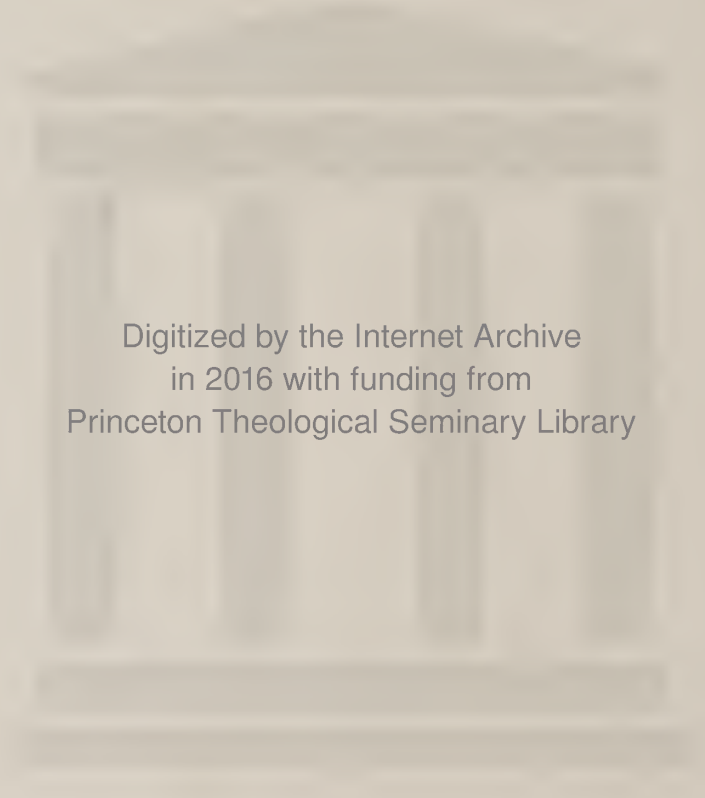

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Art. I.—*Rénan's St. Paul.**

This is the third instalment of the work which M. Rénan seems to regard as his special calling, and for which he would seem to have the necessary leisure, since his public duties as Membre de l'Institut have ceased. It followed the second division, "The Apostles," nearly after the same interval as this had followed the first, "The Life of Jesus." The book before us breathes exactly the same spirit as its two predecessors, and no one that has read with some care the first two productions of this fertile mind, could be at a loss as to the paternity of "St. Paul," even if it did not bear on its title-page the name of its author. This spirit is rather unique, and it is, accordingly, difficult, if not impossible, to rank Rénan with any school that pursues or has pursued the same end. This spirit is not that of the English Deist of the last century, nor that of the Wolfenbüttel Fragmentist, both of whom saw in the Gospels and the other writings of the New Testament nothing but a tissue of lies; nor is it that of the Rationalismus

* *Saint Paul.* By Ernest Rénan, Membre de l'Institut. Translated from the original French. New York: G. W. Carleton. 1869.

Vulgaris of Germany, which saw in the writers of the New Testament honest, but mistaken and ignorant men, who suffered themselves to be carried away by the lofty appearance of Jesus, and converted natural phenomena or uncommon acts of their Master into miracles; nor is it identical with mythicism, since Rénan assumes too short a time between the occurrence of the events narrated and the composition of the narratives, to admit of the formation of myths, all the books of the New Testament, most of which he recognizes as genuine, having been written, according to him, within the first century of the Christian era. Rénan's writings differ in still another respect from most other works of a destructive tendency; while reading some of these, the reader is compelled to task his mental powers to the utmost in order to be able to form an independent judgment on what he reads; he has to read again and again certain passages, and to compare them with previous ones, in order to understand the writer's position; he has to read the passages criticised in the original in order properly to estimate the criticism offered,—in short, he finds the reading of these works one of the hardest tasks imaginable. Not so with the writings of M. Rénan; here every thing is plain and easy; the reader understands his author without having to put forth any great mental effort, and the account of the subject treated is such that it leaves no doubt whatever as to the author's conviction that he is right, and he alone,—that all other interpretations of the documents extant are false or imperfect. M. Rénan approves the *αὐτὸς ἔφα* of the Pythagoreans. Hence he does not stop to discuss, much less to controvert or disprove, a position of an opponent, and regards it as a great defect in "St. Paul's" character that that he did not act in accordance with Rénanian principles. And now, what is the lofty position of this man that distinguishes him so much from all other writers, and enables him to look calmly from his height down upon the jarring opinions, strifes, and contentions of other mortals? This is the first question which the reader must answer for himself, and that correctly, in order to understand and to appreciate his author. Whoever would judge M. Rénan by individual passages, apostrophes, etc., would find it absolutely impossible to come

to any thing like a settled opinion on this point. In his "Life of Jesus" we read these words, addressed to his dead sister, Henriette: "Thou rememberest, in the bosom of God where thou restest, the long journeys . . . Reveal unto me, O good genius, unto me, whom thou lovedst, those truths which rule over death, dispel the fear of it, and make it almost lovely." Whoever would draw from these words the natural inference, that M. Rénan believes in a self-conscious existence of the disembodied soul, or in an intercommunion of the departed and the living, would be sorely mistaken. Before having read many passages of his works, the reader knows in what kind of immortality Rénan believes, which does certainly exclude a self-conscious existence after death. In his "St. Paul" he calls Jesus repeatedly "God," and "Son of God;" but whoever would infer from this that Rénan sees in Jesus any thing more than mere man would be equally mistaken. Hence it is absolutely necessary for the readers of Rénan's works to understand his philosophical and theological position, because his language must be interpreted by this standard, and from this alone it can be correctly understood.

