without* the flock, but within it. The experiences of the preceding week among the members of the congregation have almost always been the birthplace of the leading idea of the sermon.

This circumstance may be my explanation, and will justify me if the same materials are used more than once. The general rule that there should not be a repetition either in the subject-matter or in the use of set phrases should be applied to sermons with discretion. In the language of books, repetition should be avoided; but in the language of life, the pulsation of love is often revealed by it. "To write the same things to you, to me, indeed, is not grievous; but for you it is safe."

Only let these repetitions not be presentations of different copies of one and the same idea, but continually new produc-

tions occasioned by new experiences;—only let them not be artificial flowers which upon every new festive occasion are brought down again out of their glass-case for exhibition, but repetitions like those of nature, which brings forth anew every spring the same leaves and flowers.

God has given me many proofs that these discourses, when they were spoken, were not spoken to the wind. May he now also accompany the written word with the blessing which he has promised.

ART. II.—*Heathen Views on the Golden Age, etc., compared with the Bible.*

THE question as to the primeval state of man has assumed immense importance in our days. Mr. Darwin recognizes, indeed, the divine hand in the primitive creation, but sees no necessity of a divine agency in the subsequent development of the countless kinds of plants and animals from the four or five original forms or types; nor were these subsequent developments potentially inclosed in the original types, as the oak-tree in the acorn, waiting only for the action of certain agencies, as heat, light, moisture, etc., in order to develop from potentiality into reality. All this took place by mere "natural selection." Whether man is also a development from the same source and by the same cause, or not, Mr. Darwin does not say; but many of his followers have thrown off the reserve of their master, denying an original creation altogether, and including man in the same process of development, while others give us to understand, that it is merely by grace that they do not yet hold these same positions, in order to let the Bible and the faith in it live a few years or decades longer. Many learned questions about the origin of life by a *generatio æquivoca*, or whether life is eternal, about the origin of human speech, etc., which the Bible answers as positively as it does rationally, are discussed, as if there were no such thing as the

Bible in existence, or as if it were as mute about these things, as the men of the "bow-wow" theory were for an unknown length of time, or as if its authority had been overthrown long ago, or as if its plain words had a meaning entirely different from what they seem to bear. Instead of listening but distantly to the Bible, infidels and Bible-believers start and advocate the "ding-dong" and "bow-wow" theories, charging their opponents with palpable absurdity, and they evidently succeed remarkably well in making good their charges.

The Bible tells us as a simple fact, not only that God created man, but that man proceeded out of the hands of his Creator, not as an infant, not as a child-man, but as a man in soul and body, who understood the words of the Creator addressed to him, and who could express his own ideas and conceptions in intelligible language before his Creator. This man, the Bible further tells us, sinned, deteriorating his whole being, soul and body, thereby and impeding his progress or improvement. Now if all men are descendants of the first pair of men, as the Bible also affirms, and if the things just stated are true, it is more than probable, that some knowledge of this primeval state of man, in more or less altered forms, was transmitted from parents to their children, and some traces of it must be found among all nations. Whether this *à priori* reasoning is justified by facts, is the object of these pages to examine.

That these traces or traditions actually exist, is well known to and admitted by all; but we are at once told that these traditions, etc., are the productions of idle brains or allegories devoid of all force, and that they found their way into different books of the Bible, according to the different stand-points of their writers. Thus is ascribed to rabbinical fables what Paul says of the groanings "of the whole creation;" to a Stoic origin what Peter teaches about the destruction of the world by fire; what he says about a new heaven and a new earth is represented as nothing else than a dream of the nations about the return of the golden age. But if it should be found that the Bible stories are older, because simpler and purer than all these traditions, and that these traditions were almost universal, the sincere inquirer after truth will know that the ration-

alistic solution does not solve the problem, and that this universality can only be accounted for on the supposition that the Bible is literally true.

What the Bible says about paradise, we find echoed and re-echoed in the tradition of classical antiquity about *the golden age.* What the poets say about it, they want us to understand by no means allegorically or spiritually, but literally. That the body is the prison-house of the soul, as a later philosophy taught, is an idea altogether unknown to the primitive religious consciousness. In the next place, the poets expressly state, that in that age not only moral and spiritual, but also physical evil was altogether non-existent. They represent the latter as a consequence of the former. Physical evil of every form follows sin. The first passage to which we call attention, is Hesiod's Ἔργα καὶ ἡμέραι, 106–120, which is indisputably a very old composition, even if Hesiod should not be its author. Here we read:—

"First of all, the immortals holding the mansions of Olympus made a golden race of speaking men. And as gods they were wont to live, with a life free from care, apart from and without trouble and labor: nor was wretched old age at all impending, but ever the same in hands and feet, did they delight themselves in festivals out of the reach of all ills: and they died, as if overcome by sleep; all blessings were theirs. Of its own will the fruitful field would bear them fruit, much and ample; and they gladly used to reap the labors of their hands in quietness along with many good things, being rich in flocks, and dear to the blessed gods."

It is worthy of note, that death existed even in this happy state, contrary to the Bible. But death was only a falling asleep, and a passage into a still happier state of existence, as v. 121 says: "By the behests of mighty Jove they are demons, kindly haunting earth, guardians of mortal men."

In the next place, it deserves attention, that in this simple description, not temporal happiness is the main point, but this, that "men lived like gods, and were dear to the blessed gods." Then this generation of men was not a race of savages, living in a wild state of nature, and happy, because unaffected by culture, "but they gladly used to reap the labors of their hands with many good things." Greatly modified, we find the same tradition in the works of the Latin poets, Virgil and Ovid, who, though they make physical happiness the main

point, still represent men as sinless and nature as free from all suffering and evil. *Metam.*, I., 89–93, reads: "First, the golden age was created, which without any judge, freely without (written) laws, kept faith and practised righteousness. Punishment and fear were absent, ... they were safe without a revenger."

The same tradition we meet with in the writings of many other writers, poets and philosophers, as Diod. Sic., I., 8; Lucret., V., 923; Plato, *Polit.*, 271c, 278c; *de leg.*, IV., 713c; *de repub.*, III., 415a.

Some philologists deny, indeed, that the tradition in this form was the popular view, maintaining that, according to the latter, the first men lived in a state of animal savageness θηριωδῶς ζῆν; in the pseudo-Homeric hymn in honor of Hephaistos we read (vs. 3 and 4): "He taught men on earth glorious works—before they used to live in caves upon mountains, like beasts." From this savage state man is delivered by the gods who teach him agriculture, handicraft, and arts. Athene, Hephaistos, Prometheus, Demeter, are the merciful gods who rescue man. Afterward the rationalistic notion prevailed, that man was his own deliverer, stimulated by want and pleasure; necessity, and still later, chance contributed also its share.

Now, if we were ready to grant, for argument's sake, that this view had been the popular one (a position, however, that is by no means proved), this much at least is certain, that it is not the older. By the same process, by which nominal Christians have exchanged the Bible teachings for rationalism or any thing else, the older and nobler view gave way to rationalistic corruption—at first it is the gods, then it is man himself, led by *want*, *pleasure*, *necessity*, or *chance*, that rescued the race. But the two views are, after all, not necessarily irreconcilable. In the myths of the golden age we have reflected the universal remembrance of the state in paradise, while we see in the tradition, that men were delivered from a state of original savageness by the gods or by men, the special views of the Hellenistic and Pelasgian tribes, who remembered that they had been delivered from a state of savageness and misery through influences coming from the

East, through immigrants, such as Cadmus, Pelops, Cecrops, etc., who were afterward deified through gratitude.

That the legend of the golden age was the oldest remembrance, appears almost conclusively also from the *Saturnalia*, the Mysteria, and other kindred festivals. The nature of the Saturnalia is well known. They were a beautiful and noble remembrance of that golden age of freedom, when there were neither masters nor servants, when all men were equal and happy. They pointed backward, and, at the same time, prophetically forward, like the Year of Jubilee, with its prescribed manumissions, which pointed, in a brighter light than the festival in honor of Hercules and the Saturnalia, likewise backward to paradise and forward to the times of Him who was to set all the imprisoned free. These heathen festivals, however they may have been corrupted in the course of time, prove conclusively both the reality of the times of paradise, and that the heathen world had a distinct recollection of them, popular festivals being *never* the productions of a dream or of mere fancy. The same is the case with the lamentations about Linos, Mameros in Egypt, Adonis in Phenice and Cyprus, about Hylas in Mysia, Narkissos by the citizens of Thesbiæ on the Helicon, and with the mourning of Demeter for her daughter. The import of all these myths is this: sons of God and their favorites fall victims of death and destruction. The popular celebration of these myths consisted for the most part in this: that, as in the case of Adonis, who even in Hades still loved by Persephone is permitted every spring to return to the light of the sun in order to enjoy the company of Aphrodite, his death was celebrated with dirges, but his return from Hades with songs of joy.

Lasaulx, in his programme, "The Lamentation about Linos," has conclusively shown how probable it is that all these legends and lamentations were but the echo of the sorrow of mankind for the fall of the progenitor of the race, and that by Linos and others of the same class, ultimately no one else than Adam must be understood. Moreover,—and this is the main point,—these lamentations and their celebrations were complaints of nature, and referred to the great catastrophes in nature,—spring, summer, fall, and winter,—in which changes of

nature man saw the image of his own misery and wretchedness. From times immemorial the outward world has been considered the reflex of the inner life of man, and Virgil (*Geor.*, II., 336) compares beautifully spring, the awaking of nature out of death, with the golden age, with which the life of nature from chaos began. These lamentations then, being at the same time complaints of nature, involved the idea that man and nature sustain an intimate relation to each other, and that the fall and death of both have one and the same source. Claims on our attention have likewise the Mystèries, viz., those of Isis in Egypt and those of Ceres in Hellas. They coincide in point of time with the origin and spread of agriculture; but agriculture had, according to universal tradition, a post-Saturnian origin. It is a divine institution and became necessary, because in the post-Saturnian times, after the fall, the creative power of nature declined in intensity, and the gifts of earth were distributed with a less liberal hand.

In the same way do the mysteries, which hide under one image, life and death, the remembrance of the fall and the hope of the resurrection of all nature, and those sacred rites which point, on the one hand, to the loss of a beautiful sacred possession, on the other, to a future happy state of things, confirm the legend of a golden age, the consciousness of the heathen world that all nature had sustained a great loss. In the last place this legend cannot be the expression of a purely ethical or mythical view, because it is an idea common to all nations. But such a universal idea cannot be a mere idea, but must rest on an historical basis.

We cannot, of course, mention here every form under which this legend about paradise appears with the different nations of the earth, and shall, therefore, confine ourselves to some of the most important ones. Among the Persians we meet with the legend of the primitive water which gushes from the throne of Ormuzd; among the Hindoos with that of Mount Mern, the residence of the gods, from which four streams flow in every direction of the globe. The Chinese, Thibetan, Mongolian, Japanese, old Persian, and old Indian traditions all agree in this, that they point to some mountain

or other in Central Asia as the seat of the original glory of the god-descended human family.

In every one of these traditions we meet with four rivers or streams. Of the tree of life we are reminded by the sacred tree of the Hindoos, by the tree of life on the Assyrian monuments, especially by the Thibetan tree of life, which imparted to the first men a divine splendor. The mythos also of the four ages of the world is a tradition common to the eastern and western nations. All these traditions bear an uncommonly strong resemblance to the Bible history, especially among those nations which dwelt next to the cradle of humanity.

In the mythology of the ancient Germans we meet with the same phenomenon. In the Völuspâ, the prophetess Wala gives a charming description of the golden age, before the three virgins from Jötunheim, the Nôtt, the Angobodi, and the Hel, came into the world of the Asen. Baldr—the good, holy, and wise, the favorite of gods and men—is treacherously killed by the wicked Loki. At this murder the gods grieve, and men, animals, plants, and stones weep. From that time matters grew worse and worse upon the earth, murders grew more frequent, in the combats of the giants (the personified powers of ungodly nature) with the gods, Odin and the Asen perished, and after the destruction of the world, the golden age reappeared. The main feature of all these legends is, that the primitive condition of men as well as that of the world, was physically a happy one. *Peace and prosperity rest for the sake of man upon every other creature, and they both disappear and evil and destruction seize upon every thing living, as soon as spiritual ruin breaks in after the fall of man.* The heathen world has most carefully preserved the remembrance of the earthly and bodily side of the narrative and of the original happy state of nature, adorning it with many fanciful traits, and while we have thus in its legends the strongest evidence of the historical basis on which they rested, we see also the wide discrepancy between these traditions and the Bible, which speaks, indeed, also of the original happiness of men and all other creatures, while it lays the main stress on man's normal relation to his Creator

and the inward happiness and peace as flowing from this relation.

The question: "whence are all these traditions?" admits a ready answer from our stand-point. They are no idle tales, called forth by the feeling of present sufferings and miseries, nor the remembrance of a primitive rude state of nature,—for subsequent life was inferior to the primitive state,—nor are they prophetic anticipations of the future glory, but they are remembrances, which all the nations took from their common home, and which they no more could forget, than the prodigal son was able to forget the abundance in his father's house.

As the heathens had a distinct remembrance of a primitive peaceful state of nature, so they had also a keen sense of the fall and groans of the natural world. Of this kind was their intuitive perception of nature's dependence on man, and of the mysterious sympathy between the two. Firmicus Mat., Mathes., III., 1, contains the significant passage: "If man as the last and most finished of all creatures unites in himself all preceding creatures, and is in reality an image of the world, a microcosm, an inference not only from the world as to the nature of man, but also from the nature of man to that of the world is perfectly legitimate, so that from the life of man, the course of nature can be known." In *Prometheus vinctus* (v. 431), this sympathy between man and nature is expressed in these beautiful words:

> "The sea roaring moans in its waves,
> The deep groans, the abyss, the dark
> Abode of Hades, cries aloud,
> The pain of compassion seizes upon the
> Springs of all the sacred rivers."

This passage appears still more significant if we assume, with many learned philologists, that Prometheus here represents the progenitor of the human family suffering for a heinous crime committed against his Creator. Again, Æschylus sees in the *Eumenides* (164–167), not only the central point of the earth, but the earth itself stained by the matricide of Orestes, just as the Bible does by the fratricide of Cain (Gen. iv. 11). In the next place, the ancient legends of the Grecian fleet having been detained in Aulis by adverse winds on

account of the crime of Agamemnon, and of Thebes having been visited with pestilence on account of the incestuous marriage of Œdipus, are, indeed, nothing but legends, but they prove, at the same time, like the divination which pretended to learn the will of the gods from symbols and prodigies, etc., the deeply rooted conviction of the ancient world, that all living creatures sustain a close relation to each other, that there is a close connection between nature and the condition of men, a strong sympathy between earth and heaven. There can, therefore, be no doubt that the heathen world felt the fall of nature deeply. The great serpent of northern mythology is a mythical image of the universal pain of nature and all her creatures, and Ahriman has poisoned with his dews all nature, plants, animals, and men. The phenomenal world does not correspond with Plato's ideal world, hence the philosopher's search for the lost original ideas. Although the popular belief of the heathens looked, on the whole, on the world as divine and eternal, yet their philosophy recognized the existence of evil in nature and traces its origin not to the gods but to matter (*Timæus* of Plato, *βουληθεὶς γὰρ ὁ θεὸς ἀγαθὰ μὲν πάντα, φλαῦρον δὲ μηδὲν εἶναι κατὰ δύναμιν*)—hence their many attempts at a theodicy. The poets are unanimous in their teaching, that with the appearance of sin on the earth, barrenness became the lot of the latter; see Hes., *Ἔργα*, V., 117–118: "Myriad other evils roamed forth among men. For full indeed is earth of woes, and full the sea." Ovid, *Metam.*, I., 113; Virg., *Georg.*, I., 125; *Eclog.*, IV., 39. The ancients spoke of the earth as getting old and weak, of a marasmus of time, yea, even of mournful sounds produced by nature. From all this it is manifest that they had an idea of this great fact, but it was blunted by the constantly advancing deification of nature, and they lacked the knowledge that man's sin presses upon nature. Nor must we omit to mention here that melancholy feeling which pervades all classical antiquity, all legends, all tragedies, and is spread even over their productions of art. Later, Judaism shared the same views. Thus we read in Bereschith rabba: "Rabbi Berachya has said in the name of Rabbi Samuel, although all things were created perfect, yet they were ruined

by the fall of Adam, nor will they be restored until the son of Perez (the Messiah) comes;" and in Berachoth: "If the eye were possessed of the power of seeing all things, no creature would live for fear of the countless numbers of evil spirits."

We pass on now to the traditions and philosophies of the heathens concerning the end, the burning of the world, and the future renovation of all things, which agree so fully even in diction with the Scripture teachings on these points, that attempts have not been wanting to pass off the prophecies of Scripture for idle dreams of mankind. They are interesting in the highest degree, and furnish a wonderful testimony for the foundation of this universal hope of humanity, proclaimed by the Scriptures.

It cannot, of course, likewise be our object to refer to all of them. The prophecies on the end and renovation of the world are generally so closely connected with each other that they cannot easily be separated. This great catastrophe will be brought about by fire. The fears and hopes founded thereon we meet with in the traditions and religions of nearly all nations, especially in the religion of Zoroaster, in the traditions of India, in all the Sibylline oracles, in the songs of the Edda, yea, even in the traditions of the American and Australian tribes, which were separated for centuries from the rest of mankind, thus furnishing conclusive evidence both of the original unity of the race and of the deep impress which had been made upon the human mind prior to the dispersion. In the older Edda we have the following beautiful prophetic description:—

"The sun goes out in darkness, the earth falls into the ocean,
The bright stars fall from heaven;
Glowing eddies encircle the all-nurturing tree of the world,
Red-hot flames are covering the skies,
And the earth is seen to rise again from the waters and to get green.
Untilled the earth will produce again,
Every evil disappears; Baldur returns,
Baldur and Hoedur dwell in the heaven of the god of victory,
The all-wise gods. Do you know what this means?
I saw a hall brighter than the sun
Covered with gold as high as heaven,
Beloved princes will dwell there,
Enjoying honor without end."

When the Germans were subsequently converted to Christianity, heathen and Christian notions about the future conflagration of the world mixed in a strange manner, as we see from the prayer Muspilli. At the approach of the great night of the gods, all the gods and men perish in the fearful struggle which ensues between the gods and the so-far submissive powers of evil, the stars fall from heaven, and Surtur, the ruler of the fire-world, triumphs. Muspelheim appears with his shining army, and from Niflheim rushes to the conflict the race of Loki—all traits such as we meet in the Völuspâ. On the other hand, there are Christian traits not wanting: Elias performs the rôle of Donar, Antichrist that of Surtur—as soon as the blood of Elias drips upon the ground, the great catastrophe commences. According to J. Grimm and K. Simrock, the German legend of the sleeping emperor has likewise reference to the end of all things, and not as is often supposed to a merely political revolution. The points of agreement between these legends and the Bible not to be overlooked are these: The national traditions connect intimately the destruction of the world and the appearance of the great deliverer or renovator, who brings back the original golden age after the universal conflagration, after sin is destroyed from the face of the earth by this conflagration. The difference between the Christian doctrine and the traditions is thus often only this: that, according to the former, Christ appears a second time at, or rather before, the end of the world; while tradition, like the prophecies of the Old Testament, sees all things perspectively together. There is, furthermore, the idea in all traditions, that the end of the world is preceded by a grand and final struggle of the evil principle against the good, and that the latter will triumph. It is especially worthy of note, that according to the traditions all the gods will perish with this world, with the sole exception of Jupiter, as being alone unborn.

In Oriental mythology this old tradition of the destruction of the world passed over into the doctrine of the repetition of worlds, of the great world-periods, the great world-years. This doctrine is found in the books *Vaguavalkya* III., 10, and in the Indian *Puranas*. According to this doctrine the de-

velopment of the world does not end in a perfectly good, God-ordained state of things, as the Bible teaches, but in an eternally monotonous destruction and renewal. The destruction of the world is only the transition to new destructions, a time of peace never comes, the history of the world is never brought to a close. The same idea we find in Parsism, according to Theopompus. The world, we are told there, is perfected in 12,000 years. Of these 6000 elapsed from the origin of the first being to the creation of the earth, and the earth lasts 6000, of which the last 3000 Ahriman alone reigns, when the whole system will be renewed. From the East this doctrine found its way into the West, as the *ἀποκατάστασις*, or, as it was later called, the doctrine of the Platonic or Stoic world-year. In "Nemesius de nat. hominum," c. 38, we have this remarkable passage: *Ἐν ῥηταῖς χρόνων περιόδοις ἐκπύρωσιν καὶ φθορὰν τῶν ὄντων ἀπεργάζεσθαι καὶ πάλιν ἐξ ὑπαρχῆς εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ τὸν κόσμον ἀποκαθίστασθαι—γίγνεσθαι δὲ τὴν ἀποκατάστασιν τοῦ παντὸς οὐχ ἅπαξ, ἀλλὰ πολλάκις, μᾶλλον δὲ εἰς ἄπειρον καὶ ἀτελευτήτως τὰ αὐτὰ ἀποκαθίστασθαι* "(they teach), that in fixed periods of times a burning and destruction of all things take place, and the world returns again from the beginning into the very same shape (*i. e.*, as it was before); and that the restoration of the all happens not once but often, or rather that the same things are brought back an infinite number of times." According to Firmicus Maternus (Mathes., III., 1, p. 47), this renovation by burning holds good for three hundred thousand years—the burning is followed by a universal inundation, since things burned out cannot possibly be called into life.

In Plato's *Timæus*, an old Egyptian priest develops the doctrine of the great world-year—10,000 solar years—as a very old tradition. A great flood is there also spoken of, which periodically returns like certain diseases. The Stoics developed this doctrine so that they taught, that in the new periods the same men, the same souls, would return under the same circumstances, *i. e.*, either Socrates in person, or at least a man exactly like Socrates, who would marry a Xantippe, would be accused by the same men, Melitus, Anytos, etc., and that *ad infinitum*. Even the constellations, under which this

catastrophe will take place, have been determined by the ancients. Says Seneca, III., *Natur., lt.*, 29: "Berosus, who has interpreted Belus, says that these things happen by the course of the heavenly bodies, and even assigns the time of the universal conflagration and deluge by them, asserting that all earthly things will burn when all constellations which are now running different courses, shall meet in Cancer, and the universal flood shall break in when they shall meet in Capricorn." As has been stated already, the durations of these world-years were different with different peoples. In the Indian mythology every thing is of a gigantic scale; the world-year is equal to fourteen Manus or Richis, and every Manus to a day of Brahma, and a day of Brahma to one thousand world-years. In the west the length of such a world-year fluctuates between 5500 and 25,000 years. Beautifully does Lasaulx express himself on this point: "Even if these ideas had no other value than that of magnificent productions of the imagination, and of a bold mind boldly philosophizing with an inadequate knowledge of the subject, still they would deserve, on account of the vastness of the problems which they try to solve, to be studied again by modern philosophers."

These expectations of a dissolution of the present system of the world were not only widely spread, but they are also traceable to the very remotest antiquity. Josephus (*Archæol. Jud.*, 1, 2, 3) speaks of columns, or pillars, or rather of the legend about these pillars, that was well known all over western Asia, and especially in Egypt. These columns are said to have been built of bricks that they might withstand the universal conflagration, that had been foretold by the first man. In like manner Seneca ascribes the prophecy of the future conflagration to the oldest of all seers and poets, Orpheus (*Herc.*, Oct. V., 1103); the passage is as follows:—

> "When laws and morals shall have fled,
> And the last of days draws nigh,
> And the South pole shall be buried—
> When we shall seek the last day with trembling,
> And the broken ray of Titan,
> Then the heavens will fall,
> Overwhelming both the North and West.
> All the gods without any distinction
> Shall fall a prey to death and night."

The Sibylline prophecies about this catastrophe are too well known to require a special notice here.

Almost in the language of holy writ speaks Ovid (*Met.*, I., 256–258) of this catastrophe: "Jove remembers that it is written in the books of fate, that the time will come when the sea, and the earth, and the citadel of heaven will catch fire, and when the mundane system shall be destroyed." The final relapse of the universe into a state of chaos is thus described by Lucan, lib. I.:—

> "When all bonds are loosed and the last hour of the world's
> Many centuries arrives, hurling every thing back toward
> Chaos, all stars in wild confusion shall rush
> Against each other; the fires of heaven shall rush
> Into the sea. Phœbe shall in hostile course rush upon her
> Brother, indignantly demanding the
> Day to drive her chariot through the expanse of heaven,
> And every thing will rush back into chaos."

The agency bringing about this final destruction is, by universal consent, fire. Thus, Heraclitus is represented by Clemens Alex., Strom. V., 20, as teaching: "The world itself was neither made by a God, nor by a man, but it always was and always shall be, being an ever-living fire;" and by Eusebius: "Heraclitus taught that fire was the beginning of all things, from which all things come and into which all things are dissolved, saying that all things were in a constant change, and the time was fixed for the dissolution of all things into fire, and for the creation of all things out of the same element." Seneca says (*de consol.*, 26): "Stars will rush upon stars and the whole material world will burn in one fire." Cic. (*de nat. Deor.*, II., 46): "Our (men) are of the opinion, that at last the whole world will be set on fire, when all water is consumed and the earth can neither be supported nor any more air be generated, so that nothing but fire be left, from which the renewal of all things proceeds again." In the hands of the philosophers this doctrine (of a universal conflagration) loses its religious character altogether, which the ancient tradition has, being nothing else than a great revolution caused by fire, an idea which our modern philosophers likewise entertain. Although the new world that comes forth out of the universal wreck, is but another edition of the

first, yet a better state of things was very generally expected, as we learn from Virg., *Ecl.* 4. Even if this beautiful idyl had no reference to the Messiah, and was not based on any prophecy,—a point about which there is as yet a great difference of opinion,—that much is certain, that the poet with others looked forward for a better state of things, and believed this new state to be near at hand. When this universal expectation—about the time of the Saviour—was not realized, and when even believers found it hard to understand the spiritual nature of the kingdom of God, the human mind fell back once more upon the universal conflagration, which such men as Seneca and Pliny believed to be near at hand (Sen., *Quaest. nat.*, I., 3, and Pliny, *Hist. nat.*, VII., 16, and *Sec. Epist.*) The eruption of Vesuvius was widely considered as the forerunner of the great catastrophe,—people, however, spoke not of the last day, but of the last night. Lactantius (*Inst.*, 7, 14), who himself believed the end of all things to be near at hand, could, therefore, say with good reason: "The heathen prophets, agreeing with the divine prophets, predict the end of all things while describing the extreme old age of decaying nature." As among the heathens, so we meet with the same expectations also among the Jews in the post-prophetic times. The platonizing Philo was acquainted with and combated the notions of the Stoics about a burning up of the mundane system; he says in his treatise: Περὶ ἀφθαρσίας κόσμου: "if, indeed, the transgression of nature's laws by the other creatures of God is the cause of corruption, but in the world all the members have been distributed according to nature, the world cannot justly be called corruptible—it is not destroyed by fire, but is incorruptible." He was, at the same time, deeply impressed with the close sympathy between man and the physical world, and looked for a change of the enmity of wild beasts against man, saying beautifully: "All beasts are at war with all men, and no mortal can put a stop to this war: the Eternal one can stop it." And in another place: "One must not despair, that when the intelligent creatures—men—shall have been tamed, the beasts also will be tamed; and then, as it seems to me, the bears and lions and panthers and Indian elephants and tigers, etc., will be

tamed according to the notions of men." Of the restoration of all things the Talmud speaks often, and in Kethuvoth, fol. III., c. 3, we are positively told how many feet the human body will measure in the Messianic kingdom, how the holy land will then produce cakes, clothes of the finest wool, what will be the length of the wheat, what will be the size of the grains of wheat, of the grapes, etc., thus creating a complete fool's paradise. In these Jewish and heathen expectations the real cause of the corruption of the physical world, *i. e.*, sin, had been lost sight of, and they had, therefore, no proper idea of the necessity of the removal of this cause, in order to remove its effect also. But the main question that concerns us here, is: whence is this universality of this almost perfect agreement on subjects, of which, as we shall presently see, modern science has even not the most distant idea? If what rationalists and deists and other opposers of the Bible have said were true, viz., that the writers of the New Testament had borrowed their ideas from Jewish and heathen writers, although it needs not be mentioned, that the New Testament writings have added elements which are altogether wanting in the works of their predecessors,—if, we repeat, this position of the enemies of the Bible were granted, the state of things would scarcely be changed—there would still be the same agreement and the same universality, and there is only one reasonable answer to this question, which is: When men left the common house of their fathers, where they had learned both the tradition and the expectations, they took the remembrance of them with themselves to their new homes and transmitted it by oral teaching to their children. That the traditions assumed, according to the innumerable differences of influences under which men came, different shapes, that their expectations were modified to the same, or a still higher degree, is perfectly intelligible, appears as an absolute necessity; but the essence of both tradition and expectation remained the same, and the origin of this tradition, etc., can no more be rationally accounted for in any theory outside of the Bible, than the origin of man himself, and the origin of language can be accounted for in any manner, not stated in the Bible, that is not obnoxious to the charge of absurdity.

Whether the Usherian chronology, according to which Jesus was born 4,004 years after the creation of Adam, is correct, or whether it shall be found to require emendations; whether the six days of creation were ordinary days of twenty-four hours each, or whether each day was a period of unknown length,—about these and similar questions there may be differences of opinion, and we shall be greatly obliged for all the light that science may shed on these subjects, and this light will teach us to understand the Bible itself better. But if we have given to us, in the name of science, propositions which are palpable absurdities, involving the absence of a specific difference between man and beast, the descent of man from a "learned gorilla," the ding-dong and the bow-wow theory of the origin of language, including, at the same time, a renunciation of all faith in the Bible: then it is high time to stand still and to ponder the subject well with all the consequences it involves, before we take a decisive step. We intimated above, that there is absolutely nothing in the nature of matter, or of the natural world, which could have suggested the idea of the one or the other of the subjects considered. For what does science, what do astronomy and geology in the second half of the nineteenth century say about the future fate of this earth? That it cannot remain in its present state, that it cannot exist forever. On this point all are agreed; but what will become of it no one knows, although both geology and astronomy demonstrate the possibility of two diametrically opposite ways by which the final destruction or utter uninhabitableness of our planet will be effected. According to geology our earth may become a perfect desert, every drop of water disappearing from its surface—by sinking into the interior, thereby creating, perhaps, such an amount of steam as would shatter the whole body to atoms, or the earth may be completely set under water, so that its whole surface forms one uninterrupted ocean. According to astronomy the earth may be drawn into the sun, causing, perhaps, some wind for a few hours on its surface, or the sun may exhaust its heat as the planets have done, or are supposed to have done, thereby converting our earth, as well as all the other planets, into

masses of iee, where neither animal nor vegetable life ean exist. Any other way of destruction seienee does not know, and how radieally different are they all from the ultimate fate of the earth as predieted in the Bible and the universal expeetation of our raee?

Art. III.—*Life and Writings of Juan de Valdés, Spanish Reformer in the Sixteenth Century.* By Benjamin B. Wiffen. With a translation from the Italian, of his Hundred and Ten Considerations, by John T. Betts. London: 1865.

Spanish civilization has not been partieularly admired by the heirs of Protestant liberty. No free people eherishes gratitude to Spain for any great blessing that she has bestowed upon society during the last three centuries. Only at this late day have we the sample of a free press in that country. On our table lies the fifth number of a small weekly paper, entitled "El Eeo del Evangelieo," the first Protestant journal ever published in Spain, and it bearing the date of the last year. It is refreshing to see that it comes from Seville, once so notorious for the Inquisition. If the stones of that eity eould ery out, what revelations would be made! And yet, three hundred and fifty years ago, on Spanish soil, there was growing up a literature in advoeaey of that same Reformation, which gave a new eivilization to Germany, the Netherlands, and Great Britain. It surprises many of us to learn the quantity and quality of the Reformed writings then and there produced.

The world knows little of the late Don Luis de Usoz i Rio, but the results of his labors may yet be enjoyed with gratitude by goodly numbers of Protestant readers in Christendom. He collected and edited the "Reformistas Antiguos Españoles"—the various writings of the early Spanish Reformers. "He was," says Mr. Wiffen, "like Valdés, by birth *uno caballero*, a gentleman; and, like him, a person of sound and

exact learning, of great simplicity and modesty, of genuine truthfulness both in his life and writings. He loved his country, lamented its historical decline, and disinterestedly sought its highest welfare. With the exception of two of them, the twenty volumes of the 'Reformistas,' besides others not included in the series, were edited by his own labor during five and twenty years; and, with the exception of a single small volume, they were printed entirely at his sole cost and charges, without connection with any society or association, religious or literary; and one private friend alone aided him to procure the recondite materials." We learn also that but a limited number of copies were published, and these not intended for public sale. It is to be hoped that some of our libraries in this country may be enriched with these historical treasures.

This scholar, in concert with Dr. Edward Boehmer, of Halle, and Mr. Benjamin Wiffen, a Quaker gentleman of England, has brought to light very much interesting matter relative to the brothers Valdés. It is not long since the historian Ranke said, "unfortunately the writings of [Juan] Valdés have wholly disappeared." His most important work, the "CX. Divine Considerations," is now put forth in an elegant English dress, as one of the several modern editions and translations. An English version ran through two editions in the seventeenth century. Nicholas Ferrar translated it, and "the sainted George Herbert" added his notes. They knew almost nothing of Valdés. He was to them a mythic personage, who, with veiled face, had exercised a surprising influence in Italy at the dawn of the Reformation.

Izaak Walton, in his "Life of Herbert," thus drew the portrait, to us quite amusing: "This Valdesso was for his learning and virtue much valued and loved by the great Emperor Charles V., whom Valdesso had followed as a cavalier all the time of his long and dangerous wars; and when Valdesso grew old and weary of the world, he took a fair opportunity to declare to the emperor that his resolution was to decline his majesty's service and betake himself to a quiet and contemplative life, because there ought to be a time between fighting and dying. The emperor had himself, for the same or other reasons, taken

the like resolution, but God and himself only knew them, and he desires Valdesso to consider well of what he had said, but keep his purpose within his own breast till they two had another opportunity of a friendly discourse, which Valdesso promised. In the mean time, the emperor appoints privately a day for him and Valdesso to receive the sacrament publicly, and appointed an eloquent friar to preach a sermon on Contempt of the World, and the happiness and benefit of a quiet and contemplative life, which the friar did most affectionately. After which sermon the emperor declared openly, that the preacher had begot in him a resolution to lay down his dignities, to forsake the world, and to betake himself to a more monastic life. And he pretended he had persuaded John Valdesso to do the like; but this is most certain, that after the emperor had called his son Philip out of England, and resigned to him all his kingdoms, the emperor and John Valdesso did perform their resolution."

This pleasant episode never happened. Nor was the genial angler much farther astray from the facts than most other writers down to the time of Dr. Thomas McCrie, whose brief notices of Juan Valdés are in the main correct. Several scholars have recently made Valdés the subject of earnest research, bringing to light facts long concealed, and recovering books supposed to be lost. Some of the results of their investigations may be of interest to the present circle of readers, especially as a Spaniard has been considered so rare among the Reformers of the sixteenth century.

About the close of the twelfth century Hernando de Valdés founded the town of Cuenza, in New Castile, nearly half-way between Madrid and Valencia. Built on the terraces, tier above tier, this town grew into the capital of a mountainous district, peopled with traders, and thick with woollen mills. There also the higher arts and literature flourished. This land proprietor won the honors of nobility. He left behind him magnificent houses, a chapel, and entailed estates. One of his numerous descendants, in the latter part of the fifteenth century, bore his name, and sustained the reputation of the family. He sympathized with the popular party in a futile resistance to the policy of Charles V. in giving foreigners the

chief offices in the church and state. He expressed his independent spirit in the following lines:—

"Ten marks of gold for the telling,
And of silver I have nine score;
Good houses are mine to dwell in,
And I have a rent-roll more;
My line and lineage please me—
Ten squires I count at my call—
And no lord who flatters or fees me,
Which pleases me more than all."

Among other sons of this hidalgo and regidor, were the twin brothers, Alfonso and Juan, who were born near the beginning of the sixteenth century. Being twins, they have often been regarded as one person, or the deeds of one have been ascribed to the other. By two letters of the period their distinct personality and twinship are established. Erasmus, in 1528, wrote thus from Basle to Juan:—

"Most accomplished youth: Your brother, Alfonso Valdés, has conferred such obligations upon me, that I ought to love whoever in any way belongs to him. But [besides this] you, as I hear, are so like him both in personal appearance and readiness of mind, that you seem not be twins, but one individual. I think it very proper, therefore, to love you both alike. I hear that you are given to liberal studies, in order that you may embellish your naturally virtuous disposition with every sort of adornment. Why then should any one exhort you to study, when of your own accord you follow this excellent pursuit? It is more to the purpose to congratulate and praise you."

Three years later the historian Sepulveda wrote from Rome to Alfonso; "You ask me to receive your brother, should he come to me, in the same manner as yourself. Can I receive him otherwise, when as I look at him—whether he is standing or sitting, speaking or silent, in action or doing nothing—I fancy that I am looking upon yourself? And, what is no less remarkable, he so closely represents you, not in features alone but also in talents, learning, manners, and even in pursuits, that again and again he appears to be your very self and not your brother."

Upon the education of these twins, we have scarcely more certain light than these letters furnish. It is supposed that one of Juan's descriptions of a noble woman was intended to be that of his grandmother. In one of his Dialogues, she is

made to say, "That which my parents left me was the ability to read, and some little knowledge of Latin. Such pleasure did I feel in reading sacred Scripture, that I learnt much of it by heart. Not satisfied with the mere knowledge of it, I endeavored to conform my life and conduct to it, losing no opportunity of instructing those of my female friends and companions who conversed with me in what God had taught me; but with so much modesty and moderation, that I could not be blamed, knowing what peril attached to my age and sex, and what caution I had to exercise in my personal carriage; for doubtless we women are constrained much more than men to hold any opinion we may favor with distrust, until it previously has been very strictly examined and discussed." Many of the Reformers received their bent of mind from mothers, who were obliged to be as cautious in teaching their doctrines as they were earnest in the study of the divine Word.

Those who wish to study the anomalies of human character may find a rich subject in Cardinal Ximenes. In him the middle and modern ages met. He was the munificent patron of literature, and yet he made diligent use of the machinery of the Inquisition. He supplied the means for stimulating research and manly thought, but set the path of the student with terrors lest he should become too daring an inquirer and too independent a thinker. Under his patronage the University of Alcala rose to compete with the older universities of Europe. Intent upon rooting out "heresy" he strangely appears as the projector of a splendid Polyglot edition of the Bible, in six folios; and this only about ten years after the furious Torquemada made a bonfire of Hebrew Bibles at Seville, and then, at Salamanca, burned six thousand volumes of books which bore the heretical taint. It is curious to note that the last volume of the Polyglot was printed in 1517, the very year that Luther began to oppose the papal decrees and to direct the attention of Europe to the saving doctrines of the Word of God. It was also the year of the cardinal's death. Truth slumbered in those Complutensian folios, being closely watched lest it should waken and rise in its gigantic strength; it sprang forth with life-giving power from the popular editions of the Bible.

It is thought that the brothers Valdés were enrolled at the cardinal's university. They caught his literary spirit, but discarded his bigotry. Their later employments and writings indicate that Alfonso studied Latin composition and jurisprudence, while Juan directed his studies to his native language and to the Greek and Hebrew Scriptures. Juan did not share in the puerile devotion to the Vulgate, thus expressed in the name of Ximenes, in one of the prefaces to the great Polyglot: "We have put the version of St. Jerome between the Hebrew and Septuagint, as between the synagogue and eastern church, which are like the two thieves—the one on the right, and the other on the left hand, and Jesus, that is the Roman Church, in the middle; for this alone being founded upon a solid rock, remains always immovable in the truth, while the others deviate from the proper sense of Scripture." A sentence worthy of triple exclamation points! Hebrew and Greek editions came to be regarded as Protestant "versions" of the Holy Scriptures, and full of heresy. Quite in the same spirit, it is now assumed in some quarters that our popular version "translated out of the original tongues, and with the former translations diligently compared and revised," is a sectarian book, unfit to hold the place in our common schools, which our very civilization has long conceded to it.

The man who did most to mould the early character of the twin brothers was Peter Martyr of Angleria (Anghiera). He was an Italian, as was the later-born Peter Martyr Verneiglio. He was brought into Spain that he might educate the young nobles, "teaching them to love good studies and good books," rather than the follies of knight-errantry, the vices of gallantry, and the sports and spoils of marauders. Queen Isabella was his chief patron. He taught in various cities, and then he was transferred to the court in order to train the young princes in the ancient classics. He was the educator of nearly all the young nobles of Spain who won distinction by pen or sword, during the sway of Charles V. in Europe. His rightful boast was "My house all day long swarms with noble youth, reclaimed from ignoble pursuits to those of letters. . . . I earnestly inculcate in them that consummate excellence in any department, whether of war or peace, is unattainable without

science." Certain young princes and dukes "remain under my roof during the whole day; an example which has been imitated by the principal cavaliers of the court, who, after attending my lectures in company with their private tutors, retire at evening to review them in their own quarters."

The professor was leading a host of vigorous students along the road toward a reformation. No wonder the Inquisition had so much work to do, and did it in such a horrible way, for young Spain must be terrified and tortured into submission. But we do not wonder that the brothers Valdés struck out into an independent path, and were quite the first of the nobility to grasp and bind to their souls the most powerful of all truths. Angleria started them upon their career. His spirit was not servile to Rome, however indisposed to break from her communion. This is proved by his volume of eight hundred letters, written during thirty-seven years, and full of European history. From them Geddes, Gibbon, Herrera, Prescott, and Washington Irving drew very much of the life which renders their pages attractive. His unsparing criticisms of the vices of the popes, cardinals, and "lower clergy" must have shaken the faith of the young Spaniards in every sort of papal infallibility. Their sympathies for ecclesiastical reform must have been nurtured, if they read his letter to his patron Mendoza upon the martyrdom of Savonarola: "You already know that a certain friar of Ferrara, of the order of Preachers (as they are called), went on a long time condemning, from pulpits in the city of Florence, the bad life and evil manners of the cardinals and pope. This good man so irritated the pontiff [Alexander VI., the licentious], that he caused him to be burnt alive as a heretic by the apostolic judges. Notice in this occurrence the artifices with which he weaves his scheme when he wishes to effect a man's destruction, and be on your guard accordingly."

The twin brothers might never have gone beyond their literary master had he not sent them out of their native country; the one to meet the German reformers, and the other to look inside the Vatican, noting what was foulest in the field of corruption. A quick discerner of talent and character, Angleria had nominated the Piedmontese Gatinara as grand

chancellor,—an enlightened man, favorable to reform,—and near him, in a quite independent position, Alfonso Valdés, as Latin secretary to the newly elected emperor. Thus the agents of political corruption were checkmated. The elements of a national patriotic party found a centre of unity. Alfonso followed Charles V. into the Netherlands and Germany. In an interesting letter to Angleria, he describes the manner in which Luther had been aroused to confront the entire system of popery. "The origin and progress of the Lutheran sect" are traced to those provoking indulgences, Tetzel's swaggering, the famous theses, and the disputes of the monks over the auction of pardons, and the bold sermons of "the author of this tragedy," who dared to discuss the powers of the pope. He fears "that the evil will spread so widely as to be absolutely incurable." For even Cajetan has been worsted at Augsburg. "Luther was dismissed with greater glory than that with which he had been received—with a victor's joy." And the pope, "unable by caresses and warnings to secure the punishment of the blasphemous monk, and to prevent the poison from being scattered everywhere, and to cause all to flee him as a heretic and schismatic, launched a most severe bull, as they call it, against Luther and his partisans. Luther, more irritated than dismayed (oh, shame!) proclaimed the pontiff himself a heretic and schismatic, and published his 'Babylonish captivity of the church,' and burnt all the books on Roman law that he could find in Wittenberg." The writer did not think that history consisted in the abuse of men whose conduct he could not altogether approve.

Angleria sends this historical letter to some of his pupils, with the remark, "Enough of the disloyal monk, in refutation of whom many grave and learned men have written much that you can readily get and read." In the same way he uses other letters from Alfonso. In one of them the correspondent describes the Diet of Worms with commendable accuracy, and says, "Here you have, as some imagine, the end of this tragedy, but I am persuaded that it is only the beginning of it. . . . . The evil might have been cured, with the greatest advantage to the Christian republic, had not the pontiff refused a General Council."

Such letters, so candidly written, must have helped prepare the way for the writings of Erasmus to enter Spain. To Alfonso he was mainly indebted for various favors and friendships. Letters passed between them. It was not long before several books of Erasmus were honored with the ban of the Inquisition, and he said, "What lot so unfortunate as mine? The Lutherans persecuted me as a papist, and the Catholics as a Lutheran!" One of his Spanish friends, Juan Vives, the Valencian, exclaimed, "What frenzy! We live in difficult times, in which we can neither speak nor be silent without danger." Secretary Valdés was closely viewing affairs, studying, thinking, and coming to his own conclusions. When he returned to Spain his brother seems to have been absent in Rome.

Adrian of Utrecht had been the tutor of Charles V., an admirer of Erasmus, and the intimate friend of Angleria. He was a serious man, pious, active, benevolent, the advocate of polite learning, intent upon the peace of Europe, and the reformation of the grosser abuses in the church, and altogether the best material for the making of a pope that his age furnished. As Adrian VI. he filled the papal chair for about one year—too short a time to make effective his reformatory schemes. As soon as he was elected, in 1522, he was pitied by Angleria, who described him as "a wretched slave, and so much the more wretched as his flatterers vociferate 'blessed father' in his ears." Yet he secured for Juan Valdés the honorable position of *camanero*, probably chamberlain, at the Vatican. Juan had thus a brief opportunity to see the papacy on its fairest side, and at home. In a few months he must have had his mind directed to the need of a reformation in manners, morals, and the administration of all ecclesiastical officers and ordinances. He took notice of those special evils which are so vividly portrayed in his "Dialogues." At a later day he made a touching reference to the papal household, which Adrian had, doubtless, quite thoroughly reformed. In his fifty-first "Consideration" he says, when illustrating how *God makes himself to be felt* as the object of all dependence; "I bring before the mind what is ordinarily seen in the pope's household, where all those who compose it are dependent

upon him, and are maintained by him in the station and dignity in which he has placed them. At the pope's decease the whole house is broken up and ceases to exist, so that he who was secretary is so no longer. The same may be affirmed of all other officials of the establishment, all of whom, at the pope's death, lose the position which the pope's life gave them." In this way, it seems, Juan lost his place, and returned home to use his pen in exposing the hypocrisies and vices of certain dignitaries in the Roman Church.

The twin brothers were again together in 1523, and during five years they seem to have been in retirement, except that Alfonso was a gentleman or knight in the emperor's train. Three events had agitated Europe: the papal treatment of Luther; the vigorous captivity of Francis I., at Madrid; and the sack of "the Eternal City." Popery and Protestantism had entered upon their warfare, and the Emperor Charles had fought against the pope and his "most Christian son" of France. The public mind was severe upon Charles, for the scandal of holding the so-called vicar of Christ in captivity. The Spanish court issued a series of documents in his defence. These passed through the hands of Alfonso, as the Latin secretary. The controversy suggested to him and his brother a bold literary project. They composed and published two Dialogues, each political and religious. While defending the emperor, they lash the corruptions of the age with keen and subtle irony, and set in bold contrast the hypocrites and the honest Christians of every rank and grade in the church. One is the "Dialogue between Mercury and Charon," who discuss the affairs of Europe from 1521 to 1528, and make deceased ecclesiastics tell the story of their lives. The other is a "Dialogue which treats of the events that happened at Rome in 1527." The capture and pillage of that city is not so much the real theme, as is the moral state of the papacy.

These treatises have been pronounced among the best in Spanish literature, not merely for their general scope, but for their elegance of style, their graceful turns of wit and argument, their purity of sentiment, their bearing in favor of reform, and their truthful illustration of contemporary history. Cervantes appears to have made good use of them in his

famous burlesque upon chivalry. Juan probably wrote most of them, while his brother supplied the materials, and took on himself the responsibility of the declarations made therein, for his high official position was his shield. When accused, Alfonso defended himself as if he were the author of the first mentioned Dialogue.

We present a few specimens: Mercury is made to say, that in his world-wide travels he did not find among nations called Christians the pure morality that he expected. Even in the highest sphere, Rome itself, he found earthly desires and cares taking the place of heavenly aspirations. The hopes of men, instead of being fixed on Christ, were all placed on certain kinds of dresses, different sorts of food, paternosters, pilgrimages, and wax candles. Some hoped to get to heaven by building monasteries and churches; others imagined that the discipline of the whip, fasting to inanition, and going barefoot were services acceptable to God. Very small was the number of those who put their trust in Jesus Christ.

A haughty man appears, supposed at first to be some Persian satrap, but found to be a famous preacher, who says: "I put on an air of sanctity to get credit with the public. In the pulpit I took care never to reprove those who were present. If I had, they might have been converted and live like Christians, and then for very shame I should have been obliged to perform good actions." When accused by Charon of preaching Satan's kingdom rather than Christ, he replies: "I know not what you mean by preaching Christ. I had one object, to satisfy all my desires and live like a pope."

A lordly bishop comes, and, "though alone, he asks if *we* can pass? This manner of speaking is suitable to his dignity." When asked what it is to be a bishop, he makes it to consist in fine dress, ritualistic services, large revenues to spend, plenty of clergy to do the work, and benefices to give away. Charon replies: "Neither Peter nor any of the Apostles were bishops, nor had they any of these things. The little that belonged to them they gave to follow Christ. I will tell you what it is to be a bishop. It is to be solicitous for the souls under your care, and willing if need be to sacrifice your life for them; to preach faithfully to your flock, and set them a good exam-

ple; hence it is necessary to have a complete knowledge of the Holy Scriptures; to live free from worldliness, and much in prayer for your people; to see that holy persons administer the sacraments, and to relieve the poor." All this is news to the poor soul of the bishop. The cardinal, who presents himself, is very disconsolate, but wary and not disposed to make any avowals. A scholastic, expert in his art, admits that he never heard of the Gospels, nor the Epistles of Paul, except at mass. He has read Scotus, Thomas, Nicholas Lyra, Durando, and above all Aristotle, for these have more acuteness than the inspired writers and the fathers. Charon answers: "As the eggs so are the chickens."

These bad characters are offset by those which are good, and several of the descriptions are admirable. The true preacher does not even wish to lose the time required in telling his name or office. Being pressed, he says, "In my youth I sought not only to learn, but to have the experience of Christian doctrine. My studies were always attended with prayer for God's grace. Not confiding in my own abilities, I gave my whole heart to the Holy Scriptures . . . First among my friends, and then in the pulpit, I began to publish abroad what God had done for me . . . . I did not try to make my sermons elegant nor elevated, but Christian, and I was indifferent about being called stupid, or having my sermons called unworthy of a literary man, if they were only acknowledged to be Christian. I thought it a very evil thing to be found guilty of what I reproved in others."

Juan seems in part to have drawn his own portrait in this reply of a soul: "You know that when a youth I loathed vice, and yet through bad companions I was a slave to it for many years. At the age of twenty I began to know myself, and learn what it is to be a Christian. I laid aside ambition, and the desire for great wealth, for these are opposed to the teachings of the New Testament. I ridiculed the superstitions which some Christians practised, but still held to some bad habits. At twenty-five I grew more serious, and reasoned thus: Either the doctrines of the New Testament are true, or they are not: if true, it is gross folly for me to live as I am now doing; if false, why do I impose on myself the

numerous ceremonies observed by Christians? Then God enlightened my mind. I knew these doctrines to be true. I resolved to renounce all superstition and vice, and lead a Christian life. Some of my friends thought me mad, others made sport of me. But from love to Jesus Christ, I bore it all patiently."—"Why did you not enter the cloister?"—"Because I knew that a monastic life would not suit me. I was told that monks had seldom an opportunity to sin as other people do. I replied, that sinful desire developed itself as fully inside a monastery as out of it."—"Did you ever converse with them?"—"Yes, with those in whom the image of Christ was seen to shine forth."—"Did you ever go on a pilgrimage?"—"No, for Jesus Christ manifests himself everywhere to those who truly seek him. It seemed to me an act of folly to seek at Jerusalem what I had within me." In the same manner he gives his reasons for not observing the various ceremonies of the papal system. He, however, has fasted and heard mass. There is not a perfect freedom from error in these portrayals of character, yet the strongest features of truth stand out clearly in the dialogues.

In the second one Juan rises to eloquence, when endeavoring to show that the particular calamities which befell "the eternal city," and the papal hierarchy, were designed by Providence as direct and corrective puishments upon their cherished vices, their insatiable ambition, their avarice and robberies, their hypocrisy, superstition, and idolatry, and their reckless destruction of the souls of men. "You see," he exclaims, "what honor is done to Jesus Christ by his vicars, his ministers—those who live by his blood! Oh, blood of Christ! so abused by his vicars that the present one avails himself of thee to extort moneys that he may slay men, murder Christians, destroy cities, burn towns, dishonor maidens, make widows and devour them, and introduce all the accumulated ills that war brings in its train! He that saw Lombardy, and even all Christendom so lately in prosperity—such beautiful and important cities, such fine villas, such gardens, such merry-makings! such happiness! The peasants reaped their harvests, pastured their flocks, built themselves dwellings; citizens and nobles, every one in his sphere, freely enjoyed

his property. But after this accursed war began, how vast the desolations! How many nobles, citizens, and peasants brought to squalid poverty! How many widows and orphans! How many men have fallen throughout Christendom! And worse still, what numbers of souls have been sent to hell! And we put up with it as though it were a joke!"

More special outrages are cited, and then he exclaims, "Oh, chief pontiff, who allowest such things to be done in thy name! What Jew, Turk, Moor, or Infidel will ever wish to come to the Christian faith, if our vicar does such things? . . . Does it appear to you, sir, that this is the way to imitate Jesus Christ? Is this the mode of teaching Christian people? Is this the manner of interpreting Holy Scripture?" Reference is then had to the fact that God was rejecting this papal hierarchy, and raising up such men as Erasmus, "to expose the vices and fraud of the Roman court, and the entire Roman clergy with great eloquence, prudence, and modesty;" and Martin Luther to "draw away many nations from obedience to their prelates."

It seems quite as if the trenchant pen of Erasmus had been borrowed by the young Spaniard, and he might be taken for an admiring follower of Luther, were it not for his knightly defence of the emperor, and his expressions of devotion to the pope as the visible head of the church. It is not claimed that he was a Protestant, yet he took a far higher view of political morals, and cherished a more spiritual idea of religion, than any known writer in Spain during that period.

Even while these dialogues were privately circulated in manuscript among a few friends, the papal nuncio secured a copy, and declared them libellous and impious. The ruin of the secretary Valdés was at once plotted. Threatened with the Inquisition, it was a relief to follow the emperor to the famous Diet of Augsburg. He corresponded with Erasmus, he held conferences with Melanchthon, and had a quite prominent part in effecting the agreement between the Roman and Protestant parties. He translated into Italian and Spanish the Confession presented by Melanchthon, by command of the emperor, who finally said, "A man multiplies himself by the number of languages which he speaks." He probably wrote

a little work concerning the results of the Diet. He published Angleria's letters, in which were two from Luther. Quite suddenly he disappears, about the year 1532, and with him the policy of the tolerant party in Spain comes to an end. Angleria and Gatinara were already dead.

The most that can be gathered concerning his fate is from a letter of Enzinas, the translator of the New Testament into Spanish, to Melanchthon: "There are none of us who did not know Alfonso Valdés to be a good man. The satellites of the holy fathers could never endure his doctrine nor his authority. They laid such snares for him, that if he had returned to Spain there would have been an end of him. They would have caused him to die a cruel death; the emperor himself could not have saved him." Perhaps he was a martyr, although he was never an avowed Protestant. One has said (more than we can fully indorse), "Like Erasmus, he was not wanting in genius to soar with Luther; like Erasmus, he would not separate himself from the simplicity and breadth of the Bible; and like Erasmus, also, both he and his twin-brother remained within the pale of their ancient communion till their death." He may justly be ranked as one of the first reformers of Spain, and not altogether unsuccessful.

Meanwhile Juan seems to have prepared the "Advice on the Interpretation of Holy Scripture," which gained for him the title of "heretic," and the more prying attention of the Inquisition. He drew part of it from the writings of John Tauler. It was circulated in manuscript, and has not been recovered. Its three remarkable propositions were: That to understand the Scriptures we must not rely upon the Fathers; That we are justified by a living faith in Christ; and That we may, in this life, attain to an assurance of our justification.

It was unsafe for Juan to linger in Spain. Llorente affirms that he was formally declared a heretic while there, but the Inquisition was probably cautious enough to attempt first his capture. He was cheered by a letter from Erasmus, in March, 1529, and read these words: "That you hold a note so slightly written as mine to be one of your chief literary jewels, I quite appreciate; and, on my side, very dear Juan, I shall treasure with great esteem the memory of a mind so amiable and pure

as yours in my heart. It is gratifying to know that there are many good men in Spain who heartily love me. Yet it gives me pain that, in a country favored with so many privileges, such nests of hornets multiply, and cause such disturbances to me and all whom I love. I am heartily thankful for you and all Spaniards like you, because you consecrate all your efforts and studies to the culture of letters, always aiming to promote Christian piety and unite them to it, a thing not done by many Italians until now. What worth have learning and literature if they draw away the mind from religion?"

We find Juan Valdés at Naples as secretary to Don Pedro Toledo, the viceroy, who strove to make his power a terror to evil-doers and heretics.

No city was in greater need of a vigorous administration of justice. It is supposed that the doctrines of the Reformers were first introduced there by the German soldiers, who occupied it after the sack of Rome. In no other part of the peninsula do they seem to have made such extensive progress. The Germans were followed by a man who, according to a bigoted papist, "caused a far greater slaughter of souls than all the thousands of heretical soldiery." This was Juan Valdés, whom Curione, a contemporary, describes as "a splendid knight in the service of the emperor, but of much higher rank and much more splendid as a knight of Christ. He was not, therefore, very assiduous as a courtier, after Christ had been revealed to him, but he remained in Naples, where, by his suavity of doctrine and holiness of life, he gained over many disciples to Christ, especially among gentlemen and cavaliers, and some gentlewomen, most praiseworthy and exalted. It seemed as if God had appointed him as the instructor and pastor of noble and illustrious persons; he also drew to him those of lower rank, the poor, the rude and ignorant, making himself all things to all men, in order to win many to Christ. He gave light to some of the most renowned Italian preachers, as they have told me."

Here then was Don Pedro, charged by the emperor to use every exertion to uproot heresy, and publishing an edict that no one should associate with persons infected with Lutheranism, or even suspected of it, under peril of losing life and

property. And here was Valdés, a layman and a scholar, charged by Heaven to use all efforts to plant there the Word, which has power to grow mightily and prevail; the very man for whom many earnest inquirers were waiting. They had but a taste of the delicious truth from his lips, when ill health, or prudence, induced him to spend two years in travelling on horseback, or secluding himself at Rome. He resigned his secretaryship.

His return was hailed with uncommon delight by the circle of eager inquirers. For health and safety he took a country-house at Chiajá, beautifully situated on the bay of Naples. Like Calvin, he had little time to spare upon descriptions of the majestic scenery around him. Tongue and pen must be wholly engaged in his Master's service. He talked and wrote down the substance of the conversations; thus grew the Christian literature of Chiaja, where his friends visited him. One of them said of him, "I never saw a man more devoted to writing. At home, he is St. Juan the Evangelist, pen always in hand, so that I believe that he writes at night what he does by day, and in the day what he dreams at night." Certain gentlemen, who wished none of his words to be lost, contrived to bring in secretly a skilful writer, and hide him so that he should take notes upon the conversations. The scheme succeeded. They finally persuaded him to fill up the notes, and thus grew the "Dialogue on Language," for he was instructing them in the Spanish tongue. The production was one of great literary merit. One of his fine sayings in it is, "Had I to choose, I should prefer a man with but moderate genius and good judgment to one with moderate judgment and great genius."—"And why?"—"Because men of great genius lose themselves in heresies and erroneous opinions through want of judgment. Man has no jewel to compare with that of a sound judgment."

The man, who made this ingenious scheme so effective, was Marco Antonio Magno, the agent of Julia Gonzaga, duchess of Trajetto. Lawsuits brought her to Naples, where she joined "the gospel circle," and thenceforth exercised a powerful influence for the Reformation in Italy. She was known as a poetess in a literary age, and no descendant of the Colonnas

was more worthy of such tributes as were paid to her genius and solidity of character. Perplexed by long litigation with those who would deprive her of her rich estates, she sought relief in conversations with Valdés, and these conversations formed the basis of the "Alfabeto Christiano," a treatise worthy of its recent translation and republication in England. Its preservation was due to Julia's procurator, Magno, who rendered it into Italian, for the Spanish original perished in manuscript. A few of its noble sentences are these: "We are all born and created to know God, believe God, love God, and after this present existence to enjoy God. . . . . The happiness of man consists in his knowledge of God, and of Christ shown by the light of faith, and in the union of the soul with God through faith, hope, and love. To this none but the true Christian can attain. . . . The true physician of the soul is Christ crucified. . . . When you do what St. Paul tells you, respecting the restoring within you the image and likeness of God, you will find peace, quiet, and repose of spirit. . . . . The Law wounds, the Gospel heals. The Law slays, the Gospel gives life. . . . If you are not able wholly to subdue your feelings and inclinations, so as to be absolute master of yourself, at least so rule and moderate them that they be not your masters. The good Christian is not to seek to be passionless, but to rule his passions. . . . Vocal prayer frequently kindles and elevates the mind to mental prayer. . . . Love God, and you will know how to dispense your alms. . . . . Christian liberty is a thing which, however much reasoned about, can never be understood if it be not experienced."

It is for the biographer to trace the effect of these counsels upon the noble disciple; to follow her into hospitals where she visits the sick; to portray her in select society free from its worldliness; to see her almost constantly reading the Scriptures which Valdés urged her to prefer to any of his writings; to watch her superintending the education of a nephew who was as a son to her, and who became a duke, and showed his love of literature by patronizing a Hebrew press from which were issued several editions of the Pentateuch and Psalter; to trace her influence upon most of the Italian

reformers who appeared so unsuccessful; to cite her correspondence with Calvin, and see how this was one of the charges brought against her by the Inquisition; and to follow her until, with faith in her "long-suffering Father," and in Jesus Christ her Redeemer, she expired in the year 1566, at the age of sixty-seven.

It was to her that Juan Valdés presented the manuscripts of his translations of Matthew from the Greek, the Psalms from the Hebrew, and the Epistle of Paul to the Romans, with a commentary upon it. To instruct her, he was stimulated to prepare these works. In his letter to her, when presenting them, he says, "In order to imitate Christ, draw your picture of him from the Gospels. By reading St. Paul, the wonderful effects of the cross of Christ are seen and felt; so in reading the histories of Christ is wonderfully seen and felt the very cross of Christ." In his comment on Romans xii. 9–13, he has this idea, which probably no other commentator has ever appreciated so as to use it: "The Christian in his love to another Christian and to one who is not a Christian, should make the difference which one draws between a twin-brother, and another brother. Only he who has a twin-brother can understand this latter distinction; so none but a true Christian can feel real Christian love." Julia Gonzaga took every care to preserve the writings of her friend, to whom she was so greatly indebted. Through years of personal danger she religiously kept them. So much had the manuscripts been used before they came to the press, that Juan Perez, when editing the commentary at Geneva, had no little difficulty in making good every word of the well-worn pages.

Other conversations at his country-house, or in his city residence, were worked up by Valdés into the volume most celebrated. At Chiaja he received, on Sunday, a select number of his most intimate friends. They breakfasted together, walked a little amid the delightful scenery, and returned to the house, when he read some well-studied portion of Scripture, and either commented upon it, or talked upon some "Divine Consideration" which had occupied his mind during the week. He was accustomed to say that two of his books were prayer and consideration. The company discussed the

subject, and he thus was able to relieve them of doubts, or gather new views from them. Thus his own themes were presented in the forenoon. In the afternoon they brought forward their topics for conversation. These meetings may have continued four or five years. "These Sabbaths of studious Christians, this exchange of subjects, this intercourse of thought between the proposers, the day, the pure elevation of mind they brought as it were with them, the situation, the beauty of the country, the transparent skies of a Southern climate, the low murmurs of the bay," says Mr. Wiffen, "would all be favorable to the purpose of Valdés." His notes expanded into short essays, upon distinct themes, until they formed "The CX. Considerations." They present his most finished thoughts, and seem to have been his latest composition.

That the book is free from any sort of erroneous opinion, none will claim. Yet it will not suffer in comparison with the writings of almost any other reformer, even the chief. The absurd charge that he was an Anti-trinitarian was started by Sandius through ignorance, or a desire to swell a list, or the mere suspicion that Bernardino Ochino received his later views from his teacher in the Gospel. Bayle and most of the biographical dictionaries have repeated the charge. It will suffice to quote Valdés—not even a tithe of what he declares; "I rejoice in what I know at present, that this Word of God is the Son of God, with whom and by whom God has created and restored all things; that he is of the same substance with the Father; that he is one and the same in essence with him, and that like him he is eternal." He constantly speaks of "the Holy and Divine Spirit" as an eternal person. Beza was offended a little at Valdés chiefly because his readers might be led to forsake the Scriptures and look for some higher revelations of the Holy Spirit. When trying to show, in his Sixty-third Consideration, "that the Holy Scripture is like a candle in a dark place, and the Holy Spirit is like the sun," Valdés evidently means that the Holy Spirit is the source of Holy Scripture and higher than it; that He alone leads to its truly spiritual comprehension, and, as he says, "the man who seeks to be pious, having no other light than the Holy Scriptures, is like a man in a dark place with only

a candle," while "the man who seeks to be pious, having the Spirit of God to guide and bring him forward in it, is like one who stands in a place where the rays of the sun enter and make it bright." Scarcely a reformer more stoutly insisted upon the light of Scripture and the life of the Spirit, as necessary to salvation.

The first edition of the "Divine Considerations" was in Italian, edited by the refugee Celio Curione, and issued from Basle, in 1550, ten years after the author's death. It soon was published in French at Lyons and Paris, and also in Spanish and Dutch. Two English versions appeared in the seventeenth century. After that time it became a rare book, until very recently. It is now re-published in various languages. Morhof, near the close of the seventeenth century, said of the author and his work: "Those Considerations of his are full of piety, and evidently written with the taste of a purer theology than the common, so that there is no pontifical leaven to be found in them. And it is altogether wonderful that, even in that age, there were men concealed under papal darkness who profoundly fathomed the depths of religious mysteries. The book was one truly worthy of being turned into Latin or German; it occasionally breathes so sympathetically with Arndt (author of 'True Christianity'), that it would seem as though they spoke but with one mouth. It ever scrutinizes our actions very closely; it evinces in its great discretion a true acquaintance with Christianity, and on that account is singularly to be commended."

The impression which Juan Valdés made upon his age and adopted country was not measured by the circulation of his writings. He was a prime mover of other minds. His personal power was felt in the entire circle of choice spirits who heard him talk in his villa, and they carried it with them into their homes, their neighborhoods, their palaces, or their pulpits, their prisons, and their places of exile. Few of them left the Roman Church, while they threw off most of its grosser errors; they had not the privilege of an organized Protestantism in their own land. The known names among them would make a long list. Julia Gonzaga was but one of the many noble ladies who were disciples of Valdés. Isabella Manrique, a

Spanish lady of high rank, and the sister of a cardinal, received his doctrine, zealously promoted the evangelical faith, and, when persecution drove her from Naples, she fled to Zurich, and finally settled in the Valtelline in order to maintain the liberty of conscience. The gifted Vittoria Colonna, an admired poetess, was no unaffected listener. Folengo, the prior of Monte Cassino, noted the effects of the revival of the Gospel, and said: "We behold a most extraordinary spectacle; we see women, who seem naturally more prone to vanity than to serious reflection, men untutored, and soldiers, so moved by the truth that, if any thing is heard about a holy life, it generally comes from them. Indeed, this is the golden age! Throughout my native Campania there is no preacher so learned but that he would become wiser and holier from converse with such women."