Rénan's position is that of the Pantheist. Hence there exists for him no personal God, no Creator and Preserver of the Universe; in man this Pan comes to self-consciousness, so that every man is in reality a son of Pan or God, by whom he is re-absorbed in death. That no self-revelation of God to man, no influence exerted by the Deity on the human soul, no miracle as an attestation of a divine messenger is possible, not to say real, is for M. Rénan an *à priori* truth. The stand-point that admits such possibility, M. Rénan has long ago left behind. M. Rénan, though not formally a positivist, or materialist, yet agrees with Büchner's Force and Matter in essentials. Matter is to both eternal, is inseparably connected with Force, and the whole Universe is but the necessary outgrowth of the unchangeable laws of matter. To all the writers of the various books of the Bible in general, and to St. Paul in particular, Rénan denies all correct ideas about matter and its laws, granting a partial insight into the laboratory of nature to only a few of the old Greek philosophers. Yet Christianity, the religion established by Jesus, and pro-

mulgated by Paul and his co-workers, presents itself to M. Rénan, as it does to every other thinker, as a power, as *the* power which has wrought, not only in the feelings and thoughts of men, but also in their outward conduct, in society, in arts and sciences, in fact in every relation of life in which man can be placed, greater changes than any other cause, or all other causes combined, that have ever exerted an influence upon man. This is a fact which cannot be denied: it must be accounted for; and M. Rénan, like many others before and with him, considers himself adequate to the task.

Even the most hasty reader of Rénan cannot but perceive that he works hard to represent himself, not as the enemy, but as the decided friend and advocate, of the Christian religion, which he fully understands,—knowing how to separate the kernel from the shell, the truth from errors that have united with it either through the incompetency of its author and first propagators, or through the perversion of others in the course of centuries. But these very efforts of Rénan do not increase our respect for him as an honest man, or a man of veracity, who loves the truth and fearlessly proclaims what he considers as truth. He himself finds fault with German university professors for pretending to be atheists, a thing which he seems to regard as an impossibility, but we are free to declare, that we regard the censured conduct of these Germans in a far more favorable light than Rénan's, and "Paul, the Fool," we should consider a more appropriate title of his book than "St. Paul." "St." Paul, the other Apostles, and even Jesus himself, are to M. Rénan, at the very outset, in fact, can be for him, only *mere* fallible men, more or less well-meaning, but ignorant, devoted to an idea, to maintain and propagate which they considered as the work of their lives, and in the prosecution of which they shunned not labor, toil, sacrifices, dangers, yea, not death itself; shrinking, however, at the same time, from the use of no means whatever; practically carrying out the maxim which the Jesuits are charged with having invented, that the end justifies the means. So we are plainly told in the "Life of Jesus," that the miracle of the raising of Lazarus from the dead was the result of the collusion of Mary and Martha, the

sisters of Lazarus, and that if Jesus had no hand in laying the plot, he, at least, connived at it, knew all about it, and claimed the credit of having wrought a stupendous miracle, while he knew very well that no miracle whatever had been wrought, and this Jesus, this moral monster, M. Rénan calls repeatedly a "God;" to this Jesus he traces the greatest and grandest movement that has ever taken place on this our planet! That "St. Paul" was still less scrupulous in the choice of means he indicates may be presumed, and that the presumption will be abundantly sustained by the examination of the work.

Another difficulty of a somewhat unusual character presents itself to the reader of M. Rénan's works, which we had better mention at once. As in its predecessors, so he tells us also in the third work—and we do not doubt this his word—that he visited (in company of Cornelia Scheffer) Ephesus and Antioch, Philippi and Thessalonica, Athens and Corinth, Colosse and Laodicea, the localities where the main facts of his hero transpired. "At Seleucia," he says, "upon the disjointed blocks of the old wall, we somewhat envied the Apostles who set out from there to conquer the world, filled with so fervent a faith in the speedy coming of the Kingdom of God." The firmest believer in the divine origin of the Bible, the most enthusiastic Bible-student, what could he do more in order to acquire the necessary information enabling him to enter into the spirit and full meaning of the sacred records? Scarcely any of the many learned commentators or expositors of the Bible has done this on so large a scale as M. Rénan, and he was persuaded at the time he made these tours, yea, before he set out on them, that his heroes were, on the whole, deluded and deluding men! Did he, perhaps, visit these localities in order to gather proofs, that the Scripture records are not true? *Lucus a non lucendo.* Or had he some other object in view in making these extensive tours? Sprenger is writing a life of Mohammed with uncommon care, turning to good account many hitherto neglected sources of information, starting new theories in order to account for certain facts in the prophet's life. To finish the work, according to the author's original plan, may occupy almost a life-time. Sprenger's

object is evidently not to give currency to Mohammed's doctrines, but to acquire a reputation as an author, as an historian, as a critic, and last, though not least, to make money; but he has not visited the sacred places of Islam, neither Mecca nor Medina, nor the sacred Alcaaba. Is the Frenchman ahead of the German in disinterested enthusiasm?

Rénan's "St. Paul" opens with a critical notice of original documents. Of all the epistles ascribed to the Apostle Paul, he considers the four that stand first as unquestionably genuine,—all the others as *possibly* genuine, with the exception of the pastoral letters to Timothy and Titus, which he considers as spurious. The Apocalypse, which was written, according to him, by the Apostle John about A. D. 68, and the Epistles of James and Jude, which figure largely in the work, he considers as genuine, and from these documents he draws the following traits of the character of his hero (page 325, etc.):

"One man (Paul) has contributed more than any other to the rapid extension of Christianity. This man has torn off that sort of light and fearfully dangerous swaddling-clothes in which the child was wrapped from its birth. He has proclaimed that Christianity was not a simple reformed Judaism, but that it was a complete religion, existing by itself. To say that this man deserves to occupy a very high rank in history, is to say a very evident thing; but he must not be called a founder. It is in vain for Paul to talk; he is inferior to the other Apostles. He has not seen Jesus; he has not heard his word. The divine λόγια and the parables are scarcely known to him. The Christ who gives him personal revelations is his own phantom—it is himself he hears when thinking he hears Jesus."