Julio de Milano, a professor of theology, carried the truth with him through various persecutions, printed a volume of sermons, and fled to the Grisons, where he founded a church, preached to it thirty years, and laid the foundation of several other churches in that region. Marc Antonio Flaminio, the poet, exercised a pious influence among literary men. Caserta and Carnesecchi were among the noble martyrs; among the charges against such men was their having read and circulated the writings of Valdés, and that kindred spirit, Aonio Paleano. The heroic Marquis of Vico, Galeazzo Caraccioli, forsook his honors, estates, and family (who refused to accompany him), and went into exile for the love and liberty of the Gospel. He was received at Geneva with the warm affection of Calvin, who did so much to make Geneva the refuge for troops of exiles driven out of Italy and France on account of their faith.

Valdés had no more eminent disciple than Peter Martyr Vermiglio, who was still preaching at Naples when his instructor died. With him was Cusano, formerly his fellow-student at Padua, where they had spent whole nights in mastering the Greek language and reading the Greek Testament. This Peter Martyr is intimately connected with the history of the Reformation in Italy, France, Switzerland, and especially England. His influence at Oxford and with the several English bishops who labored for reform—Ridley, Latimer, Cranmer,

Hooper, and Jewel—cannot be estimated. No small part of it may be traced to Valdés, who has been called the spiritual father of this "master-spirit in Israel, the arch-counsellor of the recognized founders of the English Church."

It has been said that Valdés, as a reformer, entered less than almost any other man of his time into the battle of the hierarchies. His aim was not so much to destroy error as to build up truth. He was not a controversialist, nor a speculative theologian. Without discarding the Roman Church, he seems to have quietly retired from her communion. He looked far above the mere ritual. Concerning the prevalent abuse of ecclesiastical rites he said: "Outward ceremonies breed inward vices." He could have sympathized in the remark of Calvin: "Little will be made of ceremonies in the Day of Judgment." Certain quietists of our age have made him one of their models, and kept him aloof from the Christian church and her ordinances. This must be owing to a perversion of a few of his rather unguarded sayings: *e. g.*, "A Christian's proper study should be in his own book. I call my mind my book. In this are contained my opinions, both true and false. In this I discover my confidence and my diffidence, my faith and my unbelief, my hope and my negligence, my charity and my enmity." But he did not mean that a pious life consisted largely in mere inward contemplation. For he goes on to say: "When I wish to know whether my opinions in the Christian faith are false or true, I compare them with the doctrines held by those holy men who wrote the Sacred Scriptures. Reading the holy faith of those Christians of the primitive church, who were acknowledged to be justified and sanctified in and by Christ, I know my own faith and my unbelief, and pray God that he will increase my faith. . . . In this manner Holy Scripture serves me the better to study *my own book*, and to understand it." After all, his greatest book was the Bible. He certainly differed from most of the modern Quakers in his views of its authority and the fulness of its light for the human soul.

He died at Naples, about middle age, in 1540, and there was a long remembrance of his spare body, fair and pleasing countenance, retiring disposition, courteous manners, gentle

and winning speech, benevolent heart, vigorous mind, clear logic, happy wit, devoted piety, and unblemished life. His circle of learners felt lonely in the world after he was gone. One of them, Bonfadio, thus wrote to Camesecchi: "Would that we were now with that happy company! I hear you sigh for it. Yet where shall we go, now that Signor Valdés is dead? This has truly been a great loss for us and the world, for Signor Valdés was one of the rare men of Europe, and those writings he has left us on the Epistles of Paul and the Psalms of David most amply show it. With a particle of his soul he governed his frail and spare body: with the larger part he was always raised in the contemplation of truth and of divine things."

The writings of Valdés were not likely to escape the searching eye of the Inquisition in his native country. There, one of his own relatives, Fernando de Valdés, archbishop of Seville, was Grand Inquisitor. It was he who put the whole code of the Spanish Inquisition into the form in which those terrible laws have existed to this day. The contrast between the two men was but a type of what existed in that age. Juan Valdés, without using his tongue as the lash upon persecutors, or noisily declaiming against intolerance, was the earnest advocate of true, religious liberty.

Although "actions speak louder than words," the fame and influence of a few men rest mainly upon their conversations. Samuel Johnson and Coleridge were great talkers. They had great things to say. No one talks too much whose utterances are timely, wise, and weighty. The ancients, without a press to crowd its issues upon them, were not shallow thinkers; they talked and remembered, we read and forget. In an age when the decline of right manly conversation is lamented, it may be well to notice that Juan Valdés was a great talker, and that his influence was by no means wasted in the air. His words were deeds. Mr. Ticknor, in his History of Spanish Literature, mentions him as "a person who enjoys the distinction of being one of the first Spaniards that embraced the opinions of the Reformation, and the very first who made an effort to spread them." The day may be coming when his long-hidden writings will hold in Spain the place which they deserved more than three hundred years ago.

Art. IV.—*The Ecclesiastical History of the English Nation, from the Coming of Julius Cæsar into the Island, in the sixtieth year before the Incarnation of Christ, till the year of our Lord* 731. By the Venerable Bede. *Carefully revised and corrected from the translation of Mr. Stephens.* By Rev. J. A. Giles, LL. D. London: 1840.

There are special reasons why English and American scholars should be acquainted with the history of the ancient British and Anglo-Saxon churches, for here were our own ancestors—the fathers and mothers from whom we are lineally descended. Could we trace our lineage backward, from forty to fifty generations, we should find our progenitors either among the rude savages who so sternly resisted the invasion of their country by Julius Cæsar, or among the ruder and fiercer Saxons who conquered the ancient Britons in the fifth century.

The individual to whom we are chiefly indebted for what we know of the first introduction of Christianity into Britain and of its re-introduction, when it had been subverted by the Saxon invasion, is the Venerable Bede.* He is as much the father of English church history as Eusebius is of church history in general.

Bede was born, A. D. 672, in the vicinity of Durham, in a village now called Farrow, near the mouth of the Tyne. Having early lost both his parents, he was placed, by his relatives, in a monastery at Weremouth, where he was educated with much strictness, and became in youth, it is hoped, a child of God. He was afterward removed to a monastery at Jurrow, where he spent the remainder of his life. These monasteries were of the order of the Benedictines, which, in their earliest and purest times, were useful institutions. The monks lived abstemiously, and divided their waking hours between study, devotion, and labor. Many of them were employed in transcribing books; and we are indebted to them for much

* Gildas, surnamed the Wise, was the most ancient British historian. He is supposed to have died at Bangor (Wales), about the year 590. His only complete work now extant is *Epistola de Excidio et Castigatione Ordinis Ecclesiastici*, in which he graphically depicts and mourns over the ruin of his country by the Saxons. He is often referred to by Bede.

that we know of ancient sacred and classical literature. The labor performed by them was agriculture, gardening, and the various mechanical trades, by which means they made their lands productive, and supplied, in a great measure, their own personal wants.

From his earliest years Bede was a diligent student, and he soon came to be regarded as the most learned man of his time. He was well skilled in the Greek and Hebrew languages, while the Latin, in which most of his works are written, was to him as his mother-tongue. He was ordained deacon in the nineteenth, and presbyter in the thirtieth year of his age; and to higher promotion he did not aspire.

Bede never knew what it was to be idle. He gave himself to the study of the Scriptures, to the instruction of young men, and to the preparation of numerous literary and religious works. He wrote on most of the branches of knowledge at that time cultivated in Europe. His fame soon spread beyond the bounds of England, and was celebrated in the surrounding countries. He was invited by Pope Sergius to visit Rome, but the great world had no charms for him. He preferred the routine and seclusion of monastic life, and it does not appear that he ever wandered far from his cell.

The works of Bede have been published in eight folio volumes, consisting of commentaries on nearly the whole Bible, numerous homilies and letters, and a great number of tracts. But his most valuable work, and that by which he is now chiefly known, is his "Ecclesiastical History of England, from the Invasion of Julius Cæsar to the year 731"—only four years previous to his death. This work was undertaken at the special request of Ceolwulph, one of the Saxon kings, to whom it was dedicated, and in whose dominions Bede's monastery was placed. He spent many years in collecting materials for his history, which he gathered from the lives and letters of particular persons, from the annals of convents, and from such chronicles as had been written before his time. He died, at the age of sixty-three, of an affection of the lungs, attended with great difficulty of respiration. His last work was a translation of "John's Gospel" into English. Only a short time before his death, his amanuensis said to him: "My

beloved master, one sentence of your translation remains to be written."—"Write it quickly," replied the dying man; and summoning up all his spirits, like the last blaze of a candle, he indited the passage, and expired.

Bede's dying scene was peaceful and glorious. His body was interred in the church of his own convent, but was afterward removed to Durham, and placed in the same coffin with that of St. Cuthbert. According to the fashion of the times, his tomb was often visited, and his relics were held in the highest honor.

Bede was a sincere and devout member of the Church of Rome,—as Rome was in the eighth century,—and sympathized with the Romish clergy in their disputes with the British and Scottish missionaries of those times about Easter, the tonsure, and other matters of the like nature. Still, he bears ample testimony to the piety of the Scottish missionaries, and especially honors them for their strict adherence to the teachings of Scripture.

Various opinions have been expressed by different authors respecting the character of Bede's writings—some extolling them immoderately, and others disparaging them as much. Du Pin says: "His style is clear and easy, but without purity, elegance, or sublimity. He wrote with a surprising facility, but without art or reflection, and was a greater master of learning than of judgment or critical taste." On the other hand; Bayle says: "There is scarcely any thing, in all antiquity, that is worthy to be read, which is not found in Bede; and if he had flourished in the times of Augustine, Jerome, and Chrysostom, he would undoubtedly have equalled them." And Pitts tells us that "he was so well versed in the several branches of learning that Europe scarce ever produced a greater scholar. Even while he was living, his writings were of so great authority, that it was ordered, by a council held in England, and afterward approved at Rome, that they should be publicly read in churches."

If we would form a just estimate of Bede, we must judge of him, not by our standards, but by that of his own times. And weighed in this balance, he is entitled to a high rank, both as a scholar and a writer. That he was superstitious

and credulous there can be no doubt—as was every other churchman of the eighth century. That he believed in marvels and miracles, and has written of them, *ad nauseam*, in his history, is also certain. Nevertheless, he was a diligent searcher for the facts of history, and when he speaks from his own knowledge, he is always reliable. He is reliable, too, as a narrator of what he had heard from others, though not always a voucher for its truth. His style is direct, readable, and more nearly classical than that of many of the fathers. We are not surprised, therefore, to hear him favorably spoken of by such men as Selden, Sir Henry Spelman, and Bishop Stillingfleet.

The piety of Bede, as might be expected, was that of the cloister; and yet he seems to have been a truly religious man, and the same remark may be extended to most of the Romish and Scottish missionaries, who were engaged at that period in planting churches throughout the Heptarchy, and bringing back England to the faith of the Gospel. The clergy were, in general, a self-denying and laborious class of men, exposed to many dangers, and inured to hardship, in their endeavors to enlighten the stubborn Saxons, and lead them in the way of truth. We may deplore their superstitions, and laugh at what seems to us their frivolous disputes; but we can but admire their zeal, their diligence, their cheerful endurance, and constant privations in carrying forward the work they had undertaken. Nor can any one of English descent avoid thinking of his own personal indebtedness to these men, and to the cause in which they were engaged. What had been the condition of England at this day, and what our own condition, but for their persistent efforts to turn our heathen ancestors from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God!

The island of Great Britain seems to have been settled, originally, by three distinct races or classes of men. The Britons, who inhabited all the southern part of the island, were Celts, who came over from Gaul, and in character and language were like the other Gauls. The Scots were from Ireland, which was the original Scotia, while the Picts were of Scythian descent. Fifty-three years before the birth of

Christ,—or fifty-nine years, according to Bede,—Julius Cæsar, having conquered Gaul, commenced his attack upon the British islands. The conquest, however, was not completed until near the close of the first century after Christ. Indeed, the Romans never conquered the whole of Britain, but only that part of it which now bears the name of England. This became, at length, a Roman province, and so continued for more than three hundred years.

When, and by what means, Christianity was first introduced into Britain, it is impossible to say. Many are of the opinion that the Gospel was preached there by the Apostles, or certainly in the apostolic age. Thus Eusebius testifies that some in this age "passed over the sea to those which are called the British Islands."* And Clement of Rome says, that Paul "preached righteousness through the whole world, and in so doing went to *the utmost bounds of the West;*" which may mean that, after his first imprisonment, he preached it, not only in Spain and Gaul, but also in Britain.

That Christianity prevailed in Britain in the second century, extending even beyond the conquests of the Romans, is certain, from the testimony of Tertullian. For, in writing against the Jews, he mentions, among the nations which had embraced the Gospel, not only the Getuli, and the Mauri, and the Spanish clans, and the different tribes of Gaul, but "*the regions of the Britons, inaccessible to the Romans, but subject to Christ.*"

Bede tells of a British king, Lucius, who, about the middle of the second century, applied to Eleutherus, bishop of Rome, for teachers, to instruct him and his people in the doctrines of Christianity. There may have been such a tributary king in Britain at this time, and the story of his having received teachers from Rome is not improbable. This does not imply, however, that Christianity had not previously secured an entrance into some parts of Britain, though it had not reached the court of the king.

That Christianity had become firmly established in England before its abandonment by the Romans in the beginning of

* Demonstratie Evangelica, Lib. iii., cap. 7.

the fifth century, is indubitable. It was during this period that the British churches suffered persecution under Diocletian, and were troubled by the Arian and Pelagian heresies. But their great, overwhelming trouble was from another source. After the subversion of the Roman government, the southern part of the island was invaded by the Picts and Scots from the north; and in their distress, the Britons invited the Saxons of Germany to come to their relief. The Saxons, who were still pagans, came, at several times, and in great numbers; drove back the Picts and Scots, and compelled the native Britons to retire,—some to Cornwall and Wales, some to Ireland, and some to other countries. The conquest by the Saxons was not effected, however, without a struggle. The Britons fought bravely for their religion and their homes; but, after a contest of one hundred and fifty years, they were subdued, and the Heptarchy was established. The old British churches were nearly all destroyed, paganism prevailed, and England needed to be converted to Christianity a second time.

This work of re-conversion and evangelization commenced near the close of the sixth century. The story of Augustine and his forty monks, who were sent over by Gregory, bishop of Rome, to impart the Gospel to the Anglo-Saxons, is familiar to every reader. The kingdom of Kent was first converted; then that of the East-Angles; and afterward,—amidst trials and struggles, running through the space of almost a hundred years,—the other kingdoms of the Heptarchy. While Augustine and his missionaries from Rome were laboring in the south of England, Oswald, king of Northumberland,—the northernmost branch of the Heptarchy,—applied for teachers to another source. A missionary school—or convent as it was called—had been for some time established at Iona, one of the Hebrides Islands, under the direction of Columba, an Irish monk, from which proceeded, for a long course of years, a most valuable class of missionaries, called Culdees. For one of these Oswald made application; and Aidan was sent to instruct him in the faith. The character of this missionary would have done honor to the purest times. He gave to the poor whatever presents he received from the rich, and

diligently employed himself, with his associates, in the study of the Holy Scriptures. He strictly avoided every thing luxurious, and every appearance of secular avarice and ambition. He redeemed captives with the money that was given to him, and afterward instructed them, and fitted them for the ministry. He labored, indeed, under a disadvantage, in not being able to speak the language of the English; but King Oswald, who perfectly understood both languages, acted as his interpreter, and did what he could to assist him in his labors. The zeal of this monarch was extraordinary. He was a nursing father to the infant church. Encouraged by his protection, more missionaries came from Iona, and churches in considerable numbers were gathered.

Aidan was their first bishop, and had his seat at Lindisfarne, a small island in the German Sea. He was succeeded in office by Finan, and he by Colman, both of whom were ordained and sent forth from the school at Iona.*

This work of evangelizing England, being commenced in the south, by missionaries from Rome, and in the north by missionaries from Iona, in a little time, the two classes of teachers came together; when it was found that, on several points of doctrine and practice, they did not agree. They differed as to the proper time of observing Easter; the northern missionaries following, on this point, the Asiatic churches, and the southern the church of Rome. The northern missionaries did not practise auricular confession; they rejected penance and priestly absolution; they made no use of chrism in baptism, or of confirmation; they opposed the doctrine of the real presence; they condemned the worship of saints and angels; they dedicated their church to God, and not to the saints; they placed no reliance on merits of any kind, except the merits of Jesus Christ; they were opposed to the celibacy of the clergy, and were themselves married men. In short, they were witnesses to the simple truths and institutions of the Gospel, in an age of abounding and increasing superstition.

* As these men, having no other than Presbyterian ordination, officiated as bishops, and ordained others, this fact has cast no little uncertainty upon the alleged uninterrupted apostolical succession of bishops in England.

Controversies on these points, as might be expected, soon, sprang up in England, various synods and conferences were held with a view to reconciling differences; but in vain. The ecclesiastics from Rome were bigoted and overbearing. The missionaries from Iona had learned their religion from the Bible, and could be convinced on no other authority. The kings, however, rather inclined to the customs of Rome, as being the more fascinating and imposing, and the Scots were obliged after a time, to give way. Colman, the third bishop from Iona, left his charge in the year 662, and returned with many of his adherents into Scotland. Bede informs us that, "the Catholic institution daily increasing, all the Scots who resided among the Angles either conformed to it, or returned to their own country."

It would be interesting to pursue the ecclesiastical history of England till the subversion of the Heptarchy, which took place under Egbert, king of the West Saxons, about the year 828. At this time he became sole monarch of the country, and called it *Angleland* or *England*. But we have already transcended the limits of Bede, and may as well stop.

At the close of the brief sketch which has been given, interesting reflections crowd upon us. We can notice but two or three.

1. We see at what an expense of waiting and watching, of toil and conflict, of treasure and of blood,—an expenditure running on through long ages and centuries of mingled light and darkness, of superstition and sincere devotion,—our privileges, as Anglo-Americans, have been purchased for us.

Tantae molis erat Romanum condere gentem.

Let us learn how to prize these dear-bought privileges. Let us be sure to preserve them, and transmit them unimpaired to future generations,—as the past have transmitted them to us.

2. We see that naught but a Divine power accompanying Christianity, and a vital energy in the system itself, would have sustained it through so many trials and dangers, and given it the victory over them. One of the most striking symbols of God's church and kingdom to be found in the Bi-

ble, is that of the burning bush. The bush was all in a glow and flame, and yet it was not consumed. So the Church of God in general, and the Church of England in particular, has been ever in the fire,—the flame burning more fiercely at some times than others,—and why does it survive at all? Why is it not consumed? These questions admit of but one answer. The Lord is with it, and in it; and while he is in it, by his sustaining power, how can it die? It must live, and grow, and triumph forever.

3. There is yet another lesson to be learned from the history over which we have passed, and one on which it is proper to dwell, viz., *our personal indebtedness to the cause of missions*, and our *obligations*, on this account, *to love that cause*, and *to sustain it.* Our remote British ancestors, let it never be forgotten, were a race of fierce and cruel pagans. Their priests, the Druids, were among the most exacting and cruel that ever inhabited the dark places of the earth. They dwelt in impenetrable forests, kept themselves and their religious rites in profound secrecy and mystery, and were thus enabled to hold all around them in a state of the most debasing terror and bondage. They are said to have been worshippers of the oak; and when their sacred tree was felled, would deify its shapeless stump. The mistletoe, a small shrub attaching to the boughs of the oak, was an object of high veneration. Their sacrifices were offered in thick groves, and on some occasions in inclosures formed of massy stones. One of them, denominated Stonehenge, is partly standing in England at the present time, and the sites of several others have been discovered.

It will give us a sufficiently dreadful idea of the rites of the Druids, and the religious customs of our pagan ancestors, to know that they were in the frequent if not constant practice of offering human sacrifices. Their victims were, in general, selected from among criminals; but when these were wanting, they did not scruple to sacrifice innocent persons. Lucan, in his description of a grove in which the Druids performed their rites, after stating that the trees were so thick and interwoven that the sun could not penetrate through their branches, adds: "There was nothing to be seen there but a

multitude of altars, upon which the Druids sacrificed human victims, whose blood turned the very trees of a horrid crimson color." In time of war, great numbers of prisoners were often sacrificed together. They were inclosed in large wicker cages made of rods, in form resembling a monster man, to which being surrounded by combustible materials, fire was applied, and they were consumed to ashes. It is evidence of the horrible nature of the superstition here described, that the Romans, who were proverbially tolerant toward the different species of idolatry practised in their provinces, were excited to vengeance by the cruelties of the Druids, and attempted to put an end to them by force.

Such, then, were our British ancestors—the fathers and mothers from whom, in all probability some of us are lineally descended. And we refer to them here, that we may the more deeply feel our obligations to those heroic men who first went among them, at the peril of their lives, to preach to them the Gospel of Christ. Not by tortures, punishment, and war, but by the saving, humanizing influence of the Gospel, they quenched the fires, and overturned the altars, and destroyed the groves of the murderous Druids, and rescued those from whom we derive our being from the horrors of heathenism, here and hereafter. At two different periods was England enlightened and evangelized by the toils and sufferings of Christian missionaries. Let us then never forget our indebtedness to the cause of missions, and our obligations to sustain and extend it. Every consideration which could have induced Christians, more than a thousand years ago, to send the Gospel to our heathen fathers, and thus snatch them and us from the horrors of a bloody and idolatrous superstition, are now urging us to send the same Gospel to those who dwell in darkness and in the region and shadow of death. Our personal indebtedness to missions is certainly a powerful reason—one suited to come home to every bosom, why we should awake to our duty in this respect, and engage in the work of spreading the Gospel with new devotedness and zeal.

Art. V.—*The Trial Period in History.*

Man was made in the image of his Maker,—a conscious, rational, and immortal being. This constitutes the vast difference between him and all the lower ranks of creation. With an upright will, he was yet capable of deflection, else he could not have fallen. He possessed affections that twined around the true and good, which, nevertheless, might turn and clasp the evil and the false; otherwise how could he be capable of trial. In this freedom lies the superiority of mind and conscience over matter and animal instinct.

This difference explains, too, the mastery of man over nature, and the progress of the race in science, civilization, and moral refinement. It also accounts for its mastery over him, when, falling into moral debasement, he is governed by appetite and passion, instead of reason.

"Two things overwhelm me," said Kant,—"the star-sown deep of space, and right and wrong." Of the two, the latter is far more sublime and appalling. The stars have no power of deflection from their normal course. The high capability of this in man is just that moral endowment in which the likeness to his Maker consists, and without which, improvement or deterioration would be impossible. In this primal fact of the divine likeness in man, lies the key to human history and a clew to human destiny.

This fearful possibility of wrong comes first into actual history, in what may be called The Trial Period.

But there meets us here the preliminary question of man's physical and intellectual status at the starting point. Three theories have found more or less acceptance.

First, a literal infancy, capable, by time and growth, of bodily and mental development and maturity.

Second, a physical maturity, but intellectual and moral savageism.

Third, a mental and moral, as well as physical completeness, in a fulness of faculties which nature and the divine tui-

tion brought into immediate use in the acquisition of knowledge, and the felicities of obedience and love.

Which, now, is the true theory? Not that of infantile weakness. For Eve, who could not have grown from infancy in the brief slumber of the man during which she was made, appeared in blooming womanhood, when, on waking, he welcomed her as his wife. So Adam, it would seem, was not created a babe, that by years and growth obtained maturity, but in the capability of acquiring knowledge, and with a full responsibility for rightly using it. All other parents being born, were once babes. But these first parents were not born and were never babes. Things that grow, reach perfection gradually. Those which are created, start normally in it, and may advance or retrograde. This seems to be a creative law. According to the testimony of geology, every species, however low, comes into being at the point of its own ideal as a species.

The theory of barbarism as the historic starting point, elaborated by Condorcet and espoused by Bunsen and others, is not supported either by facts or analogies. For although a cannibal savageism is the lowest stage of society, this is certainly no more an intimation that the human race commenced at that point, than the inebriation of a few adults is, that all men are born intoxicated. Cannibalism shows how low humanity has fallen, not its state at the commencement.

All barbarisms perpetuate and intensify themselves by a law as fixed as that of gravitation. They all are traceable, historically, as a degeneracy from something higher and better. No savageism, by its own force, ever emerges to civilization. Niebuhr affirms that there is not in all history a single instance of such emergence. Hence no essential advances are indigenous, but all come to it from without. These general facts perfectly harmonize with the sacred record, and help to settle this question of status at the commencement of history.

Swedenborg adopts a theory from the old Hindoo philosophy which combines the two—infancy and barbarism. He represents man as making his entrance into the world from an egg, incubated by the Supreme, on the branch of a tree. In due time the parturient branch rested its burden on a leafy couch.

When the term of gestation was completed, the infant broke through its bars into the waiting world. From this vegetable maternity he passed slowly through childhood and youth to a mute manhood. For several generations he and his descendants had only a vegetable respiration. Their only language was the inaudible movements of the lips with the gesticulations of the face and fingers, and their only hearing through the mouth and by the Eustachian tube.

But the vegetable kingdom, according to the best lights of science, holds no maternal relation to the animal, nor filial to the mineral. God, as Creator, is, indeed, man's Father; but nature is not his mother. And the birth of one kingdom or species from another is contradicted equally by the sacred record and the natural sciences.

From all the diverse theories of spontaneous generation, of transmutation, natural selection and development, the historical and scientific thought turns away more and more unsatisfied and dissatisfied, to the simple announcements of the divine Word: "So God created man in his own image." He starts thence, not as a philosopher, but with natural intuitions far better than inventions or mere tuitions. He possesses a rich mental and moral furniture, adequate both to the acquisition and the use of knowledge.

It is an extravagance to say with South, that "an Aristotle was but the rubbish of an Adam," though in some respects the Adam was better than the Aristotle. For it is not mere conjecture that the first type of humanity, the starting-point of history, was neither barbarism nor infancy, but the beginning of a high moral and religious civilization.

What is civilization if its elements are not found in this period? Here, at the very first, by admission of the philologists, is language sufficient in its social and zoologic use, for both science and society. Here is the marriage relation, in the purest and most sacred monogamy—a relation which barbarism always corrupts and which modern civilization does not entirely restore, or even preserve in its primitive purity. Here, in the care of the garden, is horticulture, with its hygienic and refining influence; and here is monotheism in its simple grandeur,—the central educating power of all that

is noble and true, of which polytheism, and pantheism, and fetichism are barbaric perversions. And here, too, is the Sabbath of rest,—a heart-worship of the Supreme by souls erect in good and in God's image, as yet unmarred.

Man's first great movement harmonizes with this view. It shows him to be a rational being and a subject of definite law. In the keeping and culture of the garden of which he was the sole human proprietor, there was the largest liberty of enjoyment. These first occupants of the fertile and blooming earth were full of loyalty to their sovereign and happiness in each other. But their loyalty was untried.

> "This one, this easy charge of all the trees
> In Paradise that bear delicious fruit,
> So various, not to taste that only Tree
> Of Knowledge, planted by the Tree of Life;—
> So near grows death to life."

Perhaps it is God's ordinance that no finite virtue can be entirely firm and trustworthy till it has passed the ordeal of temptation. Certainly it cannot be heroic till it has fought with evil and conquered. The subjects of moral government cannot become conscious of their full loyal power till they have complied with prohibitory as well as requiratory law. Neither can they attain the highest development of their upright faculties and the greatest nobleness of character, but by shunning error and evil as well as by aspirations after the good and the true. Hence every wise ruler finds it necessary to include the disciplinary force of the prohibition of wrong with the requisition of right.

These fundamental principles were operative in Paradisiacal history, and give trial as the characteristic of this first movement. All the trees of the garden were permitted to its occupants except one. The fruit of that was forbidden, and under penalty: "In the day that thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die."

The object of this discipline and of all wise prohibitory law, is the preservation of loyalty to truth and good, and the reenforcement of virtue by a more distinct consciousness of its worth. The positive command is the formulated moral principle. It is another of the uses of this prohibition, to illustrate

the liberty of will in finite agents, without which freedom they could not be the subjects of moral government.

"Many there be," says Milton, "that complain of Divine Providence for suffering Adam to transgress. Foolish tongues! When God gave him reason, he gave him freedom to choose, for reason is but choosing; he had been else a mere artificial Adam."

Here are some of the great principles of government, the seeds of history. And the simplicity, the apparent insignificance even of the form of the trial, instead of a stumbling-block, is a beautiful instance of that wisdom by which the weightiest results are often reached through means, to human reason, most inadequate and unfit. That this law was so simple, concise, and so perfectly intelligible, and that the consequences of disobedience were so explicitly stated, is a signal proof of Divine wisdom. Where great interests are staked on obedience, it is incompetency or despotism that leaves confusion or unnecessary complexity in legal enactments. This first statute is admirable in every quality of legislation.

Here, now, is the race introduced upon the world's great movements, in a dual unity; with their Maker for their Teacher, and the heavens and the earth for their illustrated text-books.

For a time they abide in obedience and felicity. But a dark scene soon opens. A new and disturbing agent makes his appearance. The third chapter of Genesis records a conversation between the new-made woman and a tempter in the form of the serpent. It indicates a rationality as real and palpable on the one side as the other,—inexperienced guilelessness assailed by malignant cunning and craftiness.

The term serpent, from *serpo*, to creep, very inadequately conveys the content of the Hebrew word, נָחָשׁ. The former expresses only brute being, and the latter an investigating and shrewdly reasoning creature. The rational rules in the whole scene, and is the sole tempting force. A bold impeachment of the infinite Lawgiver, on the injustice and unreasonableness of his prohibitory enactment, opens the great trial.

The woman is taken very adroitly in the absence of her

more reasoning husband. A natural curiosity puts her on a venture.

> "Let us divide our labors; thou where choice
> Leads thee, or where most needs.
> While I
> In yonder spring of roses, intermixed
> With myrtle, find what to redress till noon."

In her conscious innocence, she feels more than equal to any temptation that might fall in her way :—

> "Let us not, then, suspect our happy state,
> Left so imperfect by the Maker wise,
> As not secure to single or combined."

But the tempter came. First she listens, then wavers. Can it be sin to know? Next, she wishes to be wiser, then, disbelieving, puts forth her hand to the forbidden tree.

The admission, at this point, of a third factor in history—a distinct, personal agent—is objected to by about all sceptical schools. The narrative is divided by some into fact and fiction, and by others, resolved into pure fancy. Others allegorize and find a moral with its machinery,—some great facts dressed in fable.

But what are the facts and what the fancies? On this, the objectors are not agreed. One party understands by the narrative, the lapse of man into some sort of evil; and another party his advancement in freedom up to true manhood. The prohibition, the garden, the trees, and a personal tempter are poetic drapery. What is the value of this criticism?

As the discoveries in natural science vindicate the historic character of the creative period in Genesis, so also do the principles of historical science discredit, with equal explicitness, the idea of allegoric machinery and poetic fancy in respect to the temptation and fall in this trial period.

The actual presence of sin and of death in the world, and hence their commencement somewhere, is one of the most patent events in history. And these two facts are clearly traceable to this first human pair. As sin, in its nature, is a transgression of order and law, it must have had its beginning in the infraction of command. This infraction supposes in man an antecedent condition of loyalty and of trial. It sup-

poses also a prohibitory law and circumstances of temptation, in harmony with this trial. And just this concurrence of particulars is found in the record in minute detail.

There is the garden, its geographic boundaries, its rivers, and its mineral treasures,—all historic verities. There are the many trees that are permitted, and among them, the tree of life, the sacramental symbol of primitive obedience and communion. There stands the forbidden tree, whose fruit, to the eaters, made it the tree of knowledge,—of good, sorrowfully, from a sense of its loss; and of evil, by its bitter experience. What more natural than this grouping of elements, and what more harmonious?

If this is not all veritable history, who shall tell where the history ends and the fiction begins? The garden,—who knows that it was not a real, but only a poetic, garden? And the trees,—what proof that they were only fancy and not real trees? The tempted,—was she not a veritable body-and-soul woman? Why, then, was not her tempter a veritable, personal instigator to evil?

Besides, tried by the highest literary and scientific tests, this providential record is accredited as an historical and not a poetic document. The writer has every appearance of a plain narrator of fundamental facts. No such writer mingles, confusedly, fiction with facts. If the serpent be resolved into an impersonal, mythical tempter, by the same rule, the tempted will fall into an impersonal, mythical woman. By the same logic, we must construe the prohibition and her disobedience into allegory. Then why not construe the creation of the race, the origin of moral government, and the Great Ruler himself,—all into allegory? For allegory, as well as history, demands of those who write it, harmony and self-consistency. This narrative must be one or the other; it cannot be both.

Upon these general principles, the inspired record vindicates itself in respect to the trial and fall of man, as thoroughly historic, both in its drift and detail. It is a simple and continuous narrative. It has not a single element of poetry, or sign of allegory or mythology. It is consistent with itself throughout, and with all subsequent history. And

it accounts for the origin of moral evil and death, to which, otherwise, we have no historical or ethical clew.

Other important events make it evident that here comes into the movements of the world a third class of actors. The prince of these is called, in the Hebrew, Satan, and in the Greek, Diabolus, both expressing the same idea of tempter, adversary, a lier-in-wait. And because of his first appearance in human history in the guise of the serpent, John, the revelator, designates him as "the great dragon, that old serpent, the devil, and Satan." Christ, referring to his diabolical agency in the temptation, calls him "a murderer from the beginning, a liar, and the father of it."

In the later history, when the woman, which is the church, fled into the wilderness from the face of the serpent, the serpent cast out of his mouth water as a flood after her. "And the dragon was wroth with the woman, and went to make war with the remnant of her seed, which keep the commandments of God and have the testimony of Jesus." Here, the ineradicable antagonism, which appears so early in history between these two representative personages, is seen to continue with unabated force in its later stages.

But what are the qualities of this new element which comes into history, as disclosed in the events immediately following? Crest-fallen shame, in the place of open-faced innocence; a patchwork of fig-leaves instead of the robes of heavenly purity; gloomy fear of him who, before, was the object of their reverent and joyous love. Then came black falsehood,—a schism of the soul from truth, assigning nakedness instead of guilt as a reason for this fear. The man meanly excuses himself by inculpating his wife, and wickedly reflecting on his Maker. She palliates her case by casting the blame on the serpent, the mover of all these schisms and seditions.