And this character, every trait of which is either a fiction or a perversion, is claimed to be drawn from history. But it is well that we meet M. Rénan on this ground. Although we are fully persuaded that this picture is an *à priori* construction, that it is drawn from another source than history, that history only furnishes the drapery; we cannot follow, at least not in these pages, our author to the real source from which he has drawn his "St. Paul" and his "Jesus." What Neander says on the "Life of Jesus," by Strauss, applies also to the subject before us; his words are: "The chief points of controversy turn upon essential differences of religious thought and feeling. These essential differences are to be found chiefly in opposing views of the

relation of God to the world, of the personality of the spirit, of the relation between the here and the hereafter, and of the nature of sin. The controversy does not lie between an old and a new view of Christianity, but between Christianity and a human invention directly opposed to it. It is nothing less than a struggle between Christian theism and a system of world and self deification." What Neander says of Strauss in the same connection, viz.: "I cannot but rejoice to find that my treatment of the subject, with that of others engaged in the controversy, has induced Dr. Strauss to soften down this mythical theory of the life of Christ in various points, and to acknowledge the truth of several results arrived at by my historical inquiries," can, alas! not be applied to M. Rénan. He occupies so lofty a position, that he can afford to look with perfect equanimity down on all below—he is so firmly persuaded of the correctness of his position, that he would consider every word as lost that he should utter in defence of it—he considers it, moreover, morally wrong in Paul to defend his position, and he, therefore, abstains consistently enough from effort in this direction. As we intimated already, Rénan is a stranger to the pains taken by the Tübingen school to prove that the Gospels were written not anterior to A. D. 150, and pass, naturally enough, as the Gospel according to Matthew, Mark, etc., although these men did not write them; nor is he under any necessity of doing so, since he allows the first two Gospels to have been written by the men whose names they bear, prior to A. D. 70, the third Gospel by Luke, shortly after the destruction of Jerusalem. Even the fourth Gospel he regards as genuine, having been written either by John himself in his dotage, or still during his life-time by some of his disciples about A. D. 98, although it is not a sober history of facts, but is based upon little incidents, around which great imaginary interests are made to centre, and which are, therefore, magnified into stupendous miracles, calling forth long discourses which Jesus did not deliver, but John or the compiler manufactured to suit his own notions as to what the new religion was or should be, just as Plato makes Socrates deliver learned discourses which the simple tanner never dreamed of. In only

one thing Rénan takes great pains, viz.: in describing natural scenery, the culture and way of religious thinking in the several cities and countries, so that nothing is wanting in his works to make them novels, historical romances, or philosophical disquisitions—they are any thing but history.

We shall now furnish the proof of what we have said. As a specimen of the novelistic character of the work we are reviewing, we quote from page 48, on the journey of St. Paul to Cyprus, to wit: "It is a short day's journey from Antioch to Seleucia. The route follows at a distance the right bank of the Orontes, rising and falling on the last undulations of the mountains of Picria, and traversing by ford the numerous streams which flow down from them. On all sides there are myrtle underwood, arbutus, laurels, and green oaks; rich villages are suspended in the sharply-cut crests of the mountains. On the left plain of the Orontes spreads out its high cultivation. The wooded summits of the mountains of Daphne shut in the horizon in the south. We are now no longer in Syria. This is a classical, fertile, pleasant, civilized land."

In what light our author himself looks upon the documents from which he draws his information, and upon the theme of his story, he tells us with great *naïveté*, p. 53: "The Acts of the Apostles, an expression of this first transport of the Christian conscience, compose a book of joy, of serene ardor. Since the Homeric poems, no work had been seen full of such fresh sensations. A breeze of morning, an odor of the sea, if I dare express it so, inspiring something joyful and strong, penetrates the whole book, and makes it an excellent *compagnon de voyage*, the exquisite breviary for him who is searching for ancient remains on the seas of the south. This is the second idyl of Christianity. The Lake of Tiberias and its fishing barks had furnished the first." Our author, being so completely captivated with scenery, idyllic beauty, can naturally pay but little attention to the nature of the work of his hero.

We come now to the narrative itself, and in the treatment of the first incident we find every charge made by us more than sustained; the incident is the conversion of the Pro-

consul Sergius Paulus, at Paphos, recorded Acts xiii. 6–12. What has our author to say of this event, narrated by the sacred historian in language as brief as it is simple and unadorned? He devotes pp. 54–56 to it.

In the first place, we are told that S. Paulus was of an illustrious Roman family, which statement is evidently made for a certain purpose, since in point of fact it is altogether gratuitous. He is represented as a scion of an illustrious family, in order to make it appear probable that he shared the scepticism of many of his contemporaries belonging to the higher classes, and thus to justify the assertion, which gives the lie to Acts, that "the conversion of a Roman of this order, at this period, is a thing absolutely inadmissible." But where is the proof of the asserted nobility of birth? The fact that he was proconsul of so unimportant a province as Cyprus does certainly not furnish it. The event took place toward the close of the first half of the first century; Claudius was emperor—Pallas, his freedman, was one of the most powerful men of the empire, and men of this class, favorites of the emperors, held far more important offices than members of the old patrician families. Felix was the brother of this Pallas, who remained in power for some time under Nero. This madman did, from the second half of his reign, all he could to degrade the ancient noble families, and to deprive them even of all self-respect. (See *Sat.* III. of Juvenal.) S. Paulus is called an *ἀνὴρ συνετὸς*, which has nothing to do with his birth. We do, however, not say that he was *not* of illustrious descent, but only that we know nothing about this, and M. Rénan does, in this instance, know not more than we do. We pass by the infamous remark (p. 55), "Probably the illusions, to which it is unfortunately permitted us to think that Paul and Barnabas sometimes had recourse, appeared to him more striking and greater than those of Bar-jesus." But we ask, why "is the conversion of a Roman of this order, at this period, a thing absolutely inadmissible?" Paul writes (Gal. iv. 4), that when the fulness of time was come, *i.e.*, when the world was prepared both positively and negatively, God sent his Son. The views of a man like Paul have, as a matter of course, little weight with Rénan, but what

says history? What was the religious condition of the Roman-Grecian world of those days? had not the old religions of state outlived themselves? had not the belief in the national deities almost entirely given way so as to create a fearful vacuum in the human breast? was not the necessity of something new and better felt keenly and painfully? There were, indeed, philosophers, Stoics, Epicureans, and others, to whom might, at least at times, apply what Rénan says of the higher classes as a whole. But were these all philosophers? what portion of the whole population did the sceptic philosophers constitute, especially in a nation so emphatically unspeculative and unphilosophical as the Romans? Was there one philosopher to every 100,000 souls? We trow not. That under these circumstances the mass of the people, high and low, were ready to receive new religious teaching, may fairly be taken for granted, and is fully corroborated by the many converts to Judaism, both proselytes of the gate and proselytes of righteousness. The almost universal expectation of a deliverer coming from the East exerted, likewise, a powerful influence in the same direction. (See Tacitus, *Hist.*, V., 13; Suet., *Vesp.*, 4.) Cicero already (*pro Flacco*, 28) complains of the great number of conversions of Greeks and Romans to Judaism; so do Juvenal, Tacitus, Seneca. Juvenal (XIV., 96, etc.) uses this language: "Some that happen to have Sabbath-fearing fathers, worship nothing but the clouds and the sky; soon they submit to circumcision, but, accustomed to despise the Roman laws, they learn by heart, observe, and fear the Jewish laws whichsoever Moses has handed down in a secret volume." Tacitus says (*Hist.*, V., 5): "The other Jewish rites got the upper hand by the baseness of men. For all the worst despised the religion of their fathers, and carried tributes and presents to Jerusalem, whence their power increased. . . . Those that go over to them do the same things, nor do they learn any thing quicker than to despise the gods, to deny their fatherland, and to hold parents, children, and brothers in derision." Again (*Ann.*, II., 85): "4,000 freedmen, seized with the same superstition (Jewish belief), were sent to the island of Sardinia." Seneca (*De Superst.*) says: "The Jewish religion spreads over the whole earth—the con-

quered gave laws to the conquerors." Dio Cassius (XXXVII., 17) says: "Among the Romans also is this race"—the Jews—"indeed, often persecuted, but they increased to such an extent, that they express their belief without any fear." With regard to Antioch, says Josephus (*Bell. Jud.*, VII., 33) that the married women were nearly all observers of the law —so of Damascus. Helen and her royal son Izates turn Jews (*Antiq.*, 20); Vespasian's nephew suffered death for his inclination toward Judaism. The smaller number of these converts were proselytes of righteousness; the vast majority were proselytes of the gate, and these as well as the women were most ready to embrace Christianity. And in the face of these facts of history, M. Rénan dares to say, that the conversion of S. Paulus to Christianity in those days was a psychological impossibility! Paul and Barnabas must have recourse to trickery, and the illustrious Roman must have seen in a miracle only a trick for amusement, or the proof of the presence of a god (p. 55). "If S. Paulus had really believed in Paul's miracles, he would have reasoned as follows: 'this man is very powerful, perhaps he is a god,' and not, 'the doctrine which he preaches is true'" (p. 56). To this we reply by merely asking M. Rénan, whether he thinks that S. Paulus would have taken the words of a presumed god for a lie?

Or as the transaction under consideration bears some resemblance to Peter's encounter of Simon Magus (Acts viii.), distorted in the Clementines a whole century later so as to make it almost unrecognizable, it is, according to Rénan, possibly a mere version of the Peter story, without any historical basis, with a view of glorifying Paul. And such a wilful mutilation of history we are called upon to accept as the quintessence of truth! Very pathetically says Rénan at the close of the volume under review: "O humanity! certain of thy judgments are just," to which we would add: "O history! certain of thy pages are comically defaced by designing men!"

We cannot possibly follow our author step by step through the whole work, as we should have to write not a review, but a work larger than the work reviewed, and we shall,

therefore, content ourselves with calling attention to one or two more prominent points, and this we can do with the greater propriety, as our author has followed in his sketch the commonly received opinions, has started no new theory or hypothesis, and has brought forward no new argument in support of his views. Nor has he attempted to give us something like a system of Paul's teaching, as he was bound to do, in order to establish the truth of what he asserts as to the unrelenting opposition of some of the older Apostles to Paul, especially of James and John. For if there is no radical difference between Paul's teaching and that of his reported enemies and persecutors proved to exist, however widely they may differ in terminology and even on minor points of doctrine, the allegation, that men who once have recognized Paul as the Apostle of the Gentiles, and had given him the right hand of fellowship, afterward turned his unrelenting enemies, is nothing but an empty assertion, and unworthy of any intelligent student of history.