On the next page of the record the dark drama opens into what is still more tragic. The new element is not a mere atom, without links or length, but has continuity as a positive force in human nature. The schism between these first parents and their Maker, and also between themselves, extends to their children. Here lies the second born, a martyr, and there stands the eldest born, his murderer,—speedy harvest of that

first sad seed sowing. In the fratricidal son re-appears, and in bolder characters, the same scene of crimination, falsehood, and impugning of God's justice. How complete the separation of man from his fellow, in this separation from God, his Maker.

. But in this trial period, another character appears, whose influence also sweeps through the whole historic course. In the curse pronounced upon the serpent-tempter, God says to him,—"I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy seed and her seed. It shall bruise thy head and thou shalt bruise his heel."

In this pre-announced hostility of these two parties, is given the cause and the programme of the conflicts of the ages. The introduction of a new representative personage—the seed of the woman, makes more clear and certain the personality of the serpent-tempter, who is confronted by him.

But who is this seed of the woman, thus introduced as the moral and historical opponent of the great tempter and deceiver?

Recall here the primal condition of man, in perfect harmony with himself and his Maker, as the key to the temptation and the fall. Then this degeneracy places itself in our hand as a clew to the regeneracy which follows. Notice also, that both these personages—the seed of the woman and the serpent-tempter—are presented under the law of pedigree. The lineage of the tempter is ethical only, an affinity of evil. Those are his children who do his works. The genealogy of the seed of the woman is both physical and moral. It commences with her who fell from her primeval loyalty and drew her husband along with her. It introduces the idea of a suffering, but finally conquering Messiah, an idea, which, like a thread of light, prophecy and history make more and more visible as the plan of Providence unfolds.

Here, then, among these trees of Paradise, opens the great drama of providence and history. The chief *dramatis personæ*, as now introduced, are the seed of the woman and the serpent-tempter. Two competing kingdoms take their rise here. Two antagonistic forces,—truth and error, freedom and oppression, order and anarchy, meet here, of which these per-

sonages are the respective leaders. Thus through the revolving ages, these two rival powers have been struggling for the mastery.

Now one seems to bear down every thing of truth and good. Then it is checked, and the other makes advances. To a spectator of this first deflection, coming so near the starting point, it might seem that all was lost. But a little star glimmers in the darkness,—a foretold seed of the woman, whose recuperative power is so far felt in the family of the first offenders, that religious worship is restored. One son, at least, and probably the parents, turn back to faith in God and loyalty to his government. The lost life of love is thus made to reflow in the veins of humanity and to vitalize again the course of history.

But what has Providence to do in this dramatic action? where is the sovereignty? where the plan? And to what do these dark beginnings tend? It will help us in seeking an answer to these questions, to glance at the factors which have now been brought into the historic arena. These are God, man, and the devil, or evil angels.

The construction of history will be theistic or pantheistic, colorless or Christian, according to the view taken of these three agents. On theistic principles, they are perfectly distinct, yet all act in the harmony of a divine plan, and according to the idea of a problem and progress in history.

The atheistic view entirely excludes the Supreme, and shuts out the possibility of a plan and rational history.

The pantheistic resolution of these factors into an eternally expanding and contracting substance, confuses every thing, and makes progress, except in a mere treadmill-movement, impossible. The effect and the cause are one. Being and non-being, something and nothing, are identical. Listen to one of these wise men out of the east.

"Mathematics," says Oken, "is based on nothing. The eternal is the nothing of nature. Animals are men who never imagine, and men are the whole of mathematics. Theology is arithmetic personified. God is a rotary globe and there is no other form for him. The liver is the soul in a state of sleep; the brain is the soul active and awake. Circumspec-

tion and forethought appear to be the thonghts of bivalve mollusca and snails. Gazing upon a snail, one believes that he finds the prophesying goddess sitting upon a tripod; what majesty is in a creeping snail! what reflection! what earnestness! what timidity and yet what confidence!"

Such is the acme of the pantheistic philosophy, the sublimation of rarefied modern theologic science. It has its starting point in the infinite as the nothing of nature, and its goal in the anthropologic wisdom and majesty of a snail.

How simple and intelligible in comparison with this confusion, is the course of providence in history. And how welcome the relief which it brings from the inanities and platitudes of these heathenish speculations!

Of the three factors which appear in history, God as the divine, is supreme, the cause of all other causes and of all things. His agency is a perfect unit, and its characteristics, wisdom, justice, and love. He acts in and through his intelligent creatures, and yet they act with as much freedom as if they were the sole agents. All things transpire according to his providential plan, and also in harmony with the creature's liberty and accountability.

Moral evil came into the world not unforeseen or unprovided for. It came neither by God's direct agency, nor because he had not power to prevent it if wisdom and benevolence had dictated. Every possible plan was open before the sovereign ruler,—that in which good is universal, that, in which evil is universal, and that in which they mingle. He chose the last, and this is the actual course of history. We may not be able to see all the reasons for such a choice. But that does not invalidate the wisdom of it, or the benevolence of the plan. The evil comes in against prohibition and against right, else it would not be evil. It comes in by providential toleration, else it would not come at all.

If God could not have kept sin out of history, and if its absence were necessary to the best administration, he is not infinite, not adequate to the best system of moral government. But since its existence is a palpable fact, and it is one of the great forces, and the problem of history turns so much on its treatment, its permission points to some object that will in

the end vindicate the providential course as wise, and make history a complete theodicy.

The human factor is created and dependent, and falls into the rank of secondary causes. Ethically, it is either antagonistic to the sovereign factor, concurrent with it, or partly both. Since the lapse of man, the concurrency with the divine is the result of a recuperative providence, through the seed of the woman.

Only so far as the human will is brought into agreement with the divine, can the two agencies have a free and harmonious movement. And as this agreement is not absolute in the life of the best, while on earth, the human factor is here partly concurrent, and partly discordant—the discords in the history of good men vanishing more and more until they finally disappear in a complete and eternal harmony. Hence, the phenomenon of imperfection, of degrees in moral excellence, the triumph of good over evil in some, and that of evil over good in others.

Underneath all the forms of human agency, as opposed to fate, lies man's freedom. Of fatalism history knows nothing, for fate and providence are moral contradictions.

But what is freedom? Hegel defines it pantheistically, as self-sustained existence. It is its own object of attainment, its own law of development, and is under an absolute necessity of unfoldment. Hence, only the infinite and absolute is free. But since all is God, by this philosophy, all, in some stage, are free.

Historical, responsible freedom consists in the completeness of personality—the power of choosing and of refusing, as radical forms of moral conduct. This will-power is the indispensable condition of moral agency, the distinguishing feature of personality. The exercise of it constitutes the entire human part in history. All personal action must be free in order to be personal. This freedom is a primal part of God's image in man.

Hence, though man is a creature, he is, in a limited sense, a creator also. He originates his own thoughts, makes his own history, his character, and, to a certain extent, his destiny. Yet these human creations and this human history are subor-

dinate to the divine plan, and make a part of it. They are determined by providence, yet are perfectly free, and free because made to be so. To this freedom, which some call an illusion, consciousness bears the fullest testimony.

But there are some limiting impossibilities connected with this freedom of the human factor. It cannot detach itself from dependence on the Supreme Factor. It cannot withdraw itself from providential control, or subservience to the solving problems of history. It is limited by the finiteness of the human faculties. It can side with the good or the evil, but not with both at the same time. Nor can it stand neutral. The first deflectors from the primeval rectitude were free in their transgressions, and were moved to it by natural causes and influences. But when they had taken the step, and turned the historic course downward, a supernatural agency became necessary to turn it back again. Degeneracies come by the influence of natural laws and forces. But regeneracies spring from a power that is supernatural, that touches the will with a divine magnetism, that draws it back again to truth and good, in the fulness of its force and freedom.

Of the angels, the third class of factors, a part are loyal and a part disloyal. In respect to their origin, we have little or no definite information. But our knowledge of their existence is very clear, from what we know of their agency.

These angels had a beginning anterior to the creation of man; but how far anterior, we have no means of determining. Of those fallen from primitive holiness, one—the arch-traitor, by guile and falsehood, drew the progenitors of the human race from a regular development to a schismatic and degenerate one.

It is in connection with these apostate spirits that the problem of moral evil first meets us. Why was it permitted? Who was the first tempter? Or did the first sin come without temptation? What motive to evil could prevail over the tendency to good, where all was good? How could wills, erect in truth and right, and with the strength of original constitution, bend downward to error and wrong? These are metaphysical, rather than historical questions. Yet the providence which is in all human history, is also in this,

which is pre-human. The evil that starts here cannot be detached from that providence which rules everywhere. It makes a dark scene of the unfolding plan. It projects itself into the human course almost at the starting-point, and runs its tragic race through all the generations of mankind.

We cannot, with some, resolve this evil into only "the shady side of good," or a "vanishing negative," the mere "dust of progress." It is an appalling positive, and thus far, it is the dominant phase of history. The problem of suffering is easily solved by the presence of sin. But whence and why came this sin? From the moral freedom of the creature and that infinite permissive wisdom and benevolence which the true idea of theism involves, a wisdom and benevolence which the works of creation everywhere proclaim, and of which the written revelation is still more full and expressive.

The influence of the evil angels or spirits upon the destiny of man is most evident and positive. It has changed the whole course of history. To accomplish his purposes, the prince of these powers of the air darkens the understanding, perverts the judgment, debases the will, and sows the seeds of discontent and strife. He is not mortal, like men, nor eternal, like God: possessing superhuman power, he is not omnipotent; moving with spirit-speed, he is not omniscient. His power is limited by a threefold barrier; the finiteness of his own nature, the connection of cause and effect, and God's perfect control. Beyond any one of these he cannot take a single step.

Twesten portrays with a graphic pen, the characteristics of this peculiar personage:

"He possesses an understanding which misapprehends exactly that which is most worthy to be known, without which nothing can be understood in its true relations; a mind darkened, however deep it may penetrate, and however wide it may reach. Torn away from the centre of life, and never finding it in himself, he is necessarily unblessed. Continually driven to the exterior world, from a sense of inward emptiness, yet with it, as with himself, in eternal contradiction; forever fleeing from God, yet never able to escape him; constantly laboring to frustrate his designs, yet always conscious of being obliged, in the end, to promote them. Instead of hope, a perpetual wavering between doubt and despair; instead of love, a powerless hatred against God, against his fellow-beings, and against himself."

Here are the three great factors of the providential course —God, man, and the angels—with their characteristics and relations. One is purely wise and good; another is a mixture of good and evil; and a portion of the third is purely evil. The divine is always the dominant; the satanic ever the resistant. The human is partly with the one and partly with the other, with a providential movement, slow but sure, back from the starting-point of evil, through the coming conqueror, toward the triumph of the true, the beautiful, and the good.

Art. VI.—*The General Assembly.*

The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of the United States of America, convened in the First Presbyterian Church in Philadelphia, on Thursday, May 19th, at 11 A. M.

Being the first General Assembly of the re-united church its proceedings were regarded with extraordinary interest, not only on account of the magnitude, the new composition, and circumstances of the body, but on account of the many grave and delicate questions of readjustment and reconstruction to be decided by it.

According to the plan of re-union, as adopted, both Moderators of the bodies now united presided jointly, until the election of a new Moderator was effected—the Rev. Dr. Fowler preaching the sermon, and the Rev. Dr. Jacobus performing all other duties of the office. Dr. Fowler preached from Eph. iv. 4: "There is one body and one Spirit, even as ye are called in one hope of your calling."

Among the many pertinent suggestions of this discourse, in regard to the best means of promoting the unity, purity, growth, and efficiency of the united church, we note one, which we trust will not be forgotten. He said :—

"*The great doctrines of grace are committed to our stewardship.* It devolves on us to keep and dispense them. Our Baptist brethren, who profess them, are occupied with the mode and subjects of baptism, and our Congregational brethren

with their church policy. If Calvinism is cared for, it must be by us, and care for it we will. With all our hearts we embrace it. If not the whole of Christianity, nor the whole of the substance of Christianity, it is indispensable to Christianity. If not the entire soul of the Gospel system of truth, it is its spine, and upholds it. And never was Calvinism more needed than now. The theology of the day is effeminate and flimsy. We must give it backbone."

We hope this will prove the doctrinal key-note of the Presbyterian Church of the future.

Upon the nomination of Dr. Adams, enforced by a felicitous speech, Rev. J. Trumbull Backus, D. D., of the Presbytery of Albany, was appointed Moderator by acclamation, and, in his difficult and delicate position, presided to the entire satisfaction of all parties. With the like unanimity Rev. E. F. Hatfield, D. D., of New York, was elected stated clerk; and the Rev. Cyrus Dickson, D. D., of Baltimore, permanent clerk. Dr. V. D. Reed, Judge McCoy, and Mr. Ezra S. Kingsley were appointed temporary clerks. A resolution complimentary to the former clerks of each Assembly, not re-elected, was unanimously passed. It was impossible, without doubling the force, to make places for them in the united Assembly. While abundantly satisfied with the gentlemen elected, we should have been glad if some way could have been devised by which the church could have still availed itself of the services of its former able and accomplished clerks.

Reports of the various committees appointed in Pittsburgh on re-construction, the boards, and other matters requiring adjustment in the re-united church were heard, docketed, and disposed of in their order. These consumed nearly the whole time of this unusually protracted session of the body. We can only refer to them in their order when we treat of the final disposal of them by the Assembly. Indeed, we can at most barely touch on a few of the most salient or controverted points.

Christianity and Common Schools.

The subjoined resolutions, accompanied by an able report from Dr. Prentiss, chairman of the committee on the subject, were enthusiastically adopted by the Assembly. They confirm the judgment we expressed in our last number, as to the

drift of the Protestant and Evangelical mind of the country on this great subject.

"1. *Resolved*, That the General Assembly regard the free public school as an essential part of our republican system, as conducive in the highest degree to the moral unity, common spirit, and kindly sympathies of American citizenship, and as closely connected with all the best interests of Christian society in the United States.

"2. *Resolved*, That in the judgment of the General Assembly the divorce of popular education from all religious elements, while involving a radical departure from the spirit and principles in which our public school had its origin, would be eminently unwise, unjust, and a moral calamity to the nation.

"3. *Resolved*, That the General Assembly are also entirely opposed to the appropriation of any portion of the public school funds for the support of sectarian institutions, and would regard the establishment of such a policy as fraught with the greatest mischief, not only to the cause of popular education, but hardly less to the interests of American freedom, unity, and progress.

"4. *Resolved*, That whereas the Bible is not only the *Magna Charta* of the spiritual rights and liberties of mankind, but is also pre-eminently our National Book, the best model of our mother tongue, and the fountain of our highest thought and of our ruling ideas, both in private and public life, the General Assembly would regard its expulsion from the schools of the people as a deplorable and suicidal act; nor can they perceive that any real advantage could thereby be gained to the cause of popular education.

"5. *Resolved*, That the General Assembly, conscious of being actuated in this matter by no other motive than the greatest good of the whole country, hereby profess their readiness to co-operate with all Christian people, of whatever name, and with all good citizens, in so modifying and perfecting our noble public school system, as to obviate as far as practicable the conscientious scruples and difficulties of any of its friends, and thus to render it a fountain of still greater light and benediction to us and our children after us to the latest generation."

We wish we also had room for Dr. Prentiss' eloquent report on the subject.

Laying of the corner-stone of Re-union Hall in the College of New Jersey.

The following document was presented to the Assembly:—

"PHILADELPHIA, May 20, 1870.

"*To the Moderator of the Presbyterian Church of America:*

"The trustees of the College of New Jersey are about to erect a suite of rooms to accommodate the rapidly increasing number of students, and intend to call the building 'Reunion Hall,' in honor of the re-union of the two branches of the Presbyterian Church, and it will be deemed a very great favor by the trustees and faculty if the General Assembly will make an arrangement to lay the corner-stone of the hall at a time it may appoint. It may be interesting to the members of the Assembly to know that we have at present a larger number of ministers'

sons and of young men studying for the ministry than we have ever had in our old college, and it is believed that the interests of religion will be subserved by thus countenancing us on this occasion.

"JAMES McCOSH,
President of the College,
"HENRY W. GREEN, G. W. MUSGRAVE,
JOHN C. BACKUS, CYRUS DICKSON."

Judge WM. STRONG: Mr. Moderator: I move you, sir, that a delegation of twenty members of this Assembly, to be appointed by the Moderator, be sent to attend the laying of this corner-stone on the 28th inst., one week from to-morrow.

I need hardly say, sir, that a more interesting ceremony can hardly be devised. As Presbyterians we are deeply interested in the College of New Jersey.

It is our institution more than any other collegiate institution of the country. It well befits us, therefore, I think, sir, to attend the ceremonies of laying the corner-stone of a new building to be dominated Re-union Hall. My motion, therefore, is for a delegation of twenty members of this Assembly, to be appointed by the Moderator, to attend the laying of that corner-stone, and that the day be fixed for the 28th inst., to-morrow week.

Dr. BREED: I would make an amendment. In addition to the delegation of twenty, I move that any others be sent who may choose to accompany them.

The motion as amended was passed.

On Saturday, May 28th, from two hundred and fifty to three hundred of members and others connected with the Assembly, came up from Philadelphia to Princeton, to participate in this solemn and significant ceremony. The corner-stone was laid with due solemnity by Dr. Backus, the Moderator. Happy addresses were then made by him, Drs. Adams and Jacobus, by Judge Strong, and Hon. Wm. E. Dodge; and at the collation by Drs. Prentiss, Nelson, R. Patterson, Prof. Stoever, Hon. S. F. B. Morse, Hon. J. McKnight, and others. The interest of the occasion was enhanced by the unusual religious attention which has prevailed of late among the students. We trust that the Re-union of which it is a monument will prove lasting and happy, on foundations of truth and piety, more lasting than the rock of which the edifice is built; and

that the college in her future expansion, as well as in her past history, will evermore be devoted *Christo et ecclesiæ.*

Change in the Structure and Composition of the Boards.

The Boards of the past Old School Church have been composed of a large number of ministers and elders, generally exceeding fifty, selected from all parts of the church, divided into four sections, each one of which was in turn elected by the Assembly every four years. The result is, that the business of each Board must be conducted by the few members residing convenient to its principal office, and, in all ordinary cases, by an executive committee of these. Saving a few exceptional instances, the relation of the distant members of these Boards to their actual conduct and operations has been merely nominal. The advantages of this plan have been supposed to be, that it tends to awaken interest in the cause under the care of the Board in all parts of the church, and that in case of emergency, involving serious conflict of opinions, the more distant members could be summoned, so as to represent the mind of the whole church. This is good in theory. In a more compact body, like the churches of Scotland or Ireland, or our own half a century ago, it might be so in fact. But as it is, it is notorious that members of our Boards at all remote from their place of business, have little more to do with them, or the causes under their charge, than if they were not members. The only way in which the whole church is felt in shaping the policy of the Boards is in the annual meetings of the General Assembly, to which they report, from which they receive all instructions it may be pleased to give, and by which their vacancies are annually filled. This essentially corresponds with the actual working of that oldest and most successful of our foreign missionary organizations, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, so far as an ecclesiastical organization can correspond in its movements with a close corporation acting as agent for the Congregational churches of our country, and such others as may choose to employ it for the purpose. The actual ordinary business of that Board is done, not under its immediate direction, but under the supervision

of its prudential committee, consisting of not more than ten members, and living in Boston or its adjacent suburbs. The Board itself, with great numbers of its supporters, whose spirit it aims at once to reflect and guide, meet once a year, and once only. It then fills vacancies, chooses its prudential committee and other executive officers, and gives such directions to them, as it may judge requisite. Here, in fact, is a committing of the whole business to the supervision of a small but competent body of men, who are annually made immediately responsible to the appointing Board, and, through them, to the great constituent body of contributors for whom this Board acts.

With us this responsibility is not to an unorganized body of contributors, but to the organized church, acting in her organic capacity, through her supreme judicatory, and thus enabled to make herself immediately and officially felt in guiding or correcting the policy of any of her Boards of evangelism. If the business of the several Boards, then, must be done under the supervision of men living at or convenient to their places of business, let them be composed of the most competent men living there, and let these be responsible, not mediately through a large and scattered Board that never meets, but immediately to the General Assembly. This is the surest way to unity, efficiency, intelligence, and fidelity of management; the most complete responsibility to the church; and the adoption of the best means for inspiring and organizing the benevolence of the whole body. This change in the composition of our Boards, therefore, seems to us judicious and salutary. The Assembly has ordered an investigation, with instructions to report to the next Assembly, as to the best means for proper local assistant agencies, so that efficient influence may be propagated from the centre to the circumference of the church.

Foreign Missions.

In this department, as the Old School had a chartered Board with the requisite property and agencies for conducting missions among the heathen, while the other branch had operated wholly through the American Board, it was only necessary that the re-united church should adopt as their own the organization already in being for this purpose. In accordance with

the principles already explained, they reduced the number of the Board to fifteen, to be divided into classes of five each, whose terms of office severally expire every third year, five of the number to constitute a quorum. For reasons which we need not state, we deviate from our usual course and give the list of the members of this Board appointed by the Assembly. We think it will commend itself to the church:—

First Class, 1870–1873.—James Lenox, Esq., Robert L. Stuart, Esq., Hon. Wm. E. Dodge, Rev. Wm. Adams, D. D., Rev. J. O. Murray, D. D.

Second Class, 1870–1872.—Rev. Geo. L. Prentiss, D. D., Rev. Chas. K. Imbrie, D. D., David Oliphant, Esq., Walter S. Griffith, Esq., Rev. Robert R. Booth, D. D.

Third Class, 1870–1871.—Robert Carter, Esq., Robert Jaffray, Esq., Rev. Wm. M. Paxton, D. D., Rev. John D. Wells, D. D., Ezra L. Kingsley, Esq.

Only two points connected specially with this subject awakened much discussion. Of these, the first related to the transfer of the foreign missionary connections of the late New School branch from the American Board. In regard to this it is obvious, 1. That this portion of the church will not at once universally cease their contributions to the American Board. Old habits, tender attachments, and sacred associations will prevent the immediate completion of this transfer. Portions and members of some Old School churches continued to contribute to the American Board till a very recent period. 2. Our brethren of the other branch have in good faith concluded to co-operate with us in putting missions upon an ecclesiastical and Presbyterian platform, in supporting and working through the Presbyterian Board, and in bringing their ministry and churches to promote the cause through this channel as rapidly and generally as is practicable. 3. It is only right that as they withdraw their contributions from the American Board to the Presbyterian Board, the latter should assume the support and control of some of the missions heretofore sustained by the contributions so withdrawn. 4. In this transition state it must inevitably happen that some temporary anomalies will occur, which must be charitably borne with until, in due course of things, the working of the Presbyterial system will bring all parties involved into harmony with it. After hearing the report of the committee appointed by the New School Assembly to confer with the American Board,

action was adopted in substantial conformity to the foregoing views, and the same committee was continued further to mature negotiations now in progress, and to report to the next Assembly.

Evangelizing the Indians, Policy of the Government, Political Deliverances by the Assembly.

One of the resolutions recommended to the Assembly for adoption, by its standing committee on the subject, was the following:—

"That the Assembly views with deep concern the unevangelized condition of the aboriginal population of our land, and deprecates the increasing tendency among many of our citizens to treat them as a race to be exterminated, rather than as the proper objects of Christian effort, to be thereby civilized and gathered into the fold of Christ; and the Assembly hereby authorizes the Board of Missions to put forth its utmost efforts to accomplish this humane and benignant purpose."

This commanded the general if not unanimous acquiescence of the Assembly, and was finally carried. Dr. Howard Crosby offered the following amendment to it, which was rejected:—

"That we heartily indorse the peaceful and Christian policy of the President of the United States, the Secretary of the Interior, and the other officers of the government toward the Indian tribes within our borders, and trust that the humane and thoughtful of the land will join us in sustaining the hands of our President and government in this important action."

Dr. Crosby, Hon. Wm. E. Dodge, and others supported this on the ground that the government, especially those most responsible for its present humane policy, are entitled to the support and co-operation of the Christian people of the country. Dr. Beatty, Dr. Musgrave, and others, while avowing themselves republicans who voted for General Grant, and agreeing with every word of the amendment, were nevertheless strenuously opposed to its adoption by the Assembly. They regarded it as a beginning and precedent for political deliverances by the united church, which might work great mischief in the future. Some proposed a compromise, by leaving out the words "President," "Secretary of the Interior," etc., and commending "the peaceful policy of the the government," or like softened phrase. Dr. Crosby, how-

ever, said this would be "taking the blade out of the knife." The following speech of Dr. Musgrave made a clear and simple issue of the whole matter.

"I have listened to this amendment with great concern. You all know what bitter fruit resulted from what were called the political deliverances of the General Assembly in past times. I hope, sir, that we shall not renew this thing and make any deliverance whatever on political subjects. It is not our province. We establish a mischievous precedent; we excite the ill-will and the jealousy of a large portion of the community. And no matter how we deliver ourselves on any political subject, we shall be met by opposition.

"Now, sir, the resolution that was proposed by the committee, it seems to me, covers the whole ground. It is well, in my judgment, that this Assembly should take no action with reference to General Grant, and his Secretary, or any particular line of policy which any political party may pursue. Now I may speak with freedom on this subject, because I am what politicians call a Republican. But, sir, I don't want my church to indorse Republicanism. I voted for General Grant heartily, but I don't want this church to say any thing in favor of General Grant's policy. Let us have done with politics. We cannot handle it without damage to the cross of Christ. And what good will come of it? We can act in our capacity as citizens.

"We can have a convention whenever we like or a public meeting, and as citizens express our approbation or disapprobation of any political measure. But let the church of the Lord Jesus Christ stand aloof from all party politics. As I should deprecate any deliverance in the Assembly on the subject of politics, I shall vote heartily against this amendment, and for that resolution of the committee which tends to advance the interests of the church we have at heart."

Dr. Crosby's amendment was accordingly lost by a large majority. A subsequent motion to strike out the clause against "extermination of the Indians," as being also political was advocated on the ground of consistency. It, however, utterly failed. Dr. McCosh said:—

"I think the language in the report has been well weighed. It covers every point. I certainly wish to do away with the impression that those who may have voted for laying the amendments on the table, do by that mean to indicate that they approve in any manner of the exterminating policy.

"I think the clause that is put in this motion by your committee fills every object you have in view.

"It simply recognizes the need of evangelizing measures, and I confess I could not vote for that motion unless it contained all it does contain. It sets itself up against that feeling which is abroad in the scientific world, and which is propagated by a large portion of the public press, that the inferior races ought to be exterminated, and give way to the superior. That is not the law save as regards animals; not the law with regard to man, as established by our Divine Redeemer. His law is that weakness should conquer strength: that the suffering Redeemer should rise up to protect the weaker against the strong. It is the

special function of the church to carry out this law. This Assembly is doing this great work when it passes this motion, by thus throwing a protection over that race, and assisting in the great work of evangelizing them."

The article of the report was carried, as it originally stood. We believe the Assembly in this whole matter was divinely guided, and is in a far safer position than it would have been, had the contrary action been taken.

The relation of the church and of religion to polities is still greatly confused in multitudes of minds. And yet we apprehend that the difference is far less as to the *principle* involved than its applications. Is the church to shrink from the maintenance or affirmation of any principle or truth of morality or religion, because any political party opposes or advocates it, or because such truth has in any way became entangled with politics? What Christian will say so, or give place to such a doctrine for an hour? Is she to be muzzled in speaking for truth, honesty, humanity, faith, repentance, regeneration, the Trinity, Incarnation, Atonement, Eternal Judgment, or against Popery, Socinianism, Scepticism, for any such reason? Never, never. But then when the question arises as to the concrete methods adopted by any political party for carrying out or furthering these principles, we get into a region of expediency about which the best of men may differ, and do honestly differ. We get into a region in which these men may and ought, outside of the church, to adopt such measures as seem to them best adapted to carry into effect their convictions. We get into a region befogged, and befouled by all the passions which debase party politics. If we attempt to erect them into church deliverances, we introduce these passions into the church. As private Christians or citizens, let Christians uphold whatever administrations, officers, and measures they may judge right. But let them not undertake to make them deliverances of the Church of God, or to sustain them by such deliverances. If the advocates of the President may seek this sanction, so also may his opponents, until the church is engaged in an endless wrangle on matters essentially secular, and heart-burnings, alienations, strifes, divisions, and secessions are the baleful consequence.

The debates on this very subject in the Assembly itself, in-

dicate a serious difference of judgment among the members, as to what course is most truly humane in the dealings of the government with the Indians. Some evidently thought that the Quaker agencies operate against Presbyterian evangelism. Some thought that the only practicable methods of doing the Indians any good, of Christianizing and civilizing them, preventing their massacres of the whites, and their own consequent extermination, was to give them reservations, and compel them to stay upon them. This view was warmly pressed by Col. J. Ross Snowden, as the result of his observation and experience among them. The tone of the speeches of those living on the frontier, or in vicinity to the Indians, was not indeed that of opposition to the vote as passed; but of men who evidently and earnestly felt that humanity to the white, as well as red man, requires not only Christian kindness to the latter, but the vigorous exercise of the military arm of the government to prevent the massacre and butchery of our own defenceless pioneers.

We do not refer to these things for the purpose of giving any opinion upon them, but simply in order to show the wide room for diversity of opinion as to the concrete political application of moral and religious principles on which the whole church is a unit, and the danger of committing the organized church to the advocacy of the specific measures of political parties. There may be exceptions, on rare occasions, of paramount and overbearing necessity, when the national life is at stake; where there is no room for reasonable doubt or debate, and the church itself is essentially a unit, as in some exigencies of the late war. It may often be that the church will find it necessary to stand in opposition to wrongs espoused by politicians and parties, such as the exclusion of the Bible from schools. But it must be a very rare contingency that can justify it in espousing and sanctioning, as a church, the concrete measures of parties and politicians as such. This distinction between moral and religious principles, and their concrete embodiment and application, especially in politics, is recognized constantly in our daily living and practice. Who questions that parents ought to support and educate their children according to their means and position? And yet how far

from evident is it, what room for difference of judgment in any concrete case is there, as to what is a fit support and education? How far from certain is it how much spending money he should be allowed? All these things lie on the verge of ethical, and in the sphere of what are sometimes technically indeterminate duties. And if we may not privately dogmatize in such matters, much less may the high court of the church.

A motion to transfer the care of missions to the Jews, Chinese, and Indians, from the Foreign to the Domestic Board, was referred to the joint committee on Home and Foreign Missions, with instructions to report upon it to the next General Assembly.

Domestic Missions.

It having been decided by eminent legal counsel that the New School Committee of Home Missions, incorporated by the State of New York, and the Old School Board of Domestic Missions, incorporated by the legislature of Pennsylvania, could not be welded together without danger to their legal franchises, unless the requisite enabling legislation could be obtained in each of these States; and it having been further decided on the same authority that, prior and in order to such legislation, the location of the chief office for conducting business must be determined, the most important action of the Assembly on this subject consisted in appointing committees to procure such legislation before the meeting of the next Assembly, and in fixing said location. The vote on location was: For Philadelphia, 153; for New York, 306. New York was therefore chosen by a two-thirds majority.

Any heart-burnings and griefs awakened by this choice were quickly soothed by the election of Rev. Henry Kendall, D. D., and Rev. Cyrus Dickson, D. D., as co-ordinate Secretaries, and Samuel Powell, Esq., of Philadelphia, so long Treasurer of the Old School Board of Missions, as Treasurer. This was done unanimously by acclamation, on motion of Dr. Adams, commended by one of his happy speeches. No step better fitted to pacify and unify the church, and smooth its future workings, could have been taken. A resolution, highly

commendatory of the services of Dr. Musgrave, as Secretary of the Board, an office which he resigned on account of advancing years, was unanimously adopted.

We rejoice in the unmistakable signs of the universal prevalence in the Assembly of the opinion that the allowance to domestic missionaries, as well as the salaries of the ministry generally, ought to be largely increased. We trust that reunion, with proper unity and efficiency of organization, will evoke a beneficence in this department, of which all the present is but the mere dawn. The Assembly indeed voted that all salaries of missionaries now short of $800 ought to be raised to that sum.

Reconstruction.

This term has been used to denote ecclesiastical changes, whether of the constitution, or of the bounds and composition of Synods and Presbyteries, rendered needful or expedient in connection with re-union. From the nature of the case, it was impossible that the joint committee on the subject should do more than present a programme for the Assembly to perfect. The subject is one of extreme difficulty and delicacy, and requires a knowledge of localities from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and from the St. Lawrence to the Gulf, which is impossible to individuals, and can only be had in the Assembly containing commissioners from all these localities. All felt that the committee had done their arduous work elaborately and faithfully, and furnished an outline chart, by the aid of which that body could press the work forward to completion. This they proceeded to do, first with regard to Synodical boundaries, in which they followed the scheme presented by the committee with some modifications. The only question of principle that arose here was, whether the Assembly should constitute the newly-constructed Presbyteries, and out of these constitute the Synods in the natural order; or whether, having constituted the latter according to the book, it should leave to the Synods the formation of the Presbyteries, as the book also directs. The former course was recommended in the report of the Reconstruction Committee, and advocated on the floor of the Assembly by Messrs. Beatty, Musgrave, Hat-

field, and Judge Strong, as having been contemplated by the Assemblies at Pittsburgh, as being within the constitutional prerogative of the Assembly, and as necessary to expedite reconstruction. It was earnestly opposed by Dr. Spear, Judge Haines, and others, as unconstitutional, and inexpedient because impossible to be done by the Assembly with competent knowledge of what the boundaries of the Presbyteries ought to be. These reasons prevailed with the majority. As to the constitutional question, we do not doubt, we do not believe a majority of the Assembly doubted, that, although the constitution expressly gives this authority to Synods, yet, in the absence of any express self-imposed prohibition, it also leaves it potentially in the Assembly as the original repository of the fulness of the whole church's power, to be exercised, if need be, in extraordinary emergencies. But we quite concur with the large majority who, aside of constitutional scruples, regarded this course as inexpedient in the present case, not only because the Assembly was so ill-qualified to do the work, but because such large numbers questioned its constitutionality.