It is true we have in the book before us very lengthy extracts from the writings of Paul, but in no case are these extracts given with a view of systematizing Paul's doctrine, or of proving and elucidating certain points of his doctrine. So we have (pp. 193–201) the whole Epistle to the Galatians transcribed, apparently for no other purpose than that of swelling the size of the book, for the few comments are puerile and worthless; pp. 229–233 we have lengthy extracts from 1 Cor., but likewise for no other purpose, as it would seem; p. 244 we have 1 Cor. xiii. transcribed, introduced, indeed, with the compliment: "Borne along by a truly prophetic inspiration beyond the mingled ideas and aberrations, Paul wrote this admirable page, the only one in all Christian literature which might be compared with the discourses of Jesus." But the additum reads: "Had he been versed in experimental psychology, Paul would have proceeded a little further. He would have said, 'Brethren, put away illusions. These inarticulate stammerings, these ecstasies, these miracles, are the dreams of your childhood. But what is not chimerical—what is eternal—that I have just been preaching to you;'" pp. 248-249, we have the greater

portion of 1 Cor. xv. transcribed, followed by what? by an effort to systematize Paul's eschatological teaching? Alas! no; but by "the Christ did not come. All of them"—the believers—"died, one after another. Paul, who had believed himself to be one of those who would live until the great coming, died in his turn."

The few points more, to which we wish to call attention in these pages, are the first synod held at Jerusalem, as recorded in Acts xv. and Gal. ii., and the alleged persecution of Paul by James and John.

The whole so-called Tübingen school maintains and labors hard to prove that there are irreconcilable differences, positive contradictions, between the record of Acts xv. and what Paul writes in the Epistle to the Galatians. M. Rénan does, indeed, not maintain this absolute contradiction, but from his lofty stand-point he is not under the necessity of doing so. For whenever a difficulty presents itself, he solves it by asserting that Paul accommodated himself to circumstances; that, whenever he needed authority for any thing he said or did, he claimed or *manufactured* a revelation, he claimed a miracle, played a trick; and a man who takes such liberties can scarcely ever be at a loss how to justify his conduct. According to Acts xv. (and in this case Rénan gives the preference to this document), the church at Antioch sends Paul and Barnabas to Jerusalem in order to have the question about circumcision settled there. Paul (Gal. ii. 2) says, that he went by *revelation*. That the two statements are perfectly consistent with each other Rénan does not seem to think of, at least does not intimate by a single word. Again, the conclusions arrived at by the synod and embodied in a letter carried by Barnabas and Silas to the church at Antioch, as recorded, Acts xv. 23–29, "cannot have been formally adopted, certainly not been embodied in a letter, because Paul says nothing of it, and because Peter's subsequent conduct at Antioch is altogether irreconcilable with the existence of such an authoritative document."—Pp. 176–188.

But whoever reads Gal. ii. 3–10 attentively, will soon have the conviction forced upon himself, that the two statements are perfectly consistent with each other. Paul's authority to

preach the Gospel had been impugned or denied—this was no personal matter, but the Gospel itself was at stake—to submit tamely to such attacks, that imperilled the success of the Gospel, would have amounted to a denial of the Gospel itself on the part of Paul, an offence as grievous as that of Peter when he denied his Master, and infinitely more pernicious in its consequences. Paul, therefore, vindicates his authority and his conduct, and states, what is also stated in Acts xv., that the older Apostles recognized his calling to the apostleship and the legitimacy of his whole proceeding. To say in that connection, on that occasion, for the purpose he had in view,—more, to give the resolution verbatim,—would not only have been irrelevant, but would have been used by Paul's adversaries as a quasi justification of their conduct.

As to Peter's conduct at Antioch and the assumptions Rénan and others found upon it, they are based on a radically wrong view of the Apostle's inner life. The enemies of Christianity and a certain class of Christians agree on this point—they have no idea of an organic development of the Apostle's inner life and higher knowledge, as they seem to have no idea of any progress in God's self-revelation to men—all their knowledge was complete at once, and came (according to them) from without, being communicated in a mechanical manner, without any human and individual mediation, and when this view is contradicted by facts, then the enemies deny the truth of the Scriptnre, while the second class overlook the facts or have recourse to nnnatural explanations. Many of the finest parables concerning the kingdom of God give prominence to the idea of development and expansion, not only outwardly, but also inwardly. In the individual as well as in the aggregate of believers, growth in knowledge, in an insight into the nature of the kingdom, is as much a law as growth in grace. We see this exemplified in the case of all the Apostles of whose teachings and doings we have authentic record. Without denying the higher dignity of the Saviour, he is to the Apostles of Jerusalem, at first, the servant (*παίς*) of God, which does, indeed, not exclude his divinity, but does not necessarily imply it either. So with regard to the admission of the Gentiles into the kingdom—the Lord had laid down principles which,

if consistently developed, would not only have led to the admission of Gentiles, but also to their admission without submitting to the works of the law, whose obligation was formally recognized by circumcision. Yet Peter needed a vision and a positive instruction from heaven on the subject, before he saw his way clear. Of the same kind was the conduct of all the disciples with reference to their belief in the death and resurrection of their Master. The Synod at Jerusalem had settled the question of the admission of believing Gentiles into the church without circumcision—this decision embodied the principle, that *circumcision was in every case something indifferent in man's justification before God;* that the partition wall between Jews and Gentiles was broken down; that all laws holding up this distinction were abrogated; that in Christ all believers are one. But did they all draw the legitimate inferences from these premises? From the accounts we have of James by Hegesippus and Josephus, it would seem that he did not draw all these inferences, at least not practically, although there is no evidence on the other hand that he relapsed, that he abandoned the principles established by the Synod and became the avowed enemy of Paul. Without the explicit narrative of Acts xxi. 18–25, we should infer from what we know of the two Apostles by other sources, that their conduct would have been essentially what it is there described, although Paul went as far in making concessions as he possibly could. Peter was less consistent and firm than Paul, and facing enemies and dangers was not among the leading features of his character. Paul charges him, on the occasion in question, with hypocrisy, implying that his actions belied his convictions, and it is very likely that Peter felt at the time the justness of the charge. Rénan charges Paul with rashness, says that he penned the Epistle to the Galatians in a state of high excitement, and would probably not have sent it at all if he had reflected but a moment on its contents, and calls it, repeatedly, rude. At the same time he recognizes the importance of the subject in dispute, admits that if Paul's opponents had prevailed, Christianity would have dwindled down into a second edition of Judaism, and would thus have been destroyed in its very infancy. And yet St. Paul's con-

duct would have met Rénan's approbation, which, as it was, it does not, if he had observed over against his adversaries and opponents, on all occasions, an imperturbable silence. That silence which is, indeed, at times, if not a virtue, at least good policy, may at other times be a crime—of this M. Rénan seems to have no idea.

As to the emissaries from Jerusalem that created the disturbance at Antioch, M. Rénan has no authority whatever to say that they were sent *by* James and acted according to his instructions. In Gal. ii. 12, it is said that τινες ἦλθον ἀπο Ἰακώβου, *i. e.*, from the place of James, from Jerusalem, not that they were sent *by* James, in which case ὑπὸ or παρά would have been used. What he says of these mischief-makers may be true—not that James established a counter-mission, which followed Paul wherever he went and tried to break up the churches founded by him, as Rénan maintains, but that Judaizers actually treated Paul as stated by Rénan, *although they did not act in concert with James.* Both Acts xv. and Galatians declare that James as well as all the others present at the Synod gave to Paul the right hand of fellowship and pronounced his proceeding legitimate; Acts xxi. James and Paul met again. This part of Acts Rénan professes to recognize as authentic, as coming from an eye-witness. The meeting was, as intimated before, exactly what we should expect it to have been, thus in the main the two Apostles agree; James only desires Paul to do certain acts in order to refute thereby reports circulated among, and believed by the Christians of Jerusalem; Paul follows the advice, most likely against his better judgment, certainly to his sorrow. This meeting took place about A. D. 60. Could James have established counter-missions, and treated Paul on the occasion in question the way he did, without being a consummate hypocrite? James dies soon afterward (A. D. 62), and, whether we follow the account of Hegesippus or Josephus, a radical change of his views had not taken place. In that interval (60–62) he penned also his epistle, which cannot have been intended for a marked attack on Paul, being addressed to readers on whom Paul had exerted no influence whatsoever. Moreover, there is no real discrepancy between that document and the doctrines of Paul. All attempts to

make James and Paul perfectly alike, appear to us, indeed, forced and unnatural; we readily admit a relative diserepancy between them, and we are persuaded that Paul would not have been likely to use James' language with regard to justification as being effected by faith *and works;* but a real contradiction between them there exists not, as every one can satisfy himself that will take the trouble to study James' system of doctrine thoroughly as well as that of Paul. The *faith* of James is in some accidental features different from that of Paul—hence their relative diserepancy. Still worse, if possible, is M. Rénan's representation of John's relation to and conduct toward Paul, or rather, his memory, doctrine, and influence.

According to our author, the Apocalypse is the work of John the Apostle, and was composed about A. D. 68. That it was no revelation from Jesus or any other higher power, is a matter of course; it was John's production exclusively. All the harsh terms applied in that book to false teachers, apostles, etc., are aimed at Paul, the oversight of whose churches in Asia Minor John had taken upon himself after Paul's death. "From that moment Paul becomes in the eyes of an entire fragment of the church, a most dangerous heretic, a false Jew, a false Apostle, a false prophet, a second Balaam, a Jezebel, a wretch who was harping upon the destruction of the temple. To tell all in two words, a Simon the magician."—(P. 188.) Of these flattering designations, "the false Jew," "false Apostle," "false prophet," and others of the same import, owe their paternity to the Apocalypse. But that John should have applied these terms to Paul, and that of "Nicolaitanes" to his disciples, should have called his visions "the deep things of Satan," the churches founded by him "the synagogues of Satan" (pp. 188–189), is not only unqualifiedly false, but not even the semblance of proof can be brought forward for this reckless assertion. These titles are applied by John to individuals still living (Apoc. ii. 9 and iii. 9, etc.); according to Rénan the Apocalypse was composed in A. D. 68, when Paul was either dead or awaiting his sentence of death in prison—did this point escape our historian? Soon after Paul's death, his churches in Asia Minor as well as elsewhere saw themselves greatly endangered by errors coming from without and from

their own midst, as Paul had often foretold, combating them wherever they made their appearance. The churches in Asia Minor, where, for a variety of reasons, the danger was greatest, entreated John to take charge of them. As Paul's doctrine was so greatly perverted, through the ignorance and malice, in his life-time ("we are slanderously reported and some affirm that we say: Let us do evil that good may come"), is it strange that this should have been done to a greater extent and with better success after his death? The same causes that had prepared the way for Christianity, paved it also, in a high degree, for dangerous errors that had mixed with the pure doctrines of the Gospel; and as error mixed with truth is always more dangerous, because more successful, than error alone, the danger was really very great for the infant churches, and history testifies that Ebionitism on the one hand, and Gnosticism on the other, at one time fairly eclipsed the glory of the Church. These errorists and the assemblies gathered by them John combats in the Apocalypse and in his epistles; but to say that he directed his shafts against Paul, is a real slander of the disciple whom Jesus loved. For John had also given to Paul, at the Synod, the right hand of fellowship, thus recognizing his apostolic mission, and as Paul did but consistently develop and carry out the principles approved then and there, only a total change of principles in John would have enabled the latter to attack Paul in the manner asserted by Rénan. But how is it in this respect? What is the doctrinal system of the Apocalypse? Is there such a radical difference between it and the doctrines of Paul? Let the documents be compared, and it will be seen by every competent and unprejudiced critic that the agreement between the two sets of documents is almost perfect, greater than between the fourth Gospel, which is the work of John, and the Apocalypse. Paul and the Apocalypse agree as to the higher character of Jesus and his mediatorial position. Will any honest man maintain that the Christ of the Apocalypse is Ebionitic? Let him read the first chapter and then say whether Jesus is represented there as a mere creature, however exalted. The revelation is, indeed, *given* him by God, but this is the position uniformly claimed by the Saviour himself, and ascribed