Basis and Ratio of Representation.

Perhaps there is no subject in regard to which there is a more universal conviction that some change ought to be made, and so little agreement and certainty as to how it should be made, as that which respects the ratio of representation. All agree, with scarce an exception, that the body under the present ratio of representation is too large for convenient dispatch of business, and for the endurance of ordinary, practicable hospitality. The reconstruction committee at first recommended Synodical representation, which has the great merit of surely accomplishing the object through existing organizations of the church. But they found it unacceptable to the church, which is strongly wedded to Presbyterial representation, from immemorial habit and other grave considerations. We confess that we prefer this, not from any scruples respecting the constitutionality of Synodical representation, but because we think the Presbyteries are more suitable bodies to elect commissioners, if a method of apportionment can be

found satisfactory to them, which will reduce the Assemblies to proper dimensions. Viewing the whole case, the Reconstruction Committee at last recommended that the commissioners be elected by Presbyteries in the ratio of one for every twenty, or fraction of twenty, ministers, and in case of any odd number of delegates from any Presbytery, the odd member to be in alternate years, first a minister, then a ruling elder, all even pairs to consist of one minister and one elder.

The discussion of the ratio soon brought into debate the basis of representation. The Scotch, Irish, and we believe the English delegates, when inquired of, reported that in the bodies represented by them, no ministers were voting members of Presbyteries, or eligible to the General Assembly, except pastors and theological professors, unless as ruling elders, to which office ministers without charge are often elected in the congregations to which they belong. Then some proposed to make the number of churches, others of church-members, in a Presbytery, the basis of its ratio of representation in the General Assembly.

It soon became evident that no satisfactory solution of the matter could be reached without thorough discussion of these subjects, some of them new to many of the body, and that there was no time for the due consideration of them during the present session of the Assembly. No change in the ratio was therefore made, and the whole subject was referred to the next General Assembly. This was better than a hasty and crude decision now. It is, moreover, hoped that the union and reconstruction of old Presbyteries will reduce their number and afford some relief. We have no doubt, however, of the absolute necessity of some change in our large and rapidly growing church in the ratio of representation, in order to prevent the body from getting huge and unwieldy.

Some alterations of the constitution were proposed by the committee, and ordered by the house to be referred to the Presbyteries for ratification.

The principal of these were, that no Presbytery should consist of less than five members; and for the relief of the General Assembly in the dispatch of business, and to discourage pertinacious litigation in the church courts, that all bills,

references, and complaints terminate at the Synods, except in questions of constitutional law or the trial of a minister for heresy in doctrine. This latter it is proposed to accomplish by an alteration in the constitution in the following form :—

"In the Form of Government, Chapter XII., Section 4, add to the first sentence, at its close, the following words, "AND WHICH RELATE EXCLUSIVELY *to the construction of the Constitution, or to the trial of a Minister for heresy in doctrine.*"

These amendments are so wholesome, yea, indispensable, that they can hardly fail to secure the requisite Presbyterial ratification.

Theological Seminaries.

One subject on which important portions of the church have been much exercised, has been the relation of the theological seminaries to the General Assembly, and the placing of them all, so far as their charters and legal obligations would permit, upon a common basis in this respect. In order to this, the brief suggestions thrown out in our April number appear to have been carried into effect by the Assembly, as they had previously met with the approbation of all parts of the church. The Board of Directors of Princeton Seminary unanimously proposed to the Assembly to submit the control of the seminary and the filling of vacancies in its chairs to themselves, subject only to the veto of the Assembly. The Board of Trustees of Union Seminary of New York proposed to the Assembly to submit their own election of professors to the veto of the Assembly. The way was thus prepared, under the discreet leadership of Dr. Adams, for the following ultimate disposal of the subject, with the utmost unanimity and cordiality—a result in which we are sure all parties will rejoice :—

"1. Accepting the offer so generously made by the Directors of the Union Theological Seminary in New York, a seminary independent hitherto of all direct ecclesiastical control, to invest the General Assembly with the right of a *veto* in the election of professors in that institution, this Assembly would invite all those Theological Seminaries, not now under the control of the General Assembly, to adopt at their earliest convenience, the same rule and method, to the end, that throughout the whole Presbyterian Church there may be uniform and complete confidence in those intrusted with the training of our candidates for the ministry.

"2. That the several Boards of Directors of those seminaries which are now

under the control of the General Assembly, shall be authorized to elect, suspend, and displace the professors of the seminaries under their care, subject in all cases to the *veto* of the General Assembly, to whom they shall annually make a full report of their proceedings, and to whom their minutes shall be submitted whenever the Assembly shall require them to be produced. These Boards shall further be authorized to fix the salaries of the professors, and to fill their own vacancies, subject in all cases to the *veto* of the General Assembly.

"3. That a committee of five be appointed by the Assembly to propose such alterations in the plans of the seminaries now under the control of the Assembly, as shall be deemed necessary to carry into effect the principles above stated, and and that said committee report to this or to the next succeeding Assembly.

"4. In case the Board of Directors of any theological seminary now under the control of the General Assembly, should prefer to retain their present relation to this body, the plan of such seminary shall remain unaltered."

The Assembly also approved of the action of the Directors of Princeton Seminary, increasing their salaries from $2,666 to $3,000.

Since writing the foregoing, we have seen the election of the persons named below, to fill vacancies in the Board of Directors in Princeton Seminary, being nearly all persons who have long and worthily filled the office, held forth as a "strange exception" to the course pursued in regard to the election of trustees of the General Assembly and directors of the Seminary of the Northwest; because the Assembly did not drop from their places these old and honored guardians of the seminary, and put New School men in their place. We knew nothing about the vacancies or the election to fill them until we saw the account of it in the published proceedings of the Assembly. The names are the following:—

Ministers: William D. Snodgrass, D. D., Joseph McElroy, D. D., G. W. Musgrave, D. D., Robert Hammill, D. D., Joseph T. Smith, D. D., Robert Davidson, D. D., Gardiner Spring, D. D. *Elders:* Robert Carter, John K. Finlay, George Sharswood, LL. D., Thomas C. M. Paton, to fill the place of Moses Allen.

For ourselves we should have considered it a "strange exception" to the plan for the unification of our theological seminaries, had they been dropped without their own voluntary resignation. Would it be in keeping with the spirit of that plan for the other side to demand that a like number of the venerated guardians of Union or Auburn seminary should resign to make room for others, perhaps more strongly attach-

ed and devoted to other seminaries? We are not disposed to censure the Assembly in this matter.

In regard to Chicago Seminary the case is different. That institution still chooses to retain its former relation to the Assembly unaltered. Its intestine feuds, revived unhappily into fresh violence, demand the interposition of the Assembly, and the infusion of new elements into its board of direction. Rev. Dr. Prentiss, of New York, was chosen to its vacant professorship of theology. We trust this will serve to put an end to its strifes. Dr. West was transferred to the chair of Theology, and Rev. S. H. McMullin elected Professor of Biblical and Ecclesiastical History; Rev. G. D. Archibald, D.D., of Pastoral Theology and Church Government in Danville Seminary.

It was agreed that the agencies and capital for publication, heretofore owned by both bodies, should be combined in one, under the charter and corporate title of the Presbyterian Board of Publication; that it should be located in Philadelphia; that adequate buildings and other accommodations for its publishing operations should be put upon the property owned and used by the New School for this purpose, and that the edifice of the Old School, 821 Chestnut Street, be sold, as wholly insufficient and unsuited to the business. The location of the Board of Education for the united body was also fixed in Philadelphia. The New School Board of Church Extension, having a charter from the State of New York, under which it holds a large amount of funds, and that of the Old School, having no such charter or funds, it was agreed to combine them both under the charter of the New School, and to locate them in New York. The Committee on Freedmen was continued for the present at Pittsburgh.

We should be glad to say something on the projected five million memorial fund, the function of the financial committee, the proposition to have one financial board and treasury, to superintend all the fiscal affairs of the church, gathering all the receipts, and distributing to each evangelic department a portion in due season. These and other topics which we omit entirely would each justify an article. But we have no room. We shall recur to them, and to any other

topics requiring discussion, in order to the right adjustment of our ecclesiastical system, in our new condition, as we may see cause. We shall treat of the deputation to the Southern Assembly in a separate article.

On the whole, the first General Assembly of the re-united Presbyterian Church, the greatest and most memorable in our history, was enabled, by the blessing of heaven, to be true to its high position, and walk worthy of its high vocation. It is the universal testimony that it embodied an amount of wisdom, piety, culture, and weight of character never before shown in any ecclesiastical convocation on this continent. No less pre-eminent were the delegations to it from other bodies, especially from the Presbyterian bodies of Great Britain. It had an immense amount of difficult and momentous work before it; and in the main did it wisely and well. For their ability to accomplish this they were much indebted to the admirable preparatory labors of the various joint committees appointed at Pittsburgh. The proceedings of the Assembly were conducted with marked unanimity, and it was rare that the slightest discordant ripple marred the uniform harmony of the body, or the Christian dignity and courtesy of its proceedings. The first beginnings of the united church have surely been auspicious. May this prove the true augury of its future. So far we can see the gracious and guiding hand of God. May it never leave nor forsake us.

All accounts represent the closing hours and parting scenes of the session as a fit culmination of so glorious a meeting. The spirit, plentifully vouchsafed, filled the whole body with a holy love, peace, and delight, so that every face shone with a heavenly lustre, while every eye was moist, as all wept for joy. It was a very mount of transfiguration. All felt that it was good to be there, beholding the Saviour in his glory, and his church in her beauty. But it is not given to us here thus to tabernacle for more than brief season in the heights so resplendent with the Master's transporting presence. This can only be in the church triumphant in heaven, in which, when he appears, we also shall appear with him in glory.

ART. VII.—*The Delegation to the Southern General Assembly.*

VERY early in the recent session of the General Assembly Dr. Adams moved the following resolutions, and advocated their adoption in a few remarks breathing the warmest Christian love toward all parties concerned. They were adopted at once, cordially and unanimously, by the Assembly. As the proceedings and results thus far consequent on this action are of great historical and ecclesiastical significance, and pregnant with momentous future consequences, we have concluded to gather up into a distinct article the more important documents involved, and the few comments we propose to make upon them, both for convenience of future reference and the better comprehension of their import. We begin with the original resolutions of our Assembly:—

"*Whereas*, This General Assembly, believing that the interests of the kingdom of our Lord throughout our entire country will be greatly promoted by healing all unnecessary divisions; and

"*Whereas*, This General Assembly desires the speedy establishment of cordial fraternal relations with the body known as the 'Southern Presbyterian Church,' upon terms of mutual confidence, respect, and Christian honor and love; and

"*Whereas*, We believe that the terms of re-union between the two branches of the Presbyterian Church at the North, now so happily consummated, present an auspicious opportunity for the adjustment of such relations; therefore be it

"*Resolved*, 1. That a committee of five ministers and four elders be appointed by this Assembly to confer with a similar committee, if it shall be appointed by the Assembly now in session in the city of Louisville, in respect to opening a friendly correspondence between the Northern and Southern Presbyterian Churches, and that the result of such conference be reported to the General Assembly of 1871.

"*Resolved*, 2. That with a view to the furtherance of the object contemplated in the appointment of said committee, this Assembly hereby reaffirms the 'Concurrent Declaration' of the two Assemblies which met in the city of New York last year, viz.:—

"'That no rule or precedent which does not stand approved by both bodies shall be of any authority in the re-united body, except in so far as such rule or precedent may affect the rights of property founded thereon.'

"*Resolved*, 3. That one minister and one elder of this committee, appointed by this Assembly, be designated as delegates to convey to the Assembly now in session at Louisville a copy of these resolutions, with our Christian salutation."

Pursuant to these resolutions, the following gentlemen were appointed this committee: W. Adams, D. D., Chancellor H. W. Green, Charles C. Beatty, D. D., William E. Dodge, P. H. Fowler, D. D.; James Brown, H. J. Van Dyck, D. D., Governor D. Haines, J. C. Backus, D. D.

Drs. H. J. Van Dyck, J. C. Backus, and Hon. William E. Dodge were appointed a sub-committee to proceed forthwith to Louisville and communicate these proceedings to the Assembly in session there. This mission they immediately executed. They telegraphed their coming in advance to the Louisville Assembly. On their arrival they were received with a courtesy and dignity, and with extensive manifestations of warmth from individuals, which indicated a cordial welcome. They were called by the Moderator upon the stage, and their words of Christian love and tenderness were heard with attention and eagerness by the Assembly, and called forth a fraternal response from the Moderator. The whole subject was then referred to the committee on Foreign Correspondence. This committee soon made a report which was adopted by a vote of some five-sixths of the body as its formal and official answer to the peaceful and conciliatory overture of our Assembly. This report was drafted by Dr. B. M. Palmer, of New Orleans. A single member offered a minority report proposing the appointment of the committee requested without the impracticable conditions and offensive charges contained in the paper actually sent to our Assembly as a response to its overture. This paper is in the words following:—

"The Committee on Foreign Correspondence, to whom were referred the overture for re-union from the Old School General Assembly North, of 1869, at its sessions in the city of New York; and also the proposition from the United Assembly of the Northern Presbyterian Church, now sitting in Philadelphia, conveyed to us by a special delegation, respectfully report:—

"That the former of these documents is virtually superseded by the latter; because the body by whom it was adopted has since been merged into the United Assembly, from which emanates a new and fresh proposal reflecting the views of the larger constituency. To this proposition, then, 'that a committee of five ministers and four elders be appointed by this Assembly to confer with a similar committee of their Assembly, in respect to opening a friendly correspondence between the Northern and Southern Presbyterian Church'— your committee recommend the following answer to be returned:—

"Whatever obstructions may exist in the way of cordial intercourse between the two bodies above named, are entirely of a public nature, and involve grave and fundamental principles. The Southern Presbyterian Church can confidently appeal to all the acts and declarations of all their Assemblies, that no attitude of aggression or hostility has been, or is now, assumed by it toward the Northern church. And this General Assembly distinctly avows (as it has always believed and declared) that no grievances experienced by us, however real, would justify us in acts of aggression or a spirit of malice or retaliation against any branch of Christ's visible kingdom. We are prepared, therefore, in advance of all discussion, to exercise toward the General Assembly North and the churches represented therein, such amity as fidelity to our principles could, under any possible circumstances, permit. Under this view the appointment of a committee of conference might seem wholly unnecessary; but, in order to exhibit before the Christian world the spirit of conciliation and kindness to the last degree, this Assembly agrees to appoint a committee of conference to meet a similar committee already appointed by the Northern Assembly, with instructions to the same that the difficulties which lie in the way of cordial correspondence between the two bodies must be distinctly met and removed, and which may be comprehensively stated in the following particulars:—

"1. Both the wings of the new United Assembly, during their separate existence before the fusion, did fatally complicate themselves with the State, in political utterances deliberately pronounced year after year; and which, in our judgment, were a sad betrayal of the cause and kingdom of our common Lord and Head. We believe it to be solemnly incumbent upon the Northern Presbyterian Church, not with reference to us, but before the Christian world and before our Divine Master and King, to purge itself of this error, and by public proclamation of the truth to place the crown once more upon the head of Jesus Christ as the alone King in Zion. In default of which, the Southern Presbyterian Church, which has already suffered much in maintaining the independence and spirituality of the Redeemer's kingdom upon earth, feels constrained to bear public testimony against this defection of our late associates from the truth. Nor can we, by official correspondence even, consent to blunt the edge of this, our testimony, concerning the very nature and mission of the church as a purely scriptural body among men.

"2. The union now consummated between the Old and New School Assemblies of the North was accomplished by methods which, in our judgment, involve a total surrender of all the great testimonies of the church for the fundamental doctrines of grace, at a time when the victory of truth over error hung long in the balance. The United Assembly stands, of necessity, upon an allowed latitude of interpretation of the standards, and must come at length to embrace nearly all shades of doctrinal belief. Of those failing testimonies we are now the sole surviving heirs, which we must lift from the dust and bear to the generations after us. It would be a serious compromise of this sacred trust to enter into public and official fellowship with those repudiating these testimonies; and to do this expressly upon the ground, as stated in the preamble to the overture before us, 'that the terms of re-union between the two branches of the Presbyterian Church at the North, now happily consummated, present an auspicious opportunity for the adjustment of such relations.' To found a correspondence profitably upon this idea would be to indorse that which we thoroughly disapprove.

"3. Some of the members of our own body were, but a short time since, violently and unconstitutionally expelled from the communion of our branch of the now United Northern Assembly, under ecclesiastical charges which, if true, render them utterly infamous before the church and the world. It is to the last degree unsatisfactory to construe this offensive legislation obsolete by the mere fusion of that body with another, or through the operation of a faint declaration which was not intended, originally, to cover this case. This is no mere 'rule' or 'precedent,' but a solemn sentence of outlawry against what is now an important and constituent part of our own body. Every principle of honor and of good faith compels us to say that an unequivocal repudiation of that interpretation of the law under which these men were condemned must be a condition precedent to any official correspondence on our part.

"4. It is well known that similar injurious accusations were preferred against the whole Southern Presbyterian Church, with which the ear of the whole world has been filled. Extending, as these charges do, to heresy and blasphemy, they cannot be quietly ignored by an indirection of any sort. If true, we are not worthy of the 'confidence, respect, Christian honor, and love' which are tendered to us in this overture. If untrue, 'Christian honor and love,' manliness and truth, require them to be openly and squarely withdrawn. So long as they remain upon record they are an impassable barrier to official intercourse."

After this document had been laid before our Assembly, Dr. Adams submitted the following paper from the committee appointed to confer with the Southern church:—

"*Resolutions in regard to Southern Assembly.*

"*Whereas*, this General Assembly, at an early period of its sessions declared its desire to establish cordial fraternal relations with the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States, commonly known as the Southern Assembly, upon the basis of Christian honor, confidence, and love; and with a view to the attainment of this end appointed a committee of five ministers and four elders to confer with a similar committee, if it should be appointed by the Assembly then in session at Louisville, 'in relation to the amicable settlement of all existing difficulties, and the opening of a friendly correspondence between the Northern and Southern churches,' and for the furtherance of the objects contemplated in the appointment of said committee, and with a view to remove the obstacles which might prevent the acceptance of our proposals by our Southern brethren, reaffirmed the concurrent declaration of the two Assemblies which met in New York last year, to the effect that 'no rule or precedent which does not stand approved by both the bodies shall be of any authority in the re-united body, except so far as such rule or precedent may affect the rights of property founded thereon;' and as a further pledge of our sincerity in this movement sent a copy of our resolutions together with our Christian salutation to the Assembly at Louisville, by the hands of delegates chosen for that purpose;

And *whereas* the Southern Assembly, while receiving our delegates with marked courtesy, and formally complying with our proposition for the appointment of a committee of conference, has nevertheless accompanied that appointment with declarations and conditions which we cannot consistently accept,

because they involve a virtual pre-judgment of the very difficulties concerning which we invited the conference; therefore,

"*Resolved*, That the further consideration of the subject be postponed and the committee be discharged. At the same time we cannot forbear to express our profound regret that a measure designed, and, as we believe, eminently fitted, to promote the establishment of peace and the advancement of our Redeemer's kingdom in every part of our country, has apparently failed to accomplish its object. We earnestly hope that the negotiations thus suspended may soon be resumed under happier auspices, and hereby declare our readiness to renew our proposals for a friendly correspondence whenever our Southern brethren shall signify their readiness to accept in the form and spirit in which it has been offered."

This report, after some discussion, chiefly consisting of a speech by Rev. Dr. Henry J. Van Dyck, was adopted.

The action of our own Assembly speaks for itself, and is its own vindication before all Christendom. In the kindly but considerate and cautious original proposition to the Southern Assembly, in the character of the committee deputed to bear it, in the acceptable presentation of the matter to that body by this committee, and in the final disposal of the subject responsive to the reply given to its proposal, our body has made an admirable exhibition of Christian charity, magnanimity, and forbearance, nor has it uttered a word to close or obstruct the way to future negotiations, whenever the Southern church shall be willing to open them on terms of equality. They have refrained, as they could so well afford to do, from every word of self-defence or retaliatory accusation, which might embitter old antagonisms, or cause fresh exasperations. The following extract from Dr. Van Dyck's speech, every word of which is a credit to him (and for a permanent record of the whole of which we wish we had room), is quite conclusive, and we think will command the assent not only of the whole Northern church, but of the whole Christian world, outside of our former slave States:—

"And now, sir, I wish to express my profound mortification and regret at the temporary and apparent failure of this effort to make peace. It has failed. The terms and conditions which you have just heard read are manifestly impracticable. How can your committee meet their committee with this terrible indictment flung across the threshold of our conference? If it were all true, there is no propriety in putting it there. The things complained of and decided in the paper adopted by the Southern Assembly, are among the very questions concerning which we proffered the conference. When men enter into negotiations for the settlement of existing difficulties, it is not for either party to prejudge the case

according to their convictions, and demand that their decisions shall be conditions precedent to the settlement.

But, sir, I cannot stop here. I think it due to you, to this Assembly, to that Assembly, and to myself, to say the imputation laid there is not true in the form in which it is laid. (Applause.) Mr. Moderator, there are some at least in this Assembly who firmly believe that during the heat of passions excited under civil war, the Assembly with which I was formerly connected did pass acts and make deliverances inconsistent with the headship of Christ and the constitution of the Presbyterian Church. Our votes, our protests, are on record on that subject, and I am not here to take back one word in regard to them; but, sir, that this Assembly, that the Christian men and women with whom God has cast my lot, have taken the crown from the head of Jesus Christ, and chained his bride to Cæsar's chariot wheels; that these two Assemblies, by their re-union, have totally cast aside all their former testimonies for the doctrines of grace; that this reunited Assembly stands necessarily upon an allowed latitude in the interpretation of the standards of the church, such as must ultimately result in bringing in all forms of doctrinal error—this I strenuously deny. (Applause.) And I say frankly, affectionately, and sadly to you—and, if it shall reach their ears, to our Southern brethren—if they wait for us to stultify ourselves by admitting such things as these before we enter into negotiations, we shall all have to wait for the settlement of these difficulties until we get to the General Assembly of the first-born in heaven." (Applause.)

We quite agree, too, with Dr. Beatty, Dr. Van Dyck, and others, who hold that this labor of love will not be lost, and that, as "kind words never die," so, in due time, the kindly attitude of our church will be most appreciated where now it is least reciprocated.

We cannot dismiss the subject without expressing our amazement, as well as grief, at the charges brought and the humiliating demands made by our Southern brethren, as conditions, *sine qua non*, of conference through committees. The deliverances or declarations of any Assembly not ratified by the Presbyteries are no part of the constitution of the church. They are simply the recorded opinions of that Assembly. The idea of undertaking to erase from the records of past Assemblies all that is offensive to us or to others with whom we may have friendly relations is impracticable and absurd. Have our Southern brethren, claiming to be "the sole surviving heirs of the failing testimonies" of our church, expunged or abrogated the testimony of 1818 on the subject of slavery, which affirms that it "creates a paradox in the moral system," and that "the voluntary enslaving of one portion of the human race by another is a gross violation of the most precious

and sacred rights of human nature, utterly inconsistent with the law of God?"

Moreover, was not every pretext for such a plea removed by the express and emphatic assertion of our Assembly that no "rule or precedent," such as the special action to which our brethren object is now of force? With what desperate and infatuated ingenuity do they try to neutralize this, and to embarrass the removal of what they esteem barriers to renewed fellowship? But who are they that stigmatize us as having "taken the crown from the head of Jesus Christ and chained his bride to Cæsar's chariot wheels," and, under the lead and by the pen of Dr. Palmer, charge us with a "sad betrayal of the cause and kingdom of our common Lord and Head," and summon us "to place the crown once more upon the head of Jesus, as the alone King of Zion?" Is not their leader the same Dr. Palmer whose great sermon in advocacy of secession for the conservation and expansion of slavery, more than any one immediate exciting cause, "fired the Southern heart" for that fatal plunge which precipitated the country into a war that exterminated slavery, drowning it in seas of blood? What of the Synod of South Carolina bestowing its benediction upon the legislature of that State in its initiation of secession? What of the repeated declarations of sympathy with the Confederate Government and armies by this same Southern Assembly that now hurls its denunciations at us as having "disowned the crown and kingdom of our Lord," and disdains to "hold official correspondence with the Northern church unless the Saviour is reinstated in the full acknowledgment of his kingship?"* Do they think it enough to say of all this,—

"No ingenuity of sophistry can transmute into political dogmas the scant allusions to the historical reality of a great struggle then pending, or the thankful recognition, in the middle of a paragraph, of the unanimity with which an invaded people rose to the defence of their hearthstones and the graves of their dead; or the pastoral counsels addressed to the members and youth of our own churches, passing through the temptations and perils of the camp and the field; or the half-hour spent in prayer for a land bleeding under the iron heel of war; or

* See Pastoral Letter of the Southern Church, in defence of their response to our deputation, written by Dr. B. M. Palmer.

even the incidental declaration in a narrative to stand by an institution of the country, a traditional inheritance from our fathers. Even though, from the ambiguity of human language, these chance references may not have been always discreetly expressed, the most that a just criticism could pronounce is that they are inconsistent with the judicially pronounced principle upon which the Southern Assembly entered upon its troubled career. And when exaggerated to their largest proportions by all the prejudices of bitter partisanship, they dwindle into motes and specks by the side of those elaborate and colossal deliverances, repeated each year through formal committees, and exalted into solemn testimonials co-ordinate with the doctrines of religion and of faith, which disfigure the legislation of both the Northern Assemblies through successive years." *

How dare they affirm that the war votes of our Assemblies were made "co-ordinate with the doctrines of religion and faith?"

But still more astounding is the charge that the union of the two Presbyterian bodies "involves a total surrender of all the great testimonies of the church for the fundamental doctrines of grace," and "must come at length to embrace nearly all shades of doctrinal belief!" We have nothing to say in regard to the doctrinal basis of the united church which we did not say a year ago, and have no room now to repeat. This we deem a sufficient refutation of all such charges as the foregoing. We now only add to these the *argumentum ad hominem*: whoever else might venture such a charge, the Southern church cannot, without tabling the like charge against itself, for it has done the same thing. Some years ago it coalesced with the New School Synod South upon the doctrinal basis of the standards pure and simple, receiving all ministers and churches of that Synod to the precise standing they had anterior to the union. "Therefore, thou art inexcusable, O man! whosoever thou art that judgest; for wherein thou judgest another thou condemnest thyself; for thou that judgest doest the same things."—Rom. ii. 1. This is so palpable that it was emphatically objected to this part of the report in the Southern Assembly, in the debate preceding its adoption. The venerable Dr. F. A. Ross, of Huntsville, Alabama, in whose church the Assembly is to meet next year, said, and as conversant with the facts from intimate personal knowledge:—

* Ibid.

"The second point I would notice is, that an objection to the consideration of the question of correspondence is that the Old School North and the New School North have united. But the Old School South and the New School South have done the same thing. Dr. Barnes is the front of New Schoolism; still I believe he would have agreed to the basis of union determined upon in Lynchburg in 1863. That arrangement has not changed the preaching of any one. Every member of the United Synod has the right to preach just as he preached before; every member of the Old School has the right to preach just as he did before. Where is the difference between the union of the two branches in the North and those in the South? In both cases there was some preliminary discussion as to terms, but finally in both cases they united on the basis of the standards pure and simple. Why, then, should we object to corresponding with them on the ground that they have effected just such a union as we had done before?

"I am sorry to use the words Old School and New School in this body. We are *not* the Old School Assembly; we are neither Old School nor New School, but *the* Presbyterian Church in the United States. It has been said that the members of the United Synod were Old School men. I mentioned one, a leader among them. He was further from the views of many here than even Albert Barnes."

Dr. Rice said:—

"We must do no act that will for a moment ruffle the calmness and peace resting upon us. It is for this reason, sir, that I object to that report of the committee which speaks of the union of the Old and New Schools of the North as one reason why we cannot hold intercourse with them because we are the only heirs of the truths which have fallen to the ground. You know very well, Mr. Moderator, that I am an Old School man; that I was one of the very last to consent to the union of our church in the Synod which was consummated in 1864. Now, having agreed to that union, and these New School brethren having come among us we are called upon to maintain the doctrines of God's house, and we are bound to stand by those brethren and regard them as integral portions of our church. And therefore it is not right for us to say we object to holding intercourse with the Northern Assembly because they received the New School. It is true that there is a wide difference between the two positions; but we have accepted these brethren as a part of ourselves, and I trust that you will do nothing that will make it appear that we are not one, for we are one."

How can all this be gainsaid? And what had Dr. Palmer to say in reply? We extract from the *Christian Inquirer and Free Commonwealth*, of June, from which we have copied all our extracts from this debate:—

"Dr. Palmer then stated that he was very much impressed with Dr. Hopkins' remark, that Dr. Lyon had assumed that all this opposition to a correspondence with the Northern church proceeds merely from hatred. This idea he combated, and then proceeded to notice Dr. Ross's remarks about union of the churches

in the North and those in the South. He stated that much more care had been taken to secure orthodoxy in the Southern church. There had been no diplomacy in their coming together. There is no jar or discord between them. It never had occurred to him that there was a shade of difference doctrinally between them."

And is this all the justification he can make out for the difference he puts between the Southern and Northern churches, assuming for the former the function of guardian and conservator of orthodoxy, and the prerogative of denouncing the latter as surrendering her testimonies to the faith once delivered to the saints? Allowing the utmost force to the considerations above adduced by him, they only touch the accidents and unessential circumstances of the case. They do not affect the essence of the doctrinal and ecclesiastical platform of the two bodies. These are identical—the simple standards. But we deny that "more care has been taken to secure orthodoxy in the Southern church." So far from this, plans of union were rejected twice by the Northern church, because they contained the slightest qualification of the standards; and it was thus proved that no union was possible except on the pure and simple standards. Not only so, but we boldly affirm, from knowledge independent of the testimony of Dr. Ross and Dr. Rice, that no latitude of doctrine can be found in the Northern, which has not been tolerated freely and without question in the Southern church. What shall we say then to the amazing assurance which vents itself in such "colossal" fulminations? Probably it is useless to say much at present. It is either above or below being reasoned with. It must be left to speak for itself. Probably the following extracts from Dr. Palmer's speech explain the *animus* of the leaders, who were able, by their force of intellect and eloquence, to magnetize the Assembly with their own feelings:—

"He paid an eloquent tribute to the Southern Presbyterian Church—the only home he had left. 'I am a disfranchised man,' he said. 'The boy who waits on my table at twelve dollars a month dictates to me at the polls who shall be my master. I have no vote. I am an exile in the land of my birth. My only consolation is that I have a home in the church of God. I want peace, and do not, therefore, want to be involved in any of these complications. We have not approached them with any disturbing proposition. Why should they come and disturb us, and seek to divide brethren who are united? . . . Moderator, I do not propose to sacrifice substance for shadow at any time. If you enter into

this conference, in three years there will be a fusion between this Assembly and the North. I am opposed to fusion, and will never consent individually to be fused into any body. I hold to the old maxim, *obsta principiis.* Probably that correspondence is introduced in every case with the ulterior view of amalgamation.'"

Somehow, the reporter mislaid his notes of a portion of this speech, most of all, it is said, surcharged with bitter invective against the North. However this may be, the above means simply that they wish to prevent every sort of conference or correspondence, because they believe it would speedily result in a fusion with us, and that all the apparent differences that now keep the bodies asunder would, on thus meeting face to face, vanish or dwindle into insignificance. Such fusion they do not want, and are resolved to prevent if possible, because, while every other sphere in which their peculiar ideas could dominate is lost, their church kept thus insulated, is their only remaining "home." In the above extract Dr. Palmer depicts the issue of his former appeals to the Southern people, to use his present cautious phrase, "to stand by an institution of the country, a traditional inheritance from our fathers."

It remains to be seen whether his present ingenious and passionate appeals to the Southern church, breathing a very similar spirit, to raise an impassable barrier between itself and the Northern church, by requiring the latter as a condition precedent to conference, to confess that it has "bound itself to the chariot wheel of Cæsar," and has apostatized from the faith by doing just what the Southern church has done, will reach a more auspicious consummation. We do not believe that such accusations from such a source will be heard with deference beyond the geographical limits of the body making them; or that they will long mislead Southern Christians; or always continue to stultify even their authors. We pray and hope that the dark veil may be lifted which now discolors and distorts their view of the Northern church, and of all connection with it; and that in due time all barriers to full fellowship with brethren whom, on so many accounts, we love, may be removed.

Art. VIII.—*The Evangelical Alliance.**

The writer of this article was well acquainted with two worthy men, adherents respectively of two of Scotland's sternest seets, who met of an evening to diseuss the merits of their churches. They resolved in their wisdom to begin with their points of differenee, and they disputed till it was first late and then early, and they separated while the day was breaking without coming nearer each other, but fixing on another night for renewing the controversy. When they met on that oeeasion, a wiser though not a better man, reeommended them to eommence with their points of agreement; and they found these to be so numerous and important that they parted at a deeent hour on the understanding that they should adjourn the eonsideration of their points of diseordance till they met in heaven. The two men have been in that blessed place for the last quarter of a century—as time moves in this world—but even with the assistance of "Gates Ajar" we have not been able to ascertain whether in their lengthened (as it seems to us) sojourn there they have so exhausted the wondrous sights and truths diselosed to them as to allow of their coming to the points about which they disputed on earth—whieh was, whether a eertain burgh oath, long since abrogated, was or was not lawful.

The anecdote chimes in with "the tune of the times," which is loud in praise of the union of ehurehes and Christians. And yet we are not at liberty to overlook the differenees of those who profess to be Christians. The Chureh of Christ, as a whole, every individual church, and every individual member is set for defenee of the truth. There have been occasions in which a minority were required by faithfulness to Christ to separate from a majority. Dogmas or ceremonies which they believed to be contrary to the Word of God were imposed on them, and as "whatever is not of faith is sin" they could relieve their conseience only by assuming a position of

* The long and permanent connection of Dr. McCosh with the Evangelical Alliance will invest this account of it from him with special interest for our readers.

independence. Or the church has become so corrupt in doctrine and loose in discipline, that they feel they would be countenancing evil in continuing in it,—and there is no resource but to separate themselves. We rejoice exceedingly in the re-union which has been now so happily accomplished between the two largest branches of the Presbyterian Church in America. But we wish it to be distinctly understood that if men, whether belonging to the Old or New School, appear in that church promulgating dogmas clearly inconsistent with the "system of doctrine" contained in the standards; and if these men, after being kindly warned, insist on continuing in that church, instead of going out of it and seeking to become useful in a sphere of their own, and if they are allowed to continue in that church by a deliberate act of the constituted authorities, then there is no help for it—it may be as sacred a duty to divide that church in some future year as it may be in present circumstances to unite it. We wish this to be distinctly understood at this early stage to prevent conceited youths, or old men who have not grown wiser from age, from introducing at Synods, or on some public occasion, "divers and strange doctrines," which may first trouble, and then divide, the now happily united church.

But while we must ever claim an absolute power to defend the truth, we are not to allow our minds to dwell exclusively and forever on the points on which they differ who believe in Christ the Son of God and the Saviour of all them that believe. The tendency of those who feel that they agree in fundamental truth, will ever be to join in some organic and visible union, and in common action for the salvation of souls and the spread of the Gospel at home and abroad. In order to unity of organization it is not needful that there should be an absolute agreement even on matters which are not unimportant in themselves. Thus the question of the time and manner of Christ's second coming has ever been left an open question in the most orthodox Presbyterian churches. When there is a substantial agreement, as there has been for years in the two great branches of the Presbyterian Church, there is no reason why churches should keep isolated and apart, and there are many reasons why they should combine their energies and ex-

hibit their unity to the world. We trust that the Presbyterian Church union lately consummated will be the beginning of unions, to go on till the whole orthodox Presbyterian family become one in name and in action, as they are already one in faith and in discipline. But while this is so far an approach to it, it is far from amounting to a full confession and acknowledgment of the grand doctrine of the unity of the Church of Christ. There is a depth of meaning in the words of our Lord, and in the statements of Paul, which, as every Christian feels, are not realized in any church organization on earth: "That they all may be one, as thou, Father, art in me, and I in thee, that they also may be one in us, that the world may believe that thou hast sent me." "There is one body and one spirit, even as ye are called in one hope of your calling; one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all, who is above all, and through all, and in you all." It is impossible, in the present state of things, to bring all true Christians into a unity of outward organization. Episcopacy and Congregationalism cannot be brought into a unity of government and form with one another and with Presbyterianism, or that modified Presbyterianism which we find in Methodism. If by some external force—like that which the king of Prussia employed in making the Lutheran and Reformed churches one—we brought them together for one day, it would only be to make them fly asunder the next, perhaps in anger or in jealousy. And yet have we not all felt it pleasant, and profitable withal, to hold personal communion with Christians called by another name than that which we bear, and trained, it may be, under somewhat different influences? Have not we Presbyterians often experienced a high enjoyment in the society of Episcopalians, or Methodists, or Congregationalists, or Baptists? As we did so, have we not felt the jealousies and suspicions which we entertained of them when we viewed them at a distance, thawed and finally dissipated; and we have been led to see in them all the features of our common Father and elder Brother; and we have been interested in, rather than repelled, by the points in which they differed from us? And have we not all felt as if the various sects ran the risk at times of hindering instead of helping each other, and by each

setting up a separate agency, say a church or college, in a district where only one is needed? But while these various organizations remain separate is there not a way by which we can, after all, acknowledge and manifest the unity of the Church of Christ?

"I believe in the holy Catholic Church, and in the communion of the saints." This is a doctrine which we Protestants must not hand over to the Romanists that they may claim it as their own. It is all good that Christians should show zeal in behalf of the denomination to which they are conscientiously attached; but when they have done this they are not to be satisfied that they have done all that is required of them; they are never to forget that they are members of a larger church composed of all the faithful, and that they owe duties to it. It is not good for the individual man to be alone; nor for the individual Christian to dwell apart: both are intended for society and are benefited by it; and if they thwart their nature on these points they will become selfish and sour. But on much the same principle it is not for the benefit of a particular church to look upon itself as *the church*, the whole church of God; in doing so, it will restrain and hinder the spirit of love and become narrow, exclusive, and bigoted. A church cut off from all connection with other churches is like a pool—sure to become a stagnant marsh—with no living inflow or outflow, instead of a lake receiving supplies from above, and giving out from beneath fresh and fertilizing waters.

These were the ideas and sentiments which gave rise to the Evangelical Alliance. Men of piety and love in the Established churches of Great Britain longed for some means by which, without compromise of principle, they might hold intercourse with those who were separated from all state-endowed churches. Men of wide catholic spirit in the dissenting bodies, while continuing their protest against all state-endowed churches, were anxious to show that they loved good men in these churches. Christians widely separated from each other, in Great Britain, on the continent of Europe, in America, and in India, desired earnestly to see each other, and to pray and confer with each other. The idea of a Protestant conference was started and was welcomed by choice spirits in many a

church. In particular, at a bicentenary meeting of the Westminster Assembly, held in Edinburgh in July, 1843, a speech by Dr. Balmer, minister of the United Presbyterian Church, Berwick, fell on the receptive spirit of John Henderson of Park, a wealthy and benevolent Eastern merchant, residing in the neighborhood of Glasgow, and thenceforth his purse and a large portion of his time were devoted to the promotion of union among evangelical Christians. A conference, called by the most eminent non-conformist ministers of Scotland, headed by Dr. Chalmers, was held in Liverpool on October 1, 1845, when, in order to remove misapprehensions, and explain clearly the object aimed at, the following resolutions were passed: "That in the prosecution of the present attempt, the Conference are clearly and unanimously of opinion that no compromise of their own views, or sanction of those of others, on the points on which they differ, ought to be either required or expected on the part of any who concur in it: but that all should be held as free as before to maintain and advocate their creeds with all due forbearance and brotherly love." "Further, that any union or alliance to be formed should be understood to be an alliance of individual Christians, and not of denominations or branches of the Church." It was declared to be "the design of this Alliance to exhibit, as far as practicable, the essential unity of the Church of Christ; and at the same time to cherish and manifest, in its various branches, the spirit of brotherly love." These declarations gained the confidence of all who were breathing for union. It had then to be decided who were to be invited to join in this movement, and the Conference drew out a few simple propositions embodying what are usually understood as evangelical views, adding in explanation, "It being, however, distinctly declared, that this brief summary is not to be regarded in any formal or ecclesiastical sense as a creed or confession, nor the adoption of it as involving an assumption of the right authoritatively to define the limits of Christian brotherhood, but simply as an indication of the class of persons whom it is desirable to embrace within the Alliance." An understanding having thus been come to, the Evangelical Alliance was formally constituted in a meeting held in London on August 19, 1846.

The Society has now been in existence for twenty-four years, and during that time it has effected a large amount of good. It may not have fulfilled the expectations entertained by the good men who instituted it, and who in the delight which they experienced in fellowship one with another, and as those who had been fiercely contending came forward to express their affection for each other, spoke as if the millennium had actually dawned. Still it has succeeded in accomplishing various important works. It has been more effective than any other agency in keeping before the Protestant Church a grand truth, which it has often been tempted to overlook in its denominational zeal,—that of the unity of the church. It has not stopped discussion,—there must still be much discussion before the truth can be ascertained,—but it has certainly lessened the acrimony by which theological controversy has so often been characterized. It has not perhaps been visibly a great power, at least in the view of the world. But invisibly and inaudibly it has exercised not a little influence for good; and in our world the unseen and silent forces are after all the most efficacious,—the light which comes so pleasantly from the sun produces greater effects than the lightning with its thunders —the gently flowing stream has in its course more influence than the rushing waterfall. Supposing the Church of Christ to be represented by "the wheel in the midst of a wheel," we believe the Evangelical Alliance has, by its prayers and the spirit which it has diffused, yielded an oil which has helped to keep the wheels from creaking, and made the machine move with more ease and greater velocity. If it has not produced universal love, it has at least softened asperities. It has quietly created a public sentiment and given expression to that sentiment. If it has not accomplished union, it has made Christians long for union, and prepared the way for coming unions.

It can claim also to have promoted important practical work. It has united the people of God, of all sections and nationalities, in prayer more thoroughly than ever they have been before. It is through its influence that the "Week of Prayer" has been observed so uniformly all over Christendom; at almost every place where there is a Branch of the Alliance there have been meetings to pray for the children of Christian

parents, and for the promotion of great public measures in which all Christians are agreed. It has exerted its influence to combine Christians in great religious efforts, as in opposing rationalism and infidelity on the one hand, and popery and ritualism on the other. It has been particularly active in sheltering the persecuted for conscience' sake all over the world and to gain this end it has used its influence with the British, and with other governments. The Madiai in Florence, Matamoros, Alhama, Trigo and their fellow-Protestants in Spain, the missionaries and Turkish converts in Constantinople and other parts of the East, the Baptists in Germany, and many others, have been protected from severe persecutions by the influence which it has exerted. We have heard American missionaries from Turkey declare that they owe more to the Evangelical Alliance in protecting them from eminent danger than to all other instruments whatever.

The Evangelical Alliance has branches in nearly every country in which there are Christians. But by far the most important organization has hitherto been the British—we hope the American is henceforth to rival it. Down to this year, the history of the Evangelical Alliance is the history of the British Branch. For many years the ruling spirit in it was Sir Culling Eardley, a country gentleman of high status, nominally attached to the Episcopal Church, but in fact a member of the church universal. Since his decease there has been a felt want of one commanding mind to give life to the institution. It has had to meet, if not with opposition, yet with coldness, lukewarmness, and contempt. It never expected to meet with any favor from High Churchmen, or from Ritualists, or from Rationalists, or from Broad Churchmen (seeking to make the doctrines as few and undistinctive as possible), for it always opposed these parties; but it has met with no support from many persons who might have been expected to stand by it. Church leaders have been afraid heartily to identify themselves with it lest they should thereby lose their influence with their denomination; and hence the management of it has in many places devolved on weaklings, who have had no name or power in their locality. Ministers of the established churches of England and Scotland have de-

clined to join it, as in doing so they might seem to be making all churches alike, and bringing down their own favored church to the level of the dissenting churches. In Scotland, especially of late years since the death of Mr. Henderson of Park, the Alliance has called forth little zeal and enthusiasm, which have all been expended instead in defending denominationalism, and at the best in promoting denominational unions. We believe that Scotland has been a loser thereby, and the grand barrier to the union of the Presbyterian churches in Scotland is to be traced to the non-recognition of the unity of the Church of Christ. Then in England many Episcopalians, even of the evangelical type, have stood afar off, lest they should lose the *prestige* their church derives from their supposed apostolic succession. Yet in spite of all this callousness and indifference the Evangelical Alliance has kept its place in Great Britain and Ireland, and if rightly guided will come to have a more extended influence in these times, when state endowments are being broken up and all churches are put by the government on the same footing.

The Alliance has had five General or Ecumenical Conferences: in London in 1851; in Paris in 1855; in Berlin in 1857; in Geneva in 1861, and in Amsterdam in 1867. All of these, and especially the three last have been eminently successful, and have left a blessed influence behind them, more particularly in the way of strengthening the struggling Protestant evangelical churches situated in the midst of Romanism and infidelity. Take the conference held three years ago at Amsterdam. The Alliance went to that city at the earnest request of a few devoted Evangelical Christians who felt themselves powerless to resist the tide of rationalism in the state church. In that church there are about 1500 or 1600 ministers, and of these we could not hear when present at the conference, of more than 300 or 400 who preach the doctrines of the cross; a far larger number are avowed rationalists, and a considerable proportion of these are naturalists or humanists, who do not believe that a miracle has ever been performed; and the rest utter no certain sound of any kind. A merchant in the city, bred in Scotland, but now living in Amsterdam, said to the writer of this article, "This is a very difficult place in

which to bring up a family. My daughter not long ago was not able to go to the Scotch church as the day was wet, and she went to the nearest parish church, and returned from it in deep anxiety, crying out, 'What am I to believe, the minister told us to-day that Jesus never rose from the dead.'" It was into this city that the Alliance went in August, 1867. It sat for ten days, and discussed the profoundest topics on which the mind of man can meditate,—theological, missionary, moral, and social. The truth was defended, and errors exposed by the most erudite scholars and profoundest thinkers of Germany, France, Holland, and Great Britain; and plans for extending the Gospel and removing the evils that abound in our world were unfolded with great eloquence and power by some of the greatest philanthropists now living. The result was most beneficent. A twelvemonth after we met in London an excellent minister, perfectly competent to report the effect, and he assured us that more good had been done to Evangelical religion in those ten days by the Evangelical Alliance than by all other agencies during his twenty years' residence in that city.

At the meeting in Amsterdam, a requisition was handed in, through Dr. Prime, from the American Branch, praying that the next General Conference should be held in the city of New York; when it was moved by the Rev. Dr. Steane, the active Honorary Secretary of the Society, and seconded by the Rev. Dr. McCosh, a member of the Council of the Alliance, that this prayer should be granted. This leads us to speak for a little of the history of the Alliance in America. At the first Conferences in Liverpool and in London, American Christians felt as deep an interest and took as active a part as British Christians in the formation of the Society. But the unhappy question which so long distracted the churches in America, cast up in the Alliance, and American Christians feeling their situation unpleasant, withdrew from the association. It was not till the year 1866, that is till after slavery was abolished in the providence of God, that an understanding could be brought about and a harmony effected between the American and European churches. It was one of the highest privileges which the writer of this article has enjoyed

in this life, that he had a small share in helping to form a Branch of the Alliance in this country. Before his arrival in America, arrangements were being made to form an American organization; but it was on his paying a visit to this country with full powers from the British side, that the American Branch was actually instituted. On his return to Great Britain he proclaimed the fact to the Annual Conference of the British Branch, held that year at Bath; and the intelligence was hailed with boundless enthusiasm. For the last year and a half, the American Branch has been busily employed in making preparations for the great Ecumenical meeting in New York. Last year, Dr. Schaff was sent to Europe to bring about a thorough unity of action between Europe and America, and he succeeded in inducing a great many eminent men from Great Britain and the European continent to agree to visit this country, and to read papers on important subjects, theological and philanthropic. Some expect that the meeting to be opened on Sept. 22d will be the most important and influential General Conference which has yet been held, and that it will exercise a mighty influence for good on the Protestant churches throughout the world. When the British and American Branches unite their energies, the Alliance may be expected to enter on a new career, far more brilliant and important than it has had in the past. Happy effects may be expected to arise from the very meeting of Christians from the East, and from the West; of the profoundest theologians from Germany, France, Britain, and America; of the most devoted philanthropists and successful missionaries, each giving reports of the state of religion in his own land, or of the methods of usefulness employed in his own field of operations. Americans will learn much from what is being done in the old countries, in Europe and Asia; and we venture to predict that foreigners may learn something from the forms which Christian zeal takes in this new country, and that they will go home, more favorably impressed than when they come here, with the practical energy of the American people.

We lay before our readers the programme of the proceedings of the New York Conference in the latest form which it has assumed. It should be borne in mind that this plan may

be slightly modified from time to time, as it is intimated that persons who have engaged to read papers are prevented from doing so by events of Providence, or that other distinguished individuals can be present and take part in the proceedings. We have reason to believe that a number of eminent statesmen, lawyers, and physicians of this country, not named in this schedule will be asked to preside at the Conferences, and give addresses at the day and evening meetings.

EVANGELICAL ALLIANCE, 24 BIBLE HOUSE, NEW YORK.

Programme for the General Conference of Christians from all nations convened by the Evangelical Alliance, to be held in the city of New York, September 22 to October 3, 1870. *Printed for revision.*

[The list of English delegates will be completed as soon as a final report is received from the British Alliance. The Continental Delegates have all accepted, and will be present in person, or send papers on the topics assigned them. In addition to the reading of Essays and the discussion of their topics during the day, popular and devotional meetings will be held in the evening.]

Thursday Evening.—Preliminary Session.

Social re-union of members and delegates in a public hall. Address of welcome by the Rev. William Adams, D. D., LL. D., New York; and replies by officers and delegates of Foreign Alliances.

Friday.—I. Organization of the Conference, Election of Officers, etc.

II. Address by the President of the Conference.

III. Reports on the present state of Protestant Christendom.—Rev. Eugene Bersier: State of Religion in France. Professor A. Tholuck, D. D., Halle: Evangelical Theology in Germany. Rev. H. Krummacher, Brandenburg: Practical Religion in Germany. Rev. Cohen Stuart, Rotterdam: Holland and Belgium. Professor Revel, Florence: Italy. Rev. Antonio Carrasco, Madrid: Spain. Dean Kind, of the Grisons: Switzerland. Bishop Martensen, or Dr. Kalker, Copenhagen: Scandinavia. Rev. Dr. Koenig, Hungary: Austria. Rev. Robert Murray, D. D., Halifax: British Provinces of America. Rev. Abel Stevens, D. D., Brooklyn, N. Y.: United States.

Saturday.—Christian Union.

I. Vital Union by Faith with Christ, the basis of Christian Union: Dean H. Alford, D. D., of Canterbury. Professor Charles Hodge, D. D., Princeton, N. J.

II. The Communion of Saints—Modes of its Promotion and Manifestation. Christian Union consistent with Denominational Distinctions: Bishop McIlvaine, D. D.. D.C.L., Cincinnati, Ohio. Rev. C. D. Marston, Rector of Kersal, Manchester.

III. The Evangelical Alliance—its Objects and Influence in promoting Christian Union and Religious Liberty: Rev. James Davis, Secretary of the British Organization. Bishop George D. Cummins, D. D., of Kentucky.

IV. Relations, Spiritual and Ecclesiastical, between the United States of America and the British Empire: Rev. John Stoughton, D. D., London.

V. Religious Relations between America and Continental Europe: Professor Philip Schaff, D. D., New York.

Sunday.—Morning.—Sermons by ministers from Europe in all the churches opened to the Alliance. *Evening.*—Meetings for Prayers and short Addresses in various churches and in different languages.

Monday.—Christianity and its Antagonists.

I. Rationalism and Pantheism: Professor Von der Goltz, D. D., Basel, Switzerland. Professor W. F. Warren, D. D., Boston.

II. Materialism and Positivism: President James McCosh, D. D., LL. D., Princeton, N. J.

III. Best Methods of Counteracting Modern Infidelity: Rev. John Cairns, D. D., Berwick, England. Professor Theodore Christlieb, D. D., Bonn, Prussia.

IV. Harmony of Science and Revelation: General Superintendent W. Hoffman, D. D., Berlin. Professor Arnold Henry Guyot, Princeton, N. J.

V. The Gospel History and Modern Scepticism: Professor J. J. Van Oosterzee, D. D., Utrecht, Holland.

VI. The Gospel and Philosophy: Professor Ernest Naville, Geneva.

VII. Reason and Faith: Rev. E. A. Washburn, D. D., New York.

VIII. Christianity and Humanity: Professor F. Godet, D. D., Neuchatel.

Tuesday.—Christian Life.

I. Personal Religion—its Aids and Hindrances: Professor Phelps, D. D., Andover, Mass. Rev. Richard Fuller, D. D., Baltimore, Md.

II. Family Religion: Charles Reed, Esq., M. P., England. Rev. W. S. Plumer, D. D., Columbia, S. C.

III. Sunday Schools: Rev. Richard Newton, D. D., Philadelphia. Rev. Edwin B. Webb, D. D., Boston. Rev. J. H. Vincent, D. D., New York.

IV. Religious Aspects of Popular Education in Christian Countries: Honorable Baron Van Loon, Amsterdam (with regard to Holland). President Mark Hopkins, D. D., Williams' College, Mass. (with regard to America). Professor Pfleiderer, Wurtemberg (with regard to Germany).

V. Religious Education in the South: Rev. B. Sears, D. D., Staunton, Va.

VI. Demands of Christianity upon its Professors in Commercial and Public Affairs—The Right Use of Wealth: Bishop Matthew Simpson, D. D., Philadelphia. Pres. Martin B. Anderson, LL. D., Rochester, N. Y.

VII. Revivals of Religion—How to make them productive of permanent good: W. W. Patton, D. D., Chicago, Ill. S. W. Fisher, D. D., Utica, N. Y.

VIII. Christianity and the Press: G. H. Davis, LL. D., Sec. London Rel. Tract Society. Rev. W. R. Williams, D. D., New York.

Wednesday.—Protestantism and Romanism.

I. Principles of the Reformation—Supremacy of the Bible—Justification by Faith—Christian Liberty: Prof. I. A. Dorner, D. D., University of Berlin.

II. Effects of the Reformation upon Modern Civilization: Prof. I. Lichtenberger, D. D., Strassburg. Prof. Geo. P. Fisher, D. D., New Haven.

III. Present Aspects of Romanism—Ultramontanism—The Œcumenical Council of 1870—Temporal Power of the Papacy—Lessons to be Learned from

Romanism: Rev. Edmund de Pressense, D. D., Paris. Rev. R. S. Storrs, D. D., Brooklyn.

IV. The Training required to enable Protestant Ministers effectually to meet the Intellectual and Practical Demands of the Present Age: Rev. Frank Coulin, D. D., Geneva. Prof. Alvah Hovey, D. D., Newton Centre, Mass.

Thursday.—Christianity and Civil Government.

I. Present State of Religious Liberty in the different nations of Christendom: Rev. Edward Steane, D. D., London.

II. Church and State: Rev. Fred. Fabri, D. D., Barmen, Prussia. Prof. Theodore Dwight, LL. D., New York.

III. Constitution and Government in the United States as related to Religion: Pres. Woolsey, D. D., Yale College, New Haven.

IV. Legislation upon Moral Questions: Hon. W. M. Evarts, LL. D., New York.

V. Sunday Laws: Alex. Lombard, Esq., Geneva, Switzerland. Hon. William F. Alleu, Albany, N. Y.

VI. The Free Churches on the Continent of Europe: Prof. Astie, Lausanne, Switzerland. Prof. C. Pronier, Geneva, Switzerland.

VII. The Effects of Civil and Religious Liberty upou Christianity: Prof. Daniel R. Goodwin, D. D., Philadelphia.

VIII. Support of the Ministry: Pres. W. H. Campbell, D. D., New Brunswick, N. J. Rev. John Hall, D. D., New York.

Friday.—Christian Missions—Foreign and Domestic.

I. Protestant and Roman Catholic Missions compared, in their Principles, Methods, and Results: Rev. Dr. Grundemann, Gotha, Germany.

II. Protestant Missions among the Oriental Churches: Rev. Dr. H. H. Jessup, Beyrut, Syria.

III. Missions among Civilized and Uncivilized Nations: Rev. John Mullens, D. D., Secretary of the London Miss. Society.

IV. Territorial Divisions of Missionary Fields of Labor: Rev. Rufus Anderson, D. D., Boston.

V. Obligations of Science, Literature, and Diplomacy to Christian Missions: Rev. Dr. Van Dyck, M. D., Beyrut, Syria. Hou. Peter Parker, M. D., LL. D., Washington, D. C.

VI. Evangelization of the Masses in nominally Christian Countries—Inner Missions in Germany—City Missions in England and America, etc.—Lay Preaching: Count Bernstorf, Berlin, Prussia. Rev. Dr. Nast, Cincinnati. Dr. L. S. Jacobi, Bremen.

VII. Christian Work among Western Settlers, the Freedmen, Indians, and Chinese in the United States: Bishop Payne, Xenia, Ohio (Freedmen).

VIII. Laws and Modes of Progress in Christ's Kingdom: Rev. Horace Bushnell, D. D., Hartford, Ct.

Saturday.—Christianity and Social Evils.

I. Intemperance, and its Suppression: Prof. H. A. Nelson, D. D., Lane Theol. Seminary, Cincinnati.

II. Pauperism, and its Remedy: Rev. W. Muhlenberg, D. D., New York. G. H. Stuart, Esq., Philadelphia.

III. War, and its Prevention: Rev. Henry W. Beecher, Brooklyn, N. Y.

IV. False Theories of Marriage, with special reference to Mormonism: Prof. Daniel P. Kidder, D. D., Chicago.

V. Christian Philanthropy — Hospitals — Deaconesses — Refuges — Ragged Schools—Prisons: Rev. Dr. Wichern, Berlin, Prussia. The Earl of Shaftesbury, England. George Hanbury, Esq., London. Count Acenor de Gasparin, Geneva. Rev. Dr. Passavant, Pittsburgh, Pa. Bishop B. Bigler, Lancaster, Pa.

Sunday.—Close of the Conference.

Morning.—Sermons in various churches in New York, Brooklyn, and vicinity.

Evening.—Farewell Service of the Conference, with Addresses and Prayers in each language represented.

Congress on Matters of Emigration.—On Monday and Tuesday after the Conference an International Congress will be held for the Discussion and Promotion of the Material, Social, and Spiritual Welfare of the Emigrants, in which Delegates from Europe and America are to take part.

ART. IX.—*Minority Representation in the Diocese of New Jersey.*

THE method of voting by ballot, which gives to respectable minorities their just representation, in a Parliament, a Congress, or a board of officers, has attracted much attention in England, and some in this country, during the last few years. Of the attempts to introduce it, and expositions of its character and tendency, we gave some account in the last October number of this Review.

Our interest in the subject has been not a little excited, by two instances of its application; the one a recent election of a bench of judges in the State of New York, where with a Democratic majority of 80,000 against them, the Republicans elected two out of six; the other in the recent Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the diocese of New Jersey, of which the writer is a member.

The Convention adopted, and forthwith applied in action the following canon, of which we have this record: "The Rev. Dr. Garrison of Camden made a very cogent argument

in favor of minority representation, and concluded by introducing the following canon, which was supported by the Bishop, and accepted after a warm, but temperate discussion: 'In all elections by ballot each voter shall be entitled to as many votes as there are persons to be elected, which votes may be cast all for one name, or may be divided among any number not exceeding the whole number to be voted for,* and any ticket having such excess shall be rejected.

" 'There shall be a nomination to the Convention, at least three hours previous to any election by ballot, of all persons for whom it is proposed to vote, and no vote shall be counted for any name not so nominated.' "

This was directly put in force in the election of the Standing Committee of the diocese, consisting of four clerical and four lay-members. Tellers having been appointed, and the ballots received, it was found, respecting the vote of the clergy for their order, that 37 votes had been cast (only about one-third of the voters having come in at the time appointed for the election), and that the minority candidate had 37 votes, while the highest of the majority candidates had only 28. But here, for some who had not grasped the main points of the transaction, came a puzzle. It was found that the lowest of five voted for (while only four could be elected) had 19 votes; and as the tellers, not understanding that, in this mode of election, pluralities turn the scale, had reported 19 necessary to a choice, it seemed that five were equally entitled to be declared chosen. But as soon as attention was called to the plurality feature of the mode of electing, all were satisfied, and the lowest, *i. e.*, the 19 vote name, was dropped.

Then, another result of the new rule was observed, viz., that while the majority in the Convention is about 4, to 1 in the minority, the minority candidate had 9 more votes than the highest of the others. Be it observed too, that 9 voters in the minority would give 36 votes, while the 28 voting against them, giving 112 votes to 4 candidates, could give but an

* This is obscure. The meaning is, that a voter can have only as many votes as there are officers to be elected. So many he can give to one, or distribute among four of those who have been nominated, where only four are to be elected—the candidates might be a dozen.

average of 28. It appeared from the report, that several of their votes were scattered, as the 4 candidates ranged from 28 down to 19.

It is also worthy of note that while pluralities determine the result, if the majority have so scattered their votes as to give no one more than 2 or 3, their part of the ticket would have been perfectly secure, unless, indeed, two of their candidates had the same number of votes; in which case they would, we suppose, have been obliged to change some of their ballots. So a minority candidate might be elected by a very few votes against large numbers, *i. e.*, if they should happen to be much scattered.

As an illustration of results in this mode of voting, let us suppose 4 officers to be elected by 8 voters. Let the majority be 6, the minority 2. If both parties concentrate their votes, as they naturally would, the ballot will stand thus:—let A be the minority candidate, he of course gets 8 votes. The others may stand thus:—

B.	C.	D.	
2	1	1	1st voter,
1	2	1	&c.
1	1	2	
2	1	1	
1	1	2	
1	2	1	
—	—	—	
8	8	8	for each of the major-

ity. It might be 7, 8, 9, by sufficient care in distributing the votes; and other results are attainable; but the chances would be in favor of the one first stated.

The opposition to this measure in the Convention, was partly under the misapprehension that *any* minority, *however small*, must elect one at least of a proposed ticket. This had been inadvertently asserted by one or more of those favoring the canon, and not, for some time, contradicted. But it is easily made to appear that very small minorities can elect no one, unless, indeed, the majority should scatter votes in a reckless way; and this is not, in any ordinary circumstances, to be feared.

But, it is suggested, a large minority may elect the half of

a ticket: say 4 to be elected, and the parties as 65 to 45. Then as the 45 have 180 votes, they can give 90 to each of two candidates; while the majority could give only $86\frac{2}{3}$ to each of three. But the margin of danger here is small; for let there be 42 to 68, and the minority can elect only one; as clearly they ought to have power to do. Such possible dangers are not much to be regarded.

This method of election, whenever it is practicable, is clearly right; and the common method, where there is not some special reason for it, is as clearly wrong—socially, if not morally, wrong. In the case of the recent election of judges in New York, there is not the slightest reason to doubt that the minority hold a great share of the wealth, and have much of the intelligence of the mass of voters. What a wrong, where a bench of judges is to be elected, whose decisions will be of no less importance to the minority than to the majority, that the larger number merely should have all the power in their own hands—the people and interests wholly unrepresented, being more than of several of our smaller States put together.

On the true plan every one votes for those who can represent him. The smaller number may elect only one in five, or one in ten, or one in twenty—they are nevertheless represented, and can always be heard when decisions, or enactments involving their interests are proposed. This is a most beautiful result; and the world in all its parts, where voting is allowed, must at length see and feel it. The inventors of this method may be set down for as much immortality as this world can give.

The righteousness of this rule, for religious bodies, was very strongly urged in this New Jersey Convention, by Judge Savage of Rahway. He referred to the election in New York, where notwithstanding the corruption so commonly charged upon political parties a sense of rectitude prevailed. His appeal was: "If even the political world is so far moving in the direction of right, is it possible that you, as members of the Church of Christ, will refuse such a concession to your very brethren in that church?" Such, for substance, was his appeal, and it was felt, we venture to say, by every opponent of the proposed canon.

But we hear of another objection. In this same Convention it has been for some time the practice of the majority to allow the minority one member on the clerical part of the Standing Committee. Now it is said that the minority having the right, by combining thoroughly, to *elect* one, party spirit will thereby be exacerbated, the majority will lose its opportunity of showing generosity, and the minority have no longer an occasion for gratitude for the favor received. All which may be thus parabolically set forth. There is a strong man who having a weak one in his power, is accustomed to deprive him of various rights; but also, as a mere matter of grace, to allow him certain others; for which the weak man is partially grateful. But ever and anon, the parties fall into disputes, and never fully realize the conceivable blessing of generous giving and grateful receiving. The too often oppressed man is very apt to think of his *rights*, and wish that he could maintain them without the gracious permission of another. Would not these men be upon better terms, probably at least, if the *right*, instead of possible favor from the stronger, were the basis of their intercourse with each other.

We do not assert that in the case of this Convention, the rights of the minority have not been respected: our concern is with the general principles of the case.

A few words more respecting the advantages of this scheme. We have already referred to the desirableness of having respectable minorities heard through their own representatives. In a Standing Committee, a Court, or a Legislature, how important that any respectable minority of those represented, should have their interests presented and defended by men of their own choice! The voting, in such delegated bodies may be against the smaller number, but not till their cause is fully argued; and then the final action may be modified to favor their rights, in a measure at least. Again, we may observe the ease of filling up lists of those to be elected, when the first ballot fails. The minority having elected their candidates, it will be an easy task to determine the additional members of the majority part of the ticket. Two or three votes differently cast may do it. How this can be effected we need not specify.

Art. X.—NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles. By Paton J. Gloag, D. D., Minister of Blantyre. 2 vols., 8vo, pp. 439 and 456. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. New York: Scribner, Welford & Co.

It may perhaps be said that no book of the New Testament makes such large and varied demands upon a commentator as the "Acts of the Apostles." It presents indeed few difficult or obscure constructions, but while the work of translation is easy, ample scope is afforded for the skill and learning of the interpreter. Its theme is the founding, early training, and the expansion of the Christian Church, which it traces from Jerusalem the capital of Judea, to Rome the metropolis of the world. It covers the whole period of transition from the old dispensation to the new, and details those providential measures by which the infant company of believers attained its independent organization, was gradually released from the shackles of the past, was brought to a consciousness of its true character and mission, and was fairly embarked upon its new career, equipped for its work and secure of its destiny. The proper interpretation of this book necessarily involves an intelligent appreciation of the vast movement here described, and a correct apprehension of the bearing of each successive act or incident upon the ultimate result.

And then the peculiar position of this book as a link uniting the past with the future, renders its adjustment with the preceding and following portions of divine revelation, a task of unusual delicacy and importance. There are special difficulties,—chronological, historical, and exegetical,—which grow out of the frequent allusions to or citations from the Old Testament. It is in form a sequel to the gospel written by the same author, who thus intimates the close connection between what is here narrated and the personal ministry of Christ. And it stands in almost perpetual relation with the epistles, upon whose occasion and design it sheds much welcome light, while receiving from them incidental corroboration of many of its statements, and important aid for the more exact understanding of others.

Again, one of the most striking features of the Acts, in which it contrasts remarkably with the other New Testament writings, is its numerous points of contact with general history and what we know from uninspired sources. While the gospels are limited to the narrow territory of Palestine, the Acts traverse not only Syria but Asia Minor and Greece, finally conducting us to Italy and Rome. The mention of cities and provinces, of their governors, and of facts and usages, affords opportunity for abundant illustration from multiplied sources, from Greek and Roman writers, from ancient monuments and coins and works of art, and from the investigations of modern travellers. Recent research has col-

lected a vast mass of materials which can be usefully employed in the elucidation or vindication of the sacred narrative.