to him by the synoptics, the fourth Gospel, and by Paul, and his mediatorial character demands this very position. This implies identity of views of the Incarnation—the same identity of views we find in the two documents with regard to justification; the vicarious sufferings of Jesus appear in both as the pardon-procuring cause, which the sinner can appropriate to himself only by faith. Although Paul was the Apostle of the Gentiles, yet his attachment to his former co-religionists remains as strong all his life long as that of any of the older Apostles. Let the reader read in proof of this the first five verses of Rom. ix.; nor are his hopes as to the future of Israel less bright than those of any of the others.—See Rom. xi. 25–28. But greatest of all is the agreement between the eschatologies of the two parties. This fact seems to have been overlooked to a great extent by the Church, as in fact the whole subject of eschatology has not yet received its proper share of attention. The two sets of documents are, on this subject, so independent that neither can be fully understood without the other. Paul does not particularly distinguish between the first and the second resurrection, although he hints also at the second. What he writes in 1 Thess. iv. can be fully understood only by comparing it with Apoc. xix. and xx., and the whole of 1 Cor. xv. remains more or less dark without the Apocalypse. In 1 Cor. xv. 24, we read, "then the end;" between ver. 24 and 25 the millennium falls; the coming of Christ, ver. 24, is identical with that spoken of in 1 Thess. iv., and the *end* is the consummation of all things, but without Apoc. xx. we should not know this. And John, who agreed so fully with Paul, who had formally recognized him as the Apostle of the Gentiles, who had taken charge of his churches after his death, John should apply such terrible terms to Paul! Had he done so, he would be the worst of defamers and calumniators on record.

In this way we could follow our author and convict him of rashness, falsehood, and misrepresentation almost step by step, but the few specimens we have given are sufficient to convey a correct idea of the whole book. We call attention before bringing our review to a close, to one more subject, viz., Paul's preaching at Athens. From pages 126–140 we have a

lengthy and, on the whole, clever dissertation on Athens and Grecian culture; but Paul, as might be expected, is made to play a wretched *rôle* there. Rénan's comment on the words of Acts: "His spirit was stirred within him when he saw the city wholly given up to idolatry," is "Ah! beautiful and chaste images, true gods and true goddesses, tremble! here is one who will raise the hammer against you. The fatal word has been pronounced, ye are idols. The error of this ugly little Jew will prove your death-warrant." Our author's representation of Paul's conduct and appearance at Athens is nothing but a caricature. His treatment of the subject is moreover so shallow and superficial that even the common error of *the* unknown God is retained and commented upon, while Paul spoke of *an* unknown god, setting out from a position which Rénan has failed to discover. The masterly discourse delivered by Paul at Athens, is not only censured as to form and diction, but is pronounced deistical and a disingenuous attempt at reconciling irreconcilable ways of thinking. "Biblical ideas and those of Greek philosophy aspire to embrace each other; but for that they will need make many concessions to each other, for this God in whom we live and move is very different from the Jehovah of the prophets and heavenly Father of Jesus." (P. 138.) "What was Paul? He was not a saint. The dominant feature of his character is not goodness; he was haughty, pertinacious, aggressive; he defended himself; maintained his point; his expressions were harsh; he deemed himself absolutely in the right; he clung to his opinions; he quarrelled with different persons. He was not learned. It may even be said that he greatly injured science by his paradoxical contempt for reason, by his eulogy upon apparent folly, by his apotheosis of transcendental absurdity. He wishes to succeed—for this he makes sacrifices. . . . He is not even a virtuous man, for he is never irreproachable. . . . Paul, so great, so upright, is obliged to decree to himself the title of Apostle." (Pp. 329–30.) Such, then, were the leading features of the character of "St." Paul! By an accident, by a purely subjective phenomenon that had no objective basis whatever, he is changed of a sudden from a fierce persecutor into an enthusiastic follower of Jesus, the infallible exponent

of whose teachings, work, and kingdom he at once claims to be—the views once adopted he clings to with unparalleled consistency, and promulgates under all circumstances, in the face of all enemies and all possible dangers—for these views he endures the sorest persecutions, greatest hardships, and finally lays down his life—though at first possibly sincere, he soon commits acts, prompted by his desire to succeed, that are inconsistent with the most ordinary honesty; whenever he needs the support of a miracle, in order to succeed with the ignorant and superstitious, he plays a trick and palms it off as a miracle; whenever he needs a revelation, he manufactures one, yea, he decrees to himself the title of Apostle; he believed in the speedy return of the Master; which belief, coupled with his natural pertinacity and stubbornness, furnishes the incentives to his uncommon activity. In the course of time he learns that the return of the Master is not as near at hand as he had supposed; many believers die, and at last, Paul himself dies in confirmation of his professions, after he had faced death time and again, and had repeatedly declared that he was at all times ready to seal his devotion to his Master's cause with his blood; he was almost a stranger to the Master's divine λόγια and parables, although his ethical system is exactly that of the Master, and his unswerving stand taken with regard to the rights of believing heathens is but the practical carrying out of the principles laid down in so many parables, although Luke, who wrote the third gospel shortly after Paul's death, was for many years his faithful companion, and the world was full of memoirs of Jesus' teachings and doings at the time. Such a tissue of incongruities and contradictions and falsehoods, M. Rénan requires us to believe! Verily, truth is stranger than fiction. *Credat Judæus Apella!*