And finally this book has been subjected to the minute and searching criticism of modern times. Men of great learning and acuteness have been employed in its investigation with the view of ascertaining all that can be known or legitimately inferred of the circumstances of its origin, the design with which it was written, its plan and the relations of its several parts. They have worked each from his own stand-point as believers or as unbelievers, with a just or a perverted view of the work which they were thus carefully examining. And this laborious scrutiny, even when undertaken with mistaken conceptions or prosecuted with pernicious designs, has resulted either in directly developing what is of real value or in inciting others to investigations of lasting importance. So that whether it has been from envy and strife or with good will, we may nevertheless rejoice that the issue has been to promote the cause of truth.

Of Dr. Gloag's commentary we cannot speak otherwise than in terms of high commendation. His previous labors as translator of the Commentary on the Acts in the Edinburgh (not the American) edition of Lange's Bibelwerk, formed an excellent preparation for the independent task which he has now undertaken, and which he has executed with distinguished ability. There is little perhaps that is positively new or original in these volumes. But what is of vastly greater consequence than any novelties of interpretation, the author has brought together in a brief and manageable compass, lucidly arranged and clearly stated, whatever has been developed in the various lines of investigation above recited, that is of consequence for the understanding of this book. He has furnished, however, not a congeries of other men's opinions, but the matured results of extended study, a well-balanced judgment and a devout spirit full of reverence and love for the holy oracles. There is throughout these volumes a delightful combination of candor, good sense, and evangelical sentiment. We might not acquiesce in every opinion expressed. Statements are occasionally made that require modification or qualification. We may instance the remark, Vol. I., p. 140, respecting the Sadducees: "They rejected the traditions of the Fathers: the written word, according to them, was the only rule of faith and doctrine; and all the supposed traditions derived from Moses were spurious." This allegation, though so frequently made and apparently sanctioned by the words of Josephus, is yet shown by the latest researches into native Jewish authorities, to be not entirely correct. Geiger (Urschrift und Uebersetzungen der Bibel, p. 133) and Derenbourg (L'Histoire de la Palestine d'après les Thalmuds, ch. viii.) have shown that while the Sadducees rejected the traditions current among the Pharisees, they had others of their own to which they adhered with equal reverence. While retaining, however, the liberty of occasional dissent, we see no cause to retract or modify the favorable judgment already given respecting these instructive and excellent volumes.

The Elements of the Hebrew Language. By Rev. A. D. Jones, A.M. 8vo, pp. 163. Andover. 1870.

This grammar professes to be one for beginners, to whom in spite of some defects it may prove useful. It contains a brief statement of grammatical principles, and is accompanied by exercises for translation, and a vocabulary. Its exercises

for pronunciation are borrowed without acknowledgment from Willard's grammar of 1817, from which the classification of irregular verbs and the antiquated declension of nouns and pronouns by the Latin cases are likewise taken, this last being as appropriate as the same thing would be in English grammar, only aggravated by the fact that what is given as the genitive is not so used in the Biblical Hebrew at all. An innovation is made in the verbal paradigms, which can scarcely be other than confusing to beginners, the persons of the preterite being arranged in a different order from those of the future, and those of the preterite of the substantive verb, p. 74, differently from the preterites of other verbs. Terms are also employed in strange and novel senses, and this without definitions or even self-consistency. Thus on p. 14: "All the letters can be *quiescent;* but only the four א ה ו י can be *imperceptible;* hence they are called *mutes.*" Here "mutes" has a meaning which is certainly different from that to which learners are accustomed; "quiescent" a meaning which is neither explained in this connection, nor could it be divined from pp. 22, 78, where the same word recurs, but in totally different senses; and "imperceptible" is incorrectly applied.

Crowned and Discrowned; or, the Rebel King and the Prophet of Ramah. By Rev. S. W. Culver, A. M. 16mo., pp. 149. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. For sale by Smith, English & Co.

A series of brief paragraphs on striking passages from the life of Saul, tersely written and with much vivacity and force, and showing no little vigor and freshness of thought. Where the writer stands on the platform of our common Christianity, he says much that is just and impressive. When he retreats to the narrow corner of sectarian exclusiveness, and rails against infant baptism, and charges those who profess to baptize, yet do not immerse, with "uttering an untruth," with "renouncing the authority of God, impeaching the wisdom of the Saviour, mocking God, deceiving their fellow-men, and perverting the ordinances of the church and the truth of the gospel," we can scarcely be expected to accord to him our approbation.

A Manual of Church History. Mediæval Church History. A. D. 590–A. D. 1073. By Henry E. F. Guericke, Doctor and Professor of Theology in Halle; translated from the German by William G. T. Shedd, Baldwin Professor in Union Theological Seminary. Andover: Warren F. Draper.

Church history owes much to the Lutherans, perhaps more than to any other body of Christians. Rationalists and orthodox alike have labored, for the most part with a singleness of purpose, which is eminently German, to ascertain and present correctly the facts of the church's progress. In English, things take a controversial turn, and when a man writes history, it is with a view to defend some party interest in religion or politics; a German, usually, goes into his work with little concern what conclusion may come out of it, provided only he gets what seems to himself coherent and truthful. At the same time it is not possible that he should not be biased, more or less, by his own habitual way of thinking. Guericke is an orthodox Lutheran of the most uncompromising type, and can see nothing at variance with the faith and practice of his own denomination. A worthy representative of the piety of Halle, he is an opponent of all rational-

ism, "is in hearty sympathy with the truths of revelation, as they have been enunciated in the symbols, and wrought into the experience of the Christian church from the beginning. Belonging to the High Lutheran branch of the German church, and also sharing, to some extent, in its recent narrowness, whenever he approaches the points at issue between the Lutherans and Calvinists, he cordially adopts all the cardinal doctrines of the Reformation," and "stands upon the high ground of supernaturalism in reference to the origin, establishment, and perpetuity of the Christian religion."

Thirteen years ago, Prof. Shedd translated the first volume of Guericke's work, bringing the history down to the end of the sixth century. The volume now published continues it to the accession of Pope Gregory VII. in 1073.

Following the footsteps of Neander, Guericke labors to compress his narrative into the smallest possible space, the present volume contains only 160 octavo pages, His sentences are packed full of information, but often awkward and harsh. His style is much improved by passing into the English of Professor Shedd.

The Typology of Scripture, viewed in connection with the whole Series of the Divine Dispensations. By Patrick Fairbairn, D. D., Principal and Professor of Divinity, Free Church College, Glasgow. Fifth edition. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. New York: Scribner, Welford & Co. 1870.

These two large and well-printed octavo volumes show the great value and enduring vitality of a work which, after a lapse of some twenty years since its first publication, reappears in a fifth edition, besides having been republished, we believe, in other editions in this, if not in other countries. We find in this a confirmation of the impression made on our mind, as we perused and examined it when first made accessible to us years ago. We have read few books which have helped us more to a true insight into the most significant and germinant portions of Scripture, and some most important aspects of exegetical, doctrinal, and practical theology. It is full of the "seeds of things," and eminently suggestive, quickening, and informing to the student of divinity and the preacher.

The view of the Scriptural types with which the Old Testament abounds, is rescued from the extravagance of the extreme typical school on the one hand, and from rationalistic destructiveness on the other. They are treated in their living relations to the Great Antitype, and to the whole of revealed truth which centres and culminates in the Alpha and Omega of all divine revelations and dispensations.

The author avails himself of all the light of modern research and German learning in the construction of his work: refuting them when destructive or groundless, but incorporating them when they elucidate his great theme. This was done in the original edition not only, but more fully in this, so far as new contributions to the discussion have been since made. He has given it a general revision, carefully making any emendations and improvements, suggested by the experience and the criticisms of the period that has elapsed since its first publication, thus furnishing us a worthy illustration of the maxim of Augustine quoted in the title-page: *In vetere Testamento novum latet, et in novo vetus patet.*

The Dogmatic Faith: An Inquiry into the Relation subsisting between Revelation and Dogma, in Eight Lectures preached before the University of Oxford in the year 1867, *on the Foundation of the late Rev. John Bampton, M. A., Canon of Salisbury.* By Edward Garbett, M. A., Incumbent of Christ Church, Surbiton. With an Introductory Note by William G. T. Shedd, D. D., Baldwin Professor in Union Theological Seminary, New York City. New York: Anson D. F. Randolph & Co. 1870.

No book could appear at the present time more urgently needed, or better fitted to accomplish the end at which it aims. Christendom is flooded with all kinds of assaults against Christian doctrine, or the idea that Christianity involves any system or body of truths, any series of definite propositions, the belief of which is essential to the Christian faith, the denial of which is a negation of Christianity. We are told that Christianity is not a doctrine but a life, as if a Christian life were a negation of Christian truth, or could exist in ignorance, hatred, or rejection of, or non-conformity to, that truth. Others, like Colenso, perverting and overstraining the contrast between letter and spirit, represent Christianity as some ethereal and impalpable spirit diffusing itself somehow through the language of the Bible, but not definitely articulated or determinately expressed by it. Dogma is the great scandal of all who do not like the distinctive doctrines of Christianity, and try to rationalize them away. We have even known one of the most popular but erratic of preachers in orthodox ecclesiastical connections, ridiculing dogma by such small punning as writing it *dog*-ma.

On the other hand, our author shows, against all those who would thus evaporate Christianity into nihilism, that, however the word "dogmatism" may sometimes mean a disposition in men to force assent to their own doctrines by the groundless assumption of divine authority for them, yet "dogma" means a truth declared and attested by the word of God; that there is a body of such truths capable of definite statement which constitutes Christianity; that these have been held in the church continuously downward from apostolic times; that the rationalists and papists are alike at fault in setting up a standard and arbiter of faith outside of and above the written word: that the natural conscience, although the guiding moral faculty in man, yet shares the corruption of his whole nature, and requires itself to be guided by the light of revelation. These and cognate truths are set forth and vindicated with a light and power, a judicial insight, a dialectic skill, a fulness of learning and ripeness of culture which the task requires, and which have given such value to many courses of the Bampton lectures. We quote the following as a fair sample of the whole book—pp. 32–4:—

"But the error reaches beyond this. For the claims of the church, deprived of their historical basis in the Word, become a mere form of human speculation, instead of a divine ordinance. They are thus regarded by the disciples of rationalism, as standing on precisely the same footing as other modes of thought, with the authority of the understanding, and nothing else, for their ultimate basis. In the supposed absence of a divine revelation, the rationalist, it appears to me, is unquestionably right. The Church of Rome, for instance, has been accustomed in times past, to accept the true inspiration of the Scriptures, and only since she has been pressed by the arguments of the Reformers has she found it her policy to depreciate their authority. But she teaches that the rule of faith is in herself, and that she gives authority to the Scriptures, not derives authority from them. When, therefore, she is asked for her credentials, she has none to give beyond

herself. She affirms herself to be the depository of the authority of Christ upon earth, but she has no evidence to offer beyond her own affirmation. The old argument of antiquity and universality she has practically given up, and taken the theory of development in exchange. The breach between her and all Christian antiquity consequently becomes wider day by day. Hence she possesses no evidence for her asserted authority save her own affirmation of its existence. But this is exactly the ground of the theist, the pantheist, and even the atheist. The instruments of discovery used by these several schools of thought are different. With one it may be a natural sentiment, with another a mystical intuition, with a third the speculative intellect; but in each case the process is equally internal and subjective. They have no historical basis, and if the existence of the inspired records of the faith be denied or forgotten, the church sinks into exactly the same position. In such a case the most dogmatic creed, philosophically considered, becomes a form of human speculation and nothing more."

American Political Economy: including Strictures on the Management of the Currency and the Finances since 1861, *with a Chart showing the Fluctuations in the Price of Gold.* By Francis Bowen, Alford Professor of Natural Religion, Moral Philosophy, and Civil Polity in Harvard College. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1870.

This is partly a recast of a treatise on Political Economy, published years ago by the author, and partly a searching review and criticism of the financial measures of the government during and since the late war. We have been accustomed to read with high interest and appreciation the publications of Prof. Bowen in the department of mental and kindred sciences. Whether we agree with them or not, they are always able, thorough, and scholarly. We quite agree with Dr. McCosh, that his work on Logic, is the most perfect unfolding of the Kantian and Hamiltonian Formal Logic that has yet been produced.

In this volume the author presents the elementary principles of Political Economy, with his wonted clearness and force. He, however, appears, in his Preface, to set small value on these generalities or the universal and ultimate laws of the science. He rather magnifies the importance of its concrete applications and phenomena in particular nations, "Here in America as it seems to me, we need an American Political Economy, the principles of the science being adapted to what is special in our physical condition, social institutions, and pursuits."—P. 5. His illustrations, however, are, in about the usual proportion found in American authors, derived from foreign countries, especially Britain, till he comes to the subject of money, more particularly as connected with the financial measures of our government since the outbreak of the war. This is the feature of the book, makes up about half of it, constitutes the principal addition to his former work, and specially earns for it the title of "American Political Economy." We detect here, as elsewhere in the author's writings, vigor, keenness, clearness, and many valuable suggestions new and old. But we are sorry to say that we meet with much that, with all respect, we must regard as betraying too much of the narrowness of special pleading, and less of judicial breadth and impartiality than we had looked for.

What most surprises us is the chapter on the National Banking system. It would require an extended article to point out all the fallacies of this chapter. One is that it was initiated in a state of war, and that this is no time for instituting new systems. This is only a half truth. It is not the time for innovations that can and will be better made in quiet times. But it is the very time

for great and needed revolutionary measures, that never would be otherwise adopted, such as the abolition of slavery, and the resumption by the national government of its constitutional function of controlling all issues of money, or whatever, by any governmental authority, circulates as money; so that, instead of being multiplied endlessly at the pleasure of some forty States, at once flooding the country, and having a mere local credit, we may have a currency issued by the national authority, and gladly received for the value of its face in the remotest nook and corner of our country. Prof. Bowen tells us, that "the great advantages of these local peculiarities (of State Banks) is, that the local currencies stay at home, bank-bills circulate only in the neighborhoods where those who receive them are well acquainted with the character and management of the issuing institution," etc. (p. 371). For ourselves, and we think we speak for ninety-nine out of every hundred, we have had enough of the benefits of these "local currencies," which could not be sent in a letter from Massachusetts to Minnesota, without incurring a heavy percentage of loss; which often caused a loss to merchants, amounting to a heavy percentage of their profits, in procuring their redemption; which supported great banks, and banking-houses in all our great cities, in the business and profits of redeeming them; which caused an annual heavy loss to all periodicals, and others receiving their dues in small sums by mail. Do travellers wish the return of this "local currency?" We have ourselves had bills of specie-paying banks in New Jersey, refused by hotel-keepers in Massachusetts, and specie demanded. The very thought of pleading the superiority of State to National Bank currency, seems to us unaccountable.

And it is not in keeping with this when the author tells us (p. 381), "It was a great mistake to take away the whole bank edifice from *its solid foundation on private commercial credit* and place it on *the morass, the quaking bog, of national stock*, which may be selling at par to day, and 70 or 80 next week?" Indeed? Do not banks and bankers, after all, prefer the security of this "quaking bog" to private commercial credit for their loans? And do not the people likewise prefer the same for their bank-bills? But says Prof. Bowen:—

"Still it may be said that here is no real ground of complaint, for it is the very essence and excellence of the system that one bill shall be as good as another anywhere. Let us see. A depositor once had occasion to have a small check cashed at a bank which never, under the old system, paid him any thing but its own bills. This time it paid him four bills, one from some town unknown to him in Pennsylvania, a second from some place equally unknown in Michigan, a third from New York, and the fourth was an old State Bank bill. Now the National Bank bills, though legal tender to and from the United States, except for the payment of duties or interests on national stocks, are not legal tender between man and man. Suppose the person had occasion for some greenbacks, which, at present and for some indefinite time to come, are 'lawful money,' in order to make a tender for the discharge of a debt. His own local bank is not bound to obtain them for him, for he has none of its own bills to present for them. He must write to some friend, if he can find one, either in Pittsburgh or Philadelphia, to another at Chicago, to a third at Albany or New York, and ask them to present these bills for redemption at the proper places; and then, after considerable delay, and some expense in writing letters, and for postage, and some risk in transmitting money by mail, he will receive lawful money in exchange for his little share of Mr. Chase's uniform National Currency."—Pp. 373–4.

One simple fact finishes this operose illustration. Every bank is bound to pay the checks of its depositors in "lawful money," *i. e.*, legal tender or coin

if demanded. Does not the author say in this very paragraph, that National Bank bills are "not a legal tender between man and man?" Certainly not then between banks and men.

These are fair specimens of the author's whole style of dealing with this great subject. What he says about the profits and privileges involved in the circulation of the National Banks, is equally mistaken. We much regret that so good a book should suffer from such blemishes.

The Sublime in Nature; compiled from the descriptions of travellers and celebrated writers. By Ferdinand de Lanoye. With large additions.

Wonders of Glass-Making in all Ages. By A. Sanzay. Illustrated by sixty-three engravings on wood.

The Sun. By Amédée Guillemin. From the French, by A. L. Phipson, Ph. D. With fifty-eight illustrations.

The above are three additional volumes of the "Illustrated Library of Wonders," in course of publication by Messrs. Charles Scribner & Co. We have already brought some of the preceding volumes to the favorable attention of our readers. As the series goes forward we confess that we are more and more impressed with its excellence. It is seldom that any set of reading books appear that so happily combine the entertainment of the novel with the choicest practical and scientific instruction, fitted alike for the old and the young, the cultivated and uncultivated, the individual and the family. The graphic sketches and pictorial illustrations are equally useful and fascinating. The descriptions of the great mountains, volcanoes, rivers, and cataracts of the globe in the first of the volumes above noted are derived from the best sources.

The second on the wonders of Glass-Making is quite unique, and there are few who will not be charmed by the descriptions and illustrations of the processes and products of human art in the various forms of this most useful and beautiful substance in different countries and ages.

The third volume on the "Wonders of the Sun," is still more remarkable in the grandeur, magnificence, and utility of its unfoldings. It expands and rises with the vastness and sublimity of its object. The great discoveries of modern science are brought within the reach of the ordinary reader, in a way to inform, astonish, and delight him. We append one or two extracts from this volume.

"THE FUNCTIONS OF HEAT AND LIGHT.

"Heat cannot supply the place of light in the important function of vegetation. A plant which is shut up in a dark place, even when there is a sufficient degree of temperature, becomes chlorotic; its green color disappears; it only lives and grows at the expense of its own substance. M. Boussingault has recently studied the phenomena of vegetation in the dark; his experiments prove that if the young plant raised from a seed be developed out of all contact with light, the leaves do not act as a reducing apparatus; a plant born under such circumstances emits carbonic acid constantly, as long as the substance of the seed can supply any carbon, and the duration of its existence depends upon the weight of this substance. It is a singular fact that a plant, developed in complete darkness with stalk, leaves, and roots, performs functions like an animal during the whole period of its existence. 'It is only under the influence of light that leaves are sensitive, endowed with periodic movements, and capable of motion. In the dark they are rigid and appear to be asleep.' (J. Sachs, 'Vegetable Physiology.')

"Finally, if the development of the various colors of flowers be independent of the local action of light, the latter is no less indirectly the indispensable agent both of the formation and of the colors of flowers, since the corolla and the staminæ can only grow and subsist at the expense of substances formed in the leaves by the action of light.

"THE RAYS OF THE SUN THE FIRST CONDITION OF EXISTENCE FOR ORGANIZED BEINGS.

"The rays of the sun are, therefore, from every point of view, the first condition of existence for organized beings on the surface of the Earth. They supply them with heat, without which life would soon be extinguished; with light, which presides over the nutrition of plants, and consequently over the lives of every being in the animal world; at every moment they determine numerous chemical combinations and decompositions. They constitute an incessant and periodically renewed source of movement, power, and life. Men of the present day profit not only by the prodigious quanity of force which the Sun annually pours upon the Earth in the form of calorific, chemical, and luminous undulations, but they are consuming also that which has been preserved for thousands of centuries. What are, in fact, the accumulated masses of coal buried in the crust of the Earth by geological action, but the produce of solar light condensed some thousand centuries ago in gigantic forests? Their carboniferous principle transformed by a kind of slow distillation amassed itself first into a peaty tissue, then into more and more compact strata, until the layers of vegetable remains were completely converted into basins of coal. At the present day in our manufactories, our locomotives, and steamers, these precious fossils give back to man in light, heat, and mechanical power, all that they had formerly acquired for thousands of years from the rays of the Sun."

Since the foregoing was written we have received from Scribner & Co. two additional volumes of the series of "Illustrated Wonders," viz.:—

The Wonders of the Human Body. From the French of A. L. Pileur, Doctor of Medicine. Illustrated with forty-five engravings.

The Wonders of Italian Art. By Louis Viardot. Twenty-eight engravings.

The former rich in anatomical and physiological instruction popularized; the latter opening to the great reading public the wealth and magnificence of art in the land of artists. We take from it the following extract:—

"MICHAEL ANGELO'S REVENGE ON BIAGIO.

"The fresco of Michael Angelo was not yet finished when it was nearly being destroyed. From the denunciation of his chamberlain, Biagio of Cesena, who considered the painting more suitable for a bath-room or even a tavern than for the pope's chapel, Paul III. had, for a short time, the wish to have it destroyed. To revenge himself on his denunciator, Michael Angelo condemned Biagio to the pillory of immortality. He painted him among the condemned under the form of Minos, and according to the fiction of Dante in the fifth canto of the 'Inferno:'

Stravvi Minos orribilmente e ringia,

that is to say, with the ass's ears of Midas and a serpent for a girdle, which recalls the lines of an old Spanish romance, on the King Rodrigo, crying out from his tomb:—

Ya me comen, ya me comen,
Por do mas pecado habia.

Biagio complained to the pope, demanding that at least his features should be effaced. 'In what part of his picture has he placed you?' asked the pope

'In hell.'—'If it had been in purgatory, we could have got you out, but in hell, *nulla est redemptio.*'"

Annual of Scientific Discovery, or Year Book of Facts in Science and Art, for 1870. *Exhibiting the most important Discoveries and Improvements in Mechanics, Useful Arts, Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, Astronomy, Geology, Biology, Botany, Mineralogy, Meteorology, Geography, Antiquities, etc. Together with Notes on the Progress of Science during the year* 1869; *a List of recent Scientific Publications, Obituaries of Eminent, Scientific Men, etc.* Edited by John Trowbridge, S. B., Assistant Professor of Physics in the Massachusetts Institute of Technology; aided by Samuel Kneeland, M. D., Professor of Zoology and Physiology in the Institute; and W. R. Nichols, Graduate of the Institute. Boston: Gould & Lincoln, 59 Washington Street. New York: Sheldon & Co. London: Trubner & Co. 1870.

This title-page does such justice to the contents of this great Annual, which we always welcome, that we cannot improve upon without stretching our remarks beyond a short notice to an extended article. It is quite indispensable to all who would keep at all abreast of the immense strides of pure and applied science. A prodigious amount of most valuable and interesting matter is closely packed into it. Few could read it without finding practical suggestions from which they could gain economical advantages greatly surpassing its cost. The schemes of the foundation of separate species by natural selection and by derivation, as against an origin by creation, are not dealt with quite according to their deserts.

The Word! or, Universal Redemption and Salvation; pre-ordained before all Worlds. A more Evangelical, Philanthropic, and Christian Interpretation of the Almighty God's Sacred Promises of Infinite Mercy, Forgiveness, and Grace; reverently submitted to Christendom. By George Marin De La Voye, a Septuagenarian Optimist. London: Whittaker & Co.; Trubner & Co. New York: Scribner, Welford & Co.

If the title-page does not sufficiently display the nebulous (is it too much to say, delirious?) magniloquence of this amiable and venerable rhapsodist, almost any page of the book will. We give our readers, *instar omnium*, the following from the first pages (48–9) at which we happened to open:—

"FIRST AND FOREMOST SALUTARY PRESENCE OF EVIL.

"It was the eternal monotheocratic Lord of all things, visible and invisible, who, having 'mentally' created Adam, upon first discovering that a self-generated incipient ether, of an extremely virulent nature, was imperceptibly but effectively contaminating the souls of his heavenly spirits and powers, besides spreading influential pestilence throughout his principalities and kingdoms, had furthermore anticipatedly composed those prophecies, revelations, and sacred warnings (including our Lord's prayer), which were in due time to constitute the most important portion of our Sacred Bible.

"Although not yet self-multiplied, our Almighty God, the ever-flowing 'Fountain of Divine Love and Grace,' combined within his all-sufficient and formidable Oneness, 'I am Alpha and Omega.—The First and the Last' all the wonderful attributes of the Three incomprehensible Gods of that godhead, which he secretly imposed, after a time, by miraculous divisions, and separations, mercifully to treble.

"Therefore, annihilating forever, by a single thought, the total existence of the

above-mentioned ethereal malefic principles of evil, Jehovah next evoked from the infernal abysses, where he had for myriads of centuries past confined him at the extremest verge of the immeasurable universe, that false Archangel he intentionally formed and endowed as a 'spiritual antidote,' perfectly subservient to his Almighty will, against the deplorable ills which he from the very beginning had foreseen and forefended."

A History of the Free Churches of England, from A. D. 1688—A. D. 1851. By Herbert S. Skeats. Second edition. London: Arthur Miall. New York: Scribner, Welford & Co. 1869.

A field is here explored in regard to which there is a wide desire and need of information on historical, ecclesiastical, theological, political, and sociological grounds. The above volume is really a history of dissent from the established church in England. He traces its various forms in their origin, progress, developments, and their joint and several influence upon the religion, politics, the social, moral, educational condition of England. He shows how much that country owes to its Dissenters, for all that is most precious in the present state, privileges, and franchises of the people.

In the present agitations, which are shaking Great Britain on Establishment, Disestablishment, and Voluntaryism, this large and solid volume is a valuable thesaurus of historical information. The subject of Free Churches and the proper support of them and their ministers, has an unfailing interest in this country. Sustentation-funds yet constitute the unsolved problem of our American Voluntaryism. The English churches sketched in this volume are also of interest to American Christians, as most of our great American churches are their offspring, which have largely outgrown the mother churches whence they sprung.

We have noticed in this volume an incidental confirmation of what we have always believed, in regard to the relation, position, and agency of Wesley and Whitefield in that great religious awakening in the English Church, out of which the Methodist Church grew. It was at a later stage in organizing and shaping it, that the hand of John Wesley was most felt. Says Mr Skeats (p. 354):—

"Much, however, as John Wesley's name has been identified, and justly so, with the great religious awakening which followed from his preaching and from that of his followers, it is to Whitefield that the origin of the movement is more especially due. It was not Wesley, but Whitefield, who first awoke the people from the sleep of spiritual death; and it was not Wesley, but Whitefield, who first broke the bonds of ecclesiastical conventionalisms and laws. This occurred while the Wesleys were in Georgia."

We have received from Scribner & Co., the publishers, Vols. IX. and X. of their cheap edition of Froude's *History of England*, from the Fall of Wolsey to the death of Elizabeth; being the 3d and 4th volumes upon the Reign of Elizabeth. This work has been so fully and frequently characterized, and its great merits specified by us in connection with the issue of previous volumes, that we deem it necessary to do no more than welcome an edition whose cheapness will render it as accessible as welcome to a greatly enlarged circle of readers.

The Laws of Discursive Thought: being a Text-Book of Formal Logic. By James McCosh, LL. D., President of the College of New Jersey, Princeton; formerly Professor of Logic and Metaphysics, Queen's College, Belfast. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1870.

Those who are interested in the science of Logic, and in Dr. McCosh as a metaphysical writer, will take great pleasure in studying this volume. Although the great principles of Logic are *a priori* truths, apodictic in their nature, and as unquestionable and unchangeable as the multiplication-table, it is wonderful what a succession of able treatises is constantly appearing on the subject, each presenting it, as a whole, or in some of its sides and angles, in new aspects, which serve to promote or perfect our apprehension and mastery of it. The readers of our late book-notices must have observed the frequent recent instances of this. Dr. McCosh has in this compact volume treated this subject with his wonted clearness, freshness, and thoroughness, and with more than his usual conciseness.

He has especially laid himself out upon that first element of logic, the Notion, or, as it is sometimes called, simple apprehension, in its threefold form of Percept, Abstract, and Concept, and unfolded the whole subject with much originality, force, and justness. None can peruse this chapter without widening their insight into the subject, whether they always agree in all points with the author or not. For ourselves, we see little in it to dissent from, and much to instruct us.

The chapter on Language, with which the author closes his discussion of the Notion, though carried to an extent that is somewhat extra-logical, grammatical, or rhetorical, is, nevertheless, a legitimate outgrowth of his analysis of the Notion. We are glad that Dr. McCosh did not allow himself to be prevented, by any respect for the mere technical bounds of the science, from inserting this admirable chapter.

The volume before us runs rapidly but thoroughly through judgments and syllogisms, and concludes with copious examples for the proper exercise of learners.

It will take rank with those productions of the author which have already established his great reputation as a writer on the Mental Sciences.

Notes on the Apocalypse; with an Appendix containing dissertations on some of the apocalyptic symbols, together with animadversions on the interpretations of several among the most learned and approved expositors of Britain and America. By David Steele, Sr., Pastor of the Reformed Presbyterian Congregation. 16mo, pp. 323. Philadelphia: Young & Ferguson. 1870.

These notes follow with minor and unessential variations in the track of those English expositors who find in the Revelation a consecutive disclosure of the future, and who adapt its mystic symbols in regular chronological order to the events of ecclesiastical and civil history. The numerical periods are computed on the assumption that a day stands for a year, with the exception of the millennium, which is with equal positiveness and equal absence of proof declared to be one thousand ordinary years. The trumpets succeed the seals, and the vials follow the trumpets, or else "*cotemporate*" (p. 240) with the last of the series. The seals extend from the time of the Apostle John to the accession of Constantine. The trumpets betoken the utter destruction of the Roman Empire. The first four herald the fall of its western portion. The fifth and sixth bring the Saracens and Turks to overwhelm its eastern division. The seventh shall put a final end to all "immoral power," under which broad designation are included all existing

European states and American governments. The light in which the writer regards our own national organization will appear from the following (p. 171): "Speculative atheism caused the French revolution and led to the erection of the United States government; which, having openly declared independence of England, soon after virtually declared independence of God." His feeling towards "secret and sworn confederacies" appears from p. 172, where, freemasonry, oddfellowship, temperance associations, and a countless number of affiliated societies" are indiscriminately spoken of as "the offshoots of popery and infidelity," and as means or agencies by which "the dragon still assails the woman." Whether his censures of "corruptions in the matter of God's worship" p. 177, and "human inventions as means of grace," p. 205, are aimed at or designed to cover the sin of singing any thing but Rouse's version of the Psalms, we cannot say positively; but sundry expressions scattered through the volume lead us to suspect it. On the whole, if "freedom from any political bias" (p. 6), and we may venture to add ecclesiastical bias, is an important "prerequisite" to the right understanding of the Apocalypse, we fear that the Rev. Mr. Steele will fall under the same condemnation which he has passed upon all his predecessors.

Removing Mountains: Life Lessons from the Gospels. By John S. Hart. 16mo, pp. 306. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1870.

This is a series of meditations upon Gospel topics written in that graceful and felicitous style, of which Prof. Hart is an acknowledged master. They are of various character, but all are full of instructive thought, or happy illustration, or suggestive application to subjects of immediate interest. The volume takes its name from the first of these brief articles, in which the attempt is made to rise to a conception of the power of faith to overcome the most formidable obstacles, as this is set forth in our Lord's familiar words: which from their very familiarity are apt to make only a vague and indefinite impression. The emblem is so vast that it requires time and reflection to apprehend it properly. Prof. Hart will not suffer it to be dismissed in a single sentence but holds it up before the minds of his readers, and assists them by successive steps to reach an estimate of what it is to remove a mountain; what it would be for a corps of engineers with all the aid of modern machinery and appliances to dig down the Alleghanies or the Rocky Mountains, and wheel them into the ocean; and what that must bo that can execute a task, to which such an operation can be fitly compared.

Prof. Hart's position and experience as an educator will naturally attract attention to his views upon the relation of Christianity to our public-school system, as shown in Chapter IX.: "The Things that belong to Cæsar." And Sabbath-School teachers and others interested in promoting the efficiency of this important agency will find timely and useful suggestions in Chapter XLIV.: "Nothing but Leaves."

History of the Presbytery of Erie. By S. J. M. Eaton, Pastor of the Presbyterian Church, Franklin, Pa. New York: Hurd & Houghton.

A valuable contribution to Presbyterian Church History, undertaken by appointment of the Presbytery. It contains a graphic account of the early churches in Western Pennsylvania; this being the third Presbytery organized

west of the Alleghany Mountains. Redstone was first, 1781; Ohio, second, 1798; and Erie, third, 1801. The manners and customs of our fathers at the beginning of this century, in that region, are described with singular vivacity and justness. And it must be said of the author, in this second attempt at authorship, in this department, that he proves to be an historian of unquestionable excellence. He adds to diligence of research, accuracy of statement, and rich variety of details, a style of classic purity and beauty; full of quiet humor, and pertinent allusion.

The biographical sketches of deceased ministers, about fifty in number, make a valuable and interesting record, for the whole church. The sketches of living men, nearly seventy in number, who are, or have been members of this Presbytery, though scarcely more than statistical, in any case, and even suppressed in the statistics,—the age, for example, being commonly withheld,—are made with the manly good taste, which avoids all compliment, and even estimate of ability or service.

The third part of the book consists of an admirable register of the churches; date of organization, succession of pastors, of edifices, and distinguished members, especially young men reared for the ministry, and connection with Old or New School, in the thirty-two years of division, now terminated.

Elocution: the sources and elements of its power. By J. H. Mc Ilvaine, Professor of Belles Lettres in Princeton College. New York: Charles Scribner & Co.

The Introduction consists of a comprehensive estimate of the utility and importance of this great art, and a refutation of the reasons for disparaging and neglecting it. The dignity of the art is also shown, with uncommon force and beauty; so that the reader is well prepared to engage in the minutest labor, to which the author leads him; made to feel, with Herbert, in his "Country Parson," that there can be "nothing little" in the cultivation, he proposes; and to "covet earnestly" this elocution, as even foremost among "the best gifts." With rare felicity, he cites the memorable saying of Socrates, the greatest of all uninspired teachers: "I would rather write upon the hearts of living men, than upon the skins of dead sheep." In the example of our Lord Jesus himself, the dignity and value of oral teaching over book-making, appears to encourage this art; and restrain the inordinate valuation of the press in our day, as the best means of greatness, and permanent influence for good.

The book is then divided into two parts: I. *The sources of power in delivery.* II. *The elements of power in delivery.*

THE SOURCES are *ten* in number: viz., *Thought, Feeling, Earnestness, Direct Address, Sympathy, Mastery of the Subject, Facility of Remembering, Familiarity with the Manuscript, Vitality of the Physical Man,* and *Self-control.* This part of the work is exhaustive and profound. It ranks the author fairly with Fenelon, Campbell, and Vinet, in the great philosophy of rhetoric; and elevates the study to an intellectual importance, which is second to no other in scope; and transcends every other, in the permanency of its form, and the obvious value of its principles.

The Second Part is also divided into *ten* chapters, viz.: *Articulation, Accent, Pronunciation, Qualities of Voice, Powers of Voice, Pitch and Inflection, Time and Pause, Force, Emphasis,* and *Gesture.*

Since the production of that original and matchless work of Dr. Rush on the human voice, it may be safely affirmed that these pages of Dr. McIlvaine are the best contributions to the scientific side and true mastery of elocution. The combination of philosophical analysis with the practical details of the school-room is wonderful. The directions, given with ever so much minuteness and specialty, are never trivial. The rules, however positively furnished, are perfectly saved, by principles on the one hand, and facts on the other. A judicious compilation of the best instruction hitherto afforded, is accompanied, all along, with much independent and fresh exposition of the resources and means of public speaking.

On the whole, we heartily recommend this work as the best book we have yet seen for use as a text-book on elocution in schools and colleges. The blemish of the page to a cursory reader, in being cut up into so many parcels of black letter and italics, only enhances its value to the teacher and the student in recitation—blending admirably science, catechism, and praxis. The vast amount of diligence and painstaking this little volume must have cost the author, deserves all praise and substantial remuneration. Dr. McIlvaine has been well known as a massive thinker and powerful speaker in many another department. But we are now to appreciate him for minute labor, and patient pains, and generous toil, in the service of education—a higher meed, after all, than any personal gifts with which he has been endowed. Whilst we may not concur in every particular lesson of the book we now recommend, we must regard it as faulty in nothing to hinder its usefulness in the noble accomplishment to which it invites the youth of our day.

The Private Life of Galileo. Compiled principally from his Correspondence and that of his eldest daughter, Sister Maria Celeste. Boston: Nichols & Noyes. 1870.

Not only will astronomers and men of science look into this book with deep and tender interest. Those who take an interest in the progress of science and its relations to religion, and in the life and character of one of the greatest but most unfortunate and abused of men, will read it with melancholy satisfaction. This volume contains his letter to Castelli, on the Copernican system, which brought him before the Inquisition, and subjected him to its terrible fulminations because they found that he held as true, "the false doctrine taught by many, that the sun was the centre of the universe, and immovable, and that the earth moved and had also a diurnal motion." The narrative of the trial has been enriched and enlivened by new matter, which researches among the archives of the Vatican have disentombed.

The volume also contains correspondence between Galileo and his daughter, of a very significant character, and has all the charm of the simple domestic affection cherished by the illustrious astronomer, alike when scaling and measuring the heavens and under the screws of the Inquisition.

Warp and Woof. A book of verse. By Samuel Willoughby Duffield. New York: Anson D. F. Randolph & Co. 1870.

This book shows a fair degree of poetic power, with a promise of still better things, as age shall strengthen and inspire the young poet for higher flights.

IXΘΥΣ—*Christ in Song. Hymns of Immanuel, selected from all ages, with notes.* By Philip Schaff, D. D. New York: A. D. F. Randolph & Co. 1870.

This fine contribution to our hymnology has already reached the present, which is its fourth, edition. Although issued in good style of paper, type, and binding, it is made less expensive than former editions in accommodation to the popular demand. Its price is $2.25. The fact that it is collected and edited by Dr. Schaff is a sufficient guaranty for the exclusion of whatever is undevout, unclassical, unpoetical, or without some breathing of faith, love, or adoration for Him who hath a name that is above every name. Not only so, but the book is very rich in the choice hymns of all the ages and churches which magnify Christ in his Person, Incarnation, Agony, Passion, Resurrection, Ascension, Enthronement, Dominion, Mediation, Intercession—in all his offices and ministries of love, and the responsive trust, love, gratitude, devotion of his people. We notice that the post-reformation hymns are not more decided, but more full and emphatic than those of preceding ages, on the relation of the piacular character of Christ's death to Christian experience and life.

The Life of our Lord. By Rev. William Hanna, D. D., LL. D. In six volumes. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1870.

We have received the four remaining volumes of this scholarly, beautiful, and devout work, which bear the characteristics we ascribed to the first two volumes, in our last number. The critical press on both sides of the ocean has spoken with one voice, not in vague, but in discriminating commendation of this excellent Life of our Lord. The four volumes now before us are the 3d, on the Close of his Ministry; the 4th, on Passion Week; 5th, on the Last Day of our Lord's Passion; 6th, Forty Days after the Resurrection: each topic of the profoundest moment and interest.

The Life of James Hamilton, D. D., F. L. S. By William Arnot, Edinburgh. Second Edition. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1870.

It is rare that so fine a subject, endeared to the literary and religious English speaking world by a series of the best specimens of our religious literature, finds so capital a biographer. Dr. Arnot, now on a visit to this country, and delegate to our Assembly, has shown everywhere that aroma of refined culture, piety, and fervid Christian eloquence which fitted him to be the confidential friend and biographer of Dr. Hamilton. He has given us a beautiful and life-like portrait, which has met a wide and ardent welcome.

Memoir of the Rev. Wm. C. Burns, M. A., Missionary to China from the English Presbyterian Church. By the Rev. Islay Burns, D. D., Professor of Theology, Free Church College, Glasgow. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1870.

This biography of one heretofore less known than Dr. Hamilton, in no way falls below that of the latter in the worthiness of the subject, the points of interest in his life, or the success of its execution. Dr. Burns, the great preacher, evangelizer, and missionary, is well portrayed to us by Dr. Burns the biographer. His eventful but noble and useful life as preacher, often amid revivals in Dundee,

Perth, Aberdeen, Newcastle, Edinburgh, Dublin, in the mountains, and in Canada; his call to China and labors there; at Canton, Amoy, Shanghae, etc. form a thread for sketching a life full of great evangelistic achievements, and invested with a more than romantic interest.

Expository Thoughts on the Gospels, for Family and Private Use. With the Text Complete. St. John. Vol. II. By the Rev. J. C. Ryle, B. A., Christ's Church, Oxford, Vicar of Stradhope, Suffolk, England. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1870.

Mr. Ryle has long been known as one of the thoroughly evangelical ministers and authors of the Anglican Church. His commentaries on the Gospels have now reached the sixth volume, which ends with the sixth chapter of John. He grows voluminous as he advances, having expanded his notes on Luke to two volumes, and promising three, if not more, upon John. The plain, practical, devout, but not unlearned, character of the preceding volumes appears in this. The true spiritual meaning is evolved and applied to the life. Difficulties are not evaded nor trifled with. It will be found profitable and acceptable to ministers and Christians.

God is Love; or, Glimpses of the Father's Infinite Affection for His People. From the Ninth London Edition. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1870.

This is one of those reprints of standard devotional books first published abroad, which form so much of the staple of the Carters' publications. All the rays of the divine beneficence are gathered up and focalized so as to show that in very essence GOD IS LOVE.

Our Father in Heaven: The Lord's Prayer explained and illustrated. A Book for the Young. By Rev. J. H. Wilson, M. A., Barclay Church, Edinburgh, Scotland. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1870.

This is another of the innumerable expositions and applications of the Lord's Prayer, which show its inexhaustible riches, and are no mere repetitions of previous expositions. By its pictorial and other illustrations it is specially fitted for the young, in whose interest it is prepared.

The Bible in Public Schools, Arguments in the case of John D. Miner, et al. versus The Board of Education of the City of Cincinnati et al. Superior Court of Cincinnati. With the Opinions and Decisions of the Court. Cincinnati: Robert Clark & Co. 1870.

One of the great arguments contained in this volume,—that by Judge Matthews against the use of the Bible in Common Schools,—we noticed in our last number, with several other recent publications on the common school question. This was all of it that we had then received. We are glad, now, to receive this large and handsome volume. It presents all the papers, documents, arguments, and judicial deliverances in a case which will take rank with the few great historic and formative legal cases of the country, that serve at once to evoke and shape the sentiments and policy of the people, whether discordant or accordant with it. It is in this respect like the great Dartmouth College, United States Bank, Dred Scott, and Legal Tender cases of the Supreme Court of the

United States. This book is a most valuable contribution to the literature of the subject, and presents the issues of the controversy which is beginning to convulse the country, in the clearest light in which the ablest counsellors and judges can put them.

Cæsar's Commentaries on the Gallic War; with Explanatory Notes, a Copious Dictionary, and a Map of Gaul. By Albert Harkness, LL. D. New York: D. Appleton & Company. 1870.

Professor Harkness' Series of Classical Text-Books is marked by great practical excellencies. They give the results of large experience in teaching. The present work is supplied with the best illustrations in the way of maps and plans. The notes give judicious help to the students on points of construction by numerous references to the author's Grammar, and are especially fitted to cultivate a habit of close, yet tasteful and idiomatic translation—an object so important to be secured from the outset in the study of the classics. We regard this as the best edition of Cæsar for the Preparatory Course.

The Spencers, a Story of Home Influence. By Stephen H. Tyng, D. D., Rector of St. Stephen's Church, New York. American Tract Society, New York.

This is a collection or series of tales founded on facts within the venerable author's knowledge, which were originally published in the *New York Ledger*, and were perused with satisfaction and profit by the thousands of readers of that unique and entertaining journal. The Publishing Committee of the Tract Society have wisely judged that they would do good service in a more permanent form. Mr. Bonner, who, with all his efforts to amuse, seeks also to benefit his fellow-men, has kindly consented to their publication in this form. The author, the matter, the occasions and circumstances of the book, cannot fail to win for it a large number of readers.

Pearls of Wisdom: A Text of Scripture, with an Appropriate Selection from various authors for every day in the year. By Rev. Samuel Hutchings. American Tract Society, New York.

The selections of Scripture texts, and fitting extracts from various authors to accompany, expound, or apply them, are happily made, and make this little volume a good *vade mecum*.

Beginning of Life. Chapters for Young Men on Religion, Study, and Business. By John Tullock, D. D., Principal and Primarius Professor, St. Mary's College. American Tract Society, New York.

Principal Tullock has long been well known as a Christian writer, and especially by his prize essay in defence of theism. He has in this volume undertaken a very different task. He has given a series of instructions and counsels to young men, which covers the whole ground from the first foundations of faith in the supernatural to the most practical instructions in regard to business, reading, culture, enjoyment. The religious and Christian element in the book is of course the most important. But the chapters teaching what to do and how to do it, what to read and how to read it, what to enjoy and how to enjoy it,—if not showing what is religion, show what is necessary to its best exemplification, and what it is of inestimable importance to young men to know and realize.

The following issues of the Presbyterian Board of Publication for Sunday-School libraries and family reading are above the average standard of this kind of literature:—

The Fountain Cloof; or, Missionary Life in South Africa.

Vivian and his Friends; or, Two Hundred Years Ago. By the author of "The Story of a Pocket Bible."

The Story of the Faith in Hungary. By the author of "From Dawn to Dark in Italy."

Sunday Evenings at Northcourt; Jessica's First Prayer, and *Jessica's Mother.*

Honor Bright; or, The Faithful Daughter. By the author of "Cornelia's Visit to Roseville," "Kitty Denison and her Christmas Gifts," etc.

Fred Wilson's Sled. By Nellie Grahame.

After our regular Book Notices had gone to press the following works were received:—

A Treatise on the Grammar of New Testament Greek, regarded as the Basis of New Testament Exegesis. By Dr. G. B. Winer. Translated from the German, with Large Additions and Full Indices, by Rev. W. F. Moulton, M. A., Classical Tutor Wesleyan Theological College, Richmond, and Prizeman in Hebrew and New Testament Greek in the University of London. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 38 George Street. New York: Scribner, Welford & Co., 654 Broadway. 1870.

The pre-eminence of Winer's Grammars over all others upon New Testament Greek has long been understood and conceded by scholars and exegetes. This admirable edition, in English, will be duly appreciated by all students of the original Scriptures.

Manual of Historico-Critical Introduction to the Canonical Scriptures of the Old Testament. By Karl Friedrich Keil, Doctor and Professor of Theology. Translated by George C. M. Douglas, B. A., D. D. Vol. II. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. New York: Scribner, Welford & Co. 1870.

An Introduction to the New Testament. By Friedrich Bleek. Edited by Johannes Freidrich Bleek, Pfarrer. Translated from the German, by Rev. Wm. Umick, M. A. Vol. II. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. New York: Scribner, Welford & Co. 1870.

The characteristics of both of the above standard works were set forth in careful notices of the first volumes of each in our January number of the current year.

Superstition and Force. Essays on The Wager of Law—The Wager of Battle—The Ordeal—Torture. By Henry C. Lea. Second Edition. Revised. Philadelphia: Henry C. Lea. 1870.

Mr. Lea has shown an unusual aptitude and taste for producing historical monographs. They are very exhaustive, and replete with information not other-

wise accessible. A considerable part of the present volume has been published already in the *North American Review*. Like his *History of Sacerdotal Celibacy*, this is invaluable as a thesaurus of well-attested facts. His reasonings upon them, though often sound, are not always reliable. He does not always draw the line correctly between superstition and true religion.

The Sinlessness of Jesus: an Evidence for Christianity. By Carl Ullman, D.D. Translated from the seventh altered and enlarged edition by Sophia Taylor. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. New York: Scribner, Welford & Co. 1870.

The very title of this volume, which we have not been able carefully to examine, invests it with special interest. It has high theological value.

The Writings of Quintus Sept. Flor. Tertullianus. Vol. II. Translated by Peter Holmes, D.D., F.R.A.S. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. New York: Scribner, Welford & Co. 1870.

This is vol. XV. of the Ante-Nicene Christian Library, by those enterprising Christian publishers the Clarks of Edinburgh. Next to Augustine, no patristic writer is more instructive to the theologian, or prized by the church, than Tertullian.

Apocryphal Gospels, Acts, and Revelations. Translated by Alexander Walker, Esq., one of Her Majesty's Inspectors of Schools for Scotland. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. New York: Scribner, Welford & Co. 1870.

This complete collection and thorough translation of these curious documents now render them accessible to all who love this sort of antiquarian studies, and to compare the true word of God with the various apocryphal substitutes for it.

The History of Rome. By Theodor Mommsen. Translated by the Rev. William P. Dickson, D.D., with a preface by Dr. Leonard Schmitz. Vol. III. New York: C. Scribner & Co., 654 Broadway. 1870.

Another volume of this standard work, whose merits we have already set before our readers.

A History of Christian Doctrine. By William G. T. Shedd, D.D., Professor of Biblical Literature in Union Theological Seminary, New York. In two volumes. Third edition. New York: Charles Scribner & Co., 654 Broadway. 1870.

We are glad to see the third edition of this solid and valuable work, whose characteristics we set forth in an extended article, on its first publication, in our number for January, 1864.

Homiletics and Pastoral Theology. By William G. T. Shedd, D.D. Eighth edition. New York: C. Scribner & Co., 654 Broadway. 1870.

Dr. Shedd was once professor in this department at Auburn, and the merit of his treatise on the subject is evinced by the number of editions through which it has run. He raises sacred rhetoric above the low level of mere conventialisms of style, and founds eloquence on truth, force, and earnestness.

Wonders of Architecture. Translated from the French of M. Lefevre. To which is added a Chapter on English Architecture by R. Donald. New York: C. Scribner & Co. 1870.

One of the series of "Illustrated Library of Wonders" we have so often noticed, and not unworthy of its predecessors.

Lifting the Veil. "Which veil is done away in Christ."—2 Cor. iii. 14. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1870.

A beautiful little volume, full of earnest Christian thought and feeling.

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 Apologetic 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. 1868.

We gave a commendatory notice of this great work on its first publication. We have been hoping ever since to find time to give an extended review of it, but have thus far failed. Meanwhile, we desire again to call attention to it as one of the most thorough and satisfactory treatises on the subject known to us.

PAMPHLETS AND PERIODICALS.

An Outline History of the Presbyterian Church in West or South Jersey, from 1700 *to* 1865. *A Discourse delivered October* 3, 1865, *in the First Presbyterian Church, Bridgeton, New Jersey.* By Rev. Allen H. Brown, by appointment of the Presbytery of West Jersey. With an Appendix. Philadelphia: Alfred Martien. 1869.

This is a valuable contribution to the history of Presbyterianism, for which we are under special obligations to the author, to whose great and unrequited labors our church as well as its recorded history owe so much.

Lay Preaching. Sermon at the first anniversary of the "New York Baptist Lay Preaching Association," held in the Madison Avenue Baptist Church, New York City, Sunday Evening, November 14, 1869, *with an abstract of the proceedings at said anniversary.* By Rev. Wayland Hoyt, Pastor of the Strong Place Baptist Church, Brooklyn. Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society.

We are glad that the subject of lay preaching, *i. e.*, the proclamation of the Gospel by laymen in public and in private, is receiving increased attention. We believe that without invading at all the proper sphere of clergymen.

The Rev. W. L. Gage, of Hartford, Conn., has published an excellent raised map of O. T. Palestine, showing its mountains and valleys in relief, to be followed by others of N. T. Palestine, etc. It may be had by mailing one dollar to him without further expense.

The American Catalogue of Books for 1869, *containing complete monthly lists of all the books published in the United States during the year* 1869, *with statement of size, price, place of publication, and publisher's name, to which are prefixed an Alphabetical and a Classified Index.* New York: Leypoldt & Holt. 1870.

This well-executed catalogue supplies a great desideratum to all booksellers and publishers, bibliophilists, librarians, literati, and biblomaniacs.

ART. XI.—LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

ENGLAND.

The valuable "Ante-Nicene Christian Library," published by Messrs. T. & T. Clark is approaching completion. The 15th and 16th volumes of the series are, Vol. II. of Tertullian, and the Apocryphal Gospels, Acts, and Revelation. In their Foreign Theological Library, Bleek's "Introduction to the New Testament," and Keil's "Introduction to the Old Testament," are completed by the publication of the second volume of each.

The revision of the authorized version has recently been acted on by Convocation, and the committee who are to act with the committee of bishops in accomplishing the proposed work, includes such names as Alford, Stanley, Rose, Selwyn, Blakesley, Jebb, and Kay. Among the bishops are Wilberforce, Thirlwall, Wordsworth, and Ellicott, and among those whose counsel and co-operation are solicited are, for the Old Testament, scholars like W. L. Alexander, Davies, Fairbairn, Ginsburg, Leathes, Perowne, Pusey, and the Wrights: and for the New Testament, Trench, Angus, Eadie, Lightfoot, Newman, Scrivener, Westcott, and others. A Sermon on the subject of Biblical Revision, preached in St. Paul's a few weeks since by Dean Alford, has just been published, and a discussion by Bishop Ellicott was to appear before this time.

The Cambridge "Paragraph Bible," carefully edited for the University Press, by Rev. F. H. Scrivener, a thorough and competent scholar, is in part published: Part I. includes the Old Testament to Solomon's Song.

To Biblical exegesis the chief contributions of the last quarter are Dr. Gloag's "Commentary on Acts" (2 vols., T. & T. Clark); Dr. J. Morrison's "Commentary on Matthew;" Bingham's "Gospel according to Isaiah" (Lectures on the 53d Chapter); Kelly's "Lectures on Matthew;" Windle's "Lectures on the Epistles to the Seven Churches of Asia;" Vol. V. of "Leighton's Works" (Expository Lectures); Vol. I. of a second improved edition of Perowne on the Psalms; Vol. I. of Spurgeon's "Treasury of David" (a Commentary on Psalms 1–26); a third thoroughly revised edition of Dr. C. J. Vaughan on Romans; and Lloyd's "Analysis of the first eleven chapters of Genesis" (grammatical, critical, and explanatory). Green's "Handbook to the Grammar of the New Testament" (with a Vocabulary and an Examination of the Chief Synonyms—published by the Religious Tract Society), and J. F. Smith's translation of Ewald's "Introductory Hebrew Grammar," from the 3d German edition, are promising auxiliaries.

The more important discussions of Christian doctrine, and the various scientific and practical relations of Christian faith are Rev. H. Martin's "Atonement in its relations to the Covenant, the Priesthood, and the Intercession of our Lord;" W. Paul's "Scriptural Account of Creation vindicated by the teaching of Science;" Matthew Arnold's "St. Paul and Protestantism;" Warrington's "Week of Creation;" German's "Athanasian Creed and Modern Thought;" "Judged by his

Words"—an attempt to weigh a certain kind of evidence respecting Christ; Llewellyn's "Mystery of Iniquity;" "Science and the Gospel;" Venu's "Hulsean Lectures on some of the Characteristics of Belief, Scientific and Religious;" J. Miller's "Christianum Organum, or the Inductive Method in Scripture and Science;" Vol. 2 of Edward Irving's prophetical works; Ullman's "Sinlessness of Jesus," translated from the 7th revised German edition; a fifth edition of Fairbairn's "Typology;" a revised edition of Young's "Creator and the Creation;" and a revised edition of Archbishop Thomson's "Life in the Light of God's Word."

Probably the most memorable book of the quarter (as it is certainly the one attracting most immediate and general attention) is Dr. J. H. Newman's "Grammar of Assent." It contains the results of many years of the author's profoundest thinking, and is put forth in his best style. It is published in this country by the Catholic Publication Society. The "Burney Prize Essay" for 1868, which is just published, is by G. G. Scott, Jr., on "The Argument for the Intellectual Character of the First Cause, as affected by recent Investigations of Physical Science."

In the Ecclesiastical and Sacramental departments of theological literature we observe the recent publication of "England or Rome—the Reunion of Christendom" (a layman's reply to Ffoulkes); Heywood's edition of "Bishop Gardiner's Oration on True Obedience;" Rhodes's "Visible Unity of the Catholic Church;" Ryle's "Church Reform;" Meyrick's edition of Bishop Cosin on "The Religion, Discipline, and Rites of the Church of England;" Cox's "Latin and Teutonic Christendom;" and Biddle on "The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper." Of a more miscellaneous religious character are Prof. Plumptre's "Biblical Studies;" L. H. Wiseman's "Men of Faith" (Sketches from the Book of Judges); J. Thompson's "Life-Work of the Apostle Peter;" Drs. Guthrie and Blaikie's "Saving Knowledge;" Bruce's "Life of Gideon, illustrated and applied;" Andersou's "Filial Honor of God by Confidence, Obedience, and Resignation;" Ritchie's "Religious Life of London;" Sibree's "Madagascar and its People;" and Dr. J. Stoughton's "Daily Prayer Book" (prepared by the editor with the aid of Binney, Allon, Dale, Pulsford, Vaughan, and others).

Questions of politics suggested by the condition of Ireland and national education have added considerably to the number of recent publications. Godkin's "Land War in Ireland;" Kirk's "Social Politics in Great Britain;" Sproat's "Education of the Rural Poor;" Patterson's "The State, the Poor, and the Country;" "Systems of Land Tenure in various Countries;" Murphy's "Ireland,—Industrial, Political, and Social," are samples of this class of works.

Willis's "Life, Correspondence, and Ethics of Spinoza;" Taine's "English Positivism, a study of John Stuart Mill;" Bain's "Logic, Deductive and Inductive;" a new edition of Maurice's "Mediæval Philosophy;" A. R. Wallace's "Contributions to the Theory of Natural Selection;" Winchell's "Sketches of Creation;" and Rolleston's "Forms of Animal Life," are among the latest works in Philosophy and Natural Science.

Dixon's "Free Russia;" Dicey's "Morning Land;" Hamilton's "Sketches of Life and Sport in South-Eastern Africa;" a new edition of Porter's "Five Years in Damascus;" Mattheson's "England to Delhi;" Denison's "Varieties of Vice-Regal Life;" Wilmot and Chase's "History of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope;" Watson's "Biographies of Wilkes and Cobbett;" Markham's

"Life of Lord Fairfax;" a new edition of G. H. Lewes's "Life of Goethe;" Lord Stanhope's "History of England (from 1701 to 1713);" Vols. 3 and 4 of the translation of Von Sybel's "History of the French Revolution;" Ellis's "Asiatic Affinities of the Old Italians;" Cox's "Mythology of the Aryan Nations;" Lacroix's "Arts in the Middle Ages;" Part 2 of Stirling's translation of Bastiat's "Harmonies of Political Economy;" Prof. Montague Bernard's "Neutrality of Great Britain in the American War;" Quain's "Defects in General Education;" and a new volume of Hugh Miller's "Miscellanies," complete our present survey.

GERMANY.

Prof. Tischendorf has replied to the strictures of the *Civiltà Cattolica*, in a pamphlet entitled "Responsa ad Calumnias Romanas," adding some corrections of his edition of the Codex Sinaiticus, especially in its references to the Cod. Vat.

Exegetical literature has been enriched by few important additions. In Keil and Delitzsch's Commentary, a new number contains "Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy." We add only Vol. I., Part 2, of Bachmann on "Judges;" Thiersch's "Genesis in its moral and prophetic import;" L. Harms on "I. Peter;" and a pamphlet of Hitzig's on "Paul's Epistles."

In theology and ethics there is more to arrest attention. Part 1 of Vol. II. of Rothe's "Dogmatic;" Part 2 of Schultz's "Theology of the Old Testament;" H. Steinthal's "Myth and Religion;" Bade's "Christotheology;" an anonymous work entitled "Christ—the suffering and risen Christ exhibited according to the four Gospels;" Koopmann's "Justification through Christ alone, presented in the light of modern theology;" Part 1 of F. Nitzsch's "Outline of the History of Christian Doctrine" (to be completed in three parts); Vol. I. of Paria's edition of "Toletus on the *Summa Theologiæ* of Thomas Aquinas;" J. Delitzsch on the "System of Divinity of Thomas Aquinas;" a revised edition of Christlieb's "Modern Doubt as to the Christian Faith;" Schöberlein on the "Holy Sacrament, in doctrine and practice;" Book 2 of Vol. II. of Otto's "Evangelical Practical Theology;" Vol. VIII. of Calvin's "Works in the *Corpus Reformatorum*;" Sepp's "Propositions for Ecclesiastical Reform, beginning with the revision of the Biblical Canon;" Luthardt's "Ethics of Aristotle contrasted with the Morality of Christianity;" a Prize Essay on War, by Wiskemann (under the auspices of the "Hague Society for the Defence of the Christian Religion"); and Wünsche's "Sufferings of the Messiah in their agreement with the doctrine of the Old Testament, and the sayings of the Rabbis," make up a list of very considerable variety and value.

In philosophy the system and influence of Leibnitz are the subject of much discussion. To the works named in our last number we add Pfleiderer's "Leibnitz as Patriot, Statesman, and Educator," Von Benoit's "Comparison of Locke's Theory of Knowledge, with Leibnitz's criticisms," and Vol. II. of Pichler's "Theology of Leibnitz." Ueberweg's edition and annotated translation of the "*Ars Poetica* of Aristotle;" Part 1 of Oncken's "Politics of Aristotle;" Zimmermann's "Studies and Criticisms in Philosophy and Æsthetics;" Reichlin Meldegg's "System of Logic;" Hebler's "Philosophical Propositions;" Werner's "Speculative Anthropology;" Brasch's "Spinoza's System of Philosophy;" C. H. Weisse's "Psychology, and the Doctrine of Immortality, etc.;" the new edition

of Madvig's "Cicero de Finibus;" with Vol. III. of Wirth's "Outlines of National Economy," are the chief contributions of the quarter to this department.

In history, ecclesiastical and secular, we chronicle Riezler's "Crusade of the the Emperor Frederic I;" Hartmann's "Erhart Schnepff, the Reformer in Swabia, Nassau, Hesse, and Thuringia;" Sickel's "Contributions to the History of the Council of Trent;" Gröne's "Compendium of Church History;" Busch's "Outline of Early Oriental History" (three vols.); Huyssen's "Discourses and Studies on the Relation of Christian Archæology to Heathen;" Von Maurer's "History of Municipal Constitutions in Germany," Vol. I.; Pallmann's "Cimbri and Teutones;" Freytag's "Tiberius and Tacitus;" Part 1 of Vol. III. of Rossbach's "History of Society;" and Dederich's "Campaigns of Drusus and Tiberius into Northwestern Germany."

In biography we have Vol. I. of Dilthey's "Life of Schleiermacher;" Vol. I. of Springer's "Life of Dahlmann;" Janssen's "Life and Views of J. F. Böhmer;" and Schultz's "Life and Work of Luther."

We group more miscellaneously Braun's "Pictures of the Mohammedan World;" Part 1 of Vol. II. of Böcking's "Ulrich von Hutten;" Maltzahn's "Travels in the Regencies of Tunis and Tripoli;" Vol. II. of the new edition of Overbeck's "Greek Plastic Art;" Zahn's edition of Burkhardt's "Cicerone;" Vol. I. of Berg's edition of Jonkbloet's "History of the Literature of the Netherlands;" Nissen's monograph on the Ancient Temple; Merguet's "Development of Latin Inflection;" T. Bergk's "Contributions to Latin Grammar;" Vol. I. of O. Müller's "Statius;" Keil's "Letters of Pliny the Younger;" and Geiger's "Hebrew Studies in Germany, from the end of the 15th to the middle of the 16th Century."

FRANCE.

In addition to the numerous discussions called out by the Council of the Vatican, there are a few theological treatises worthy of record. Among these are Bishop Landriot's "Symbolism;" Thomas's "Resurrection of Jesus Christ;" Waddington's "God and Conscience;" De la Bouillerie's "Eucharist and the Christian Life;" Kruger's "True Orthodoxy;" the Abbé Michaud's "Spirit and Letter in Religious Morality;" Vacherot's "Science and Conscience;" Veuillot's "Life of Christ;" Saisset's "Origin of Worships and Mysteries;" Laneyrie's "Systematic Exhibition of Christian Doctrine;" Lorgueilleux' "Studies on Revelation, from the Stand-point of 1789;" Emmanuel ou "The Psalms, considered from the Threefold Stand-point of the Letter, the Spirit, and the Liturgical Use;" and Vallotton's "True Saint Paul."

In ethics and philosophy we notice Desjardins' "French Moralist of the 16th Century;" Barthélemy Saint Hilaire's annotated translation of "Aristotle's Rhetoric;" H. Taine on "Intelligence;" E. Charles's new edition of the "Port Royal Logic;" Chevreuil on the "Experimental *a posteriori* Method, and its Applications;" Pellissier's "Complete Course of Elementary Philosophy;" Pommier's "Monologues of a Recluse (Philosophical and Ethical Studies);" Ribot's "Contemporary English Psychology;" Rognon's "Miscellanies,—Philosophical, Religious, and Literary;" Bunot's "Elements of Christian Philosophy;" Joly's "Instinct, its Relations to Life and Intelligence;" and Pérès' Philosophy of Human Society."

The contributions of the quarter to general and special history, are as usual quite numerous. Some of the more noteworthy are Louis Blanc's "History of the Revolution of 1848;" Vol. IV. of Lanfrey's "History of Napoleon I.;" Mabille's "Kingdom of Aquitania and its Marches under the Carlovingians." Français' "Studies on the Byzantine Historians;" Garat's "Origin of the Basques in France and Spain;" Hamel's "Outline of the History of the French Revolution;" Juste's "Uprising of Holland in 1813, and the Foundation of the Kingdom of the Netherlands in 1806–'17;" Schaeffer's "Huguenots of the 16th Century;" Baschet's edition of the "Journal of the Council of Trent;" Weil's "Judaism, its Doctrines and Mission;" Des Mousseaux' "The Jew, Judaism, and the Judaism of Christian Nations;" Mestral's "Tableau of the Christian Church in the 19th Century;" Bernard's "Origin of the Church of Paris;" Vols. I. and II. of Gillon's "Outline of the History of France;" Part 1 of Ollivier's "Pope Alexander VI., and the Borgias;" Part 1 of Peyrat's "History of the Albigenses;" Part 2 of Hubbard's "Contemporary History of Spain;" Vol. IV. of Schnitzler's "Empire of the Czars;" Loyson's "Assembly of the Clergy of France in 1682;" Part 2 of Léon Pagès' "History of the Christian Religion in Japan;" Vol. I. of Hennebert's "History of Hannibal;" Winterer's "History of Saint Odile, Alsace in the 7th and 8th Centuries;" Miekiewicz' "Polities of the 19th Century;" Part 1 of Vol. I. of Theiner's "History of the Two Concordats of the French Republic, and the Cisalpine Republic;" Vol. II. of Schmidt's "Tableaux of the French Revolution;" Beulé's "Titus and his Dynasty;" a new edition of Duruy's "Roman History;" Vol. II. of Langlois' "Collection of the Ancient and Modern Historians of Armenia;" the commencement of a new edition of Michaud's "Universal Biography" (to comprise 45 volumes); and Parts 1 and 2 of an "Archæologieal Dictionary of Gaul, in the Celtic Epoch." Baron Hubner's "Sixtus V.;" Foisset's "Life of Lacordaire;" Delaborde's "Life, Works, etc., of Ingres;" and Favre's "Pasquier, Chancellor of France," belong to the department of individual biography.

In archæology and philology a few items should be noticed, such as Vol. I. of a revised and enlarged edition of Garcin de Tassy's "History of Hindoo and Hindostani Literature;" Agnel's "Influence of Popular Language on the Form of Certain French Words;" Halévy's "Letter to M. d'Abbadie on the Asiatic Origin of the Languages of North Africa;" Chabas' "Calendar of the Egyptian Year;" and Boutmy's "Philosophy of Architecture in Greece."

We add only Edgar Quinet's "Creation;" Merlet's "Saint Evremond;" Parieu's "Principles of Political Science;" Renan's "Constitutional Monarchy in France;" Esquiros' "Emile of the 19th Century;" Lavergne's "French Economists of the 18th Century;" and Robert's "Popular Education."