With these remarks we bring our article to a close. What a writer in the London *Quarterly* for January, 1870, says of Lecky's "History of European Morals," we should apply to Rénan, were not such momentous interests at stake, viz., "It will be seen from what has been said, that we cannot rate Mr. Lecky's book high as a contribution to human knowledge. As a piece of light reading, always agreeable, and often suggestive, it may take a respectable place among the books of the year;

to the qualities which mark either a great history or a great philosophy it has no claims whatever. Its criticism is not sufficiently sound and careful to make it valuable as a repertory of facts; its thought is not sufficiently penetrating and mature to throw light upon the problems of human nature which it professes to deal with. An author who lacks the first condition of excellence, a sense of his own weakness, and of the difficulties of his subject, seldom produces any thing of substantial worth; and if Mr. Lecky aspires to be something more than the hero of circulating libraries, he must set to work in a far more thorough and patient spirit than that to which these pages bear witness." Strike out from his "St. Paul" the proper names and substitute fictitious ones, and you have a readable novel, with a rather smart hero. But as it is, as a history of one of the greatest and best men, of the Saviour's chosen instrument to preach his gospel and establish his church, who is entitled to the gratitude and veneration of all mankind, we cannot accept it, and we deem it our duty to warn the young and unwary against it; we must also enter our solemn protest against the deliberate judgment of the American publishers, that "the works of Rénan are of great power and learning, honestly and earnestly written, beautiful in style, admirable in treatment, and filled with reverence, tenderness, and warmth of heart," since we can admit the beauty of style only, and no other respectable feature in the book under review. If infidel works must be read, let them be those of Strauss, or works like them, which must be studied in order to be understood—yea, let them be rather the "Age of Reason," of Thomas Paine, who gives himself for what he is, than the "St. Paul" of Rénan," who instils the poison drop by drop into your system, and kills you before you have any apprehension of danger.

Art. II.—*Training and Support of a Native Ministry in the Turkish Empire.**

In the following essay on the training and support of a native ministry in Turkey, several things are taken for granted, as the importance of this branch of missionary work, the scriptural authority for it, and the fact that there is not perfect agreement among missionaries in regard to the general principles involved, and in regard to the details according to which those principles should be carried out. Our design has been to offer such hints as will bring the whole question fairly before us, and aid us somewhat perhaps in arriving at practical conclusions for future guidance, not only in the Turkish empire, but in other countries where native evangelical churches are springing into life. Let us look in the first place at

1. Some of the difficulties to be overcome.

The one that first attracts our attention is the small number of proper candidates for the theological schools. In many places the number of candidates who are ready to enter such schools is large, but many of them are men who are not called of God; influenced by worldly motives, they profess to wish to study for the ministry; they can easily display great zeal for Christ and his cause, but the sequel too often shows that their zeal was not inspired by the Holy Spirit. It is not easy for missionaries to decide who are in earnest and who are not. Experience, however, shows that the number of those really called of God to the ministry is small, while the number of those who run of themselves is often large.

Another great obstacle is *ignorance.* Men sometimes present themselves as students of theology who can barely read; nor can it be always said that such men are not hopeful candidates. If called of God they may soon become able ministers of the Word; but they are ignorant. Many children in America, at the age of nine years, have more and better general information than some of these men when they present

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themselves at the door of the theological seminary. The causes of this ignorance are manifest. These men were born, it may be, in mountain villages where there are no schools, no newspapers, no books; where, perhaps, not a man can be found who knows how to read, where the people have almost no connection with the outer world. The mind of a young man born and reared in such circumstances may be naturally good; so is the uncut marble over which he plays in childhood; buried in darkness its beauties are unknown. The nature and extent of this ignorance is almost inconceivable to one who has never visited such mountain villages, or conversed with such candidates for the ministry.

The want of good common schools is another great obstacle to the training of native pastors. Throughout the Turkish empire this difficulty is deeply felt. What can a young man do who feels called to the ministry? How can he prepare himself to study theology? In his native village, if there is any Protestant school at all, the teacher can only take him through the simplest rudiments of an education—reading, writing, the first elements of geography, grammar, and arithmetic; rather a scant preparation for a theological seminary: yet the common schools are very few where more than these are taught.

Another great want is that of good school-books. Even where there are comparatively good schools, there is generally such a scarcity of school-books as makes it almost impossible for men to prepare for the theological schools. And even after they have entered such schools, what mission in Turkey can show a good set of text-books in any one department of theological study? Not one. If it be asked why are there not good common schools and good school-books, we mention in reply another great obstacle to the training of a native ministry, which is, the small number of missionaries as compared with the work to be done. This number is so small, that two men are generally all that can be allowed for the theological school. These two missionaries are expected to give instruction, at least in *Moral Philosophy*, *Biblical Exegesis*, *the Evidences of Christianity*, *Pastoral and Doctrinal Theology*, *Church History*, and *Homiletics*. They are also ex-

pected to be missionaries at large, to visit out-stations, superintend churches, attend meetings of native preachers and pastors, in a word, to look after the thousand and one things that constantly arise at a large mission station. If two or three men are spared for literary work, their time must be given mainly to translating and editing the Scriptures, and religious tracts, newspapers, and books. However able men may be, and however willing to work, simple want of time makes it impossible for them to do well all that is required of them. Where there are but two men at the station where the theological school is located, how can they make proper preparation for their lessons?—with both teachers and scholars will there not be weakness where there ought to be strength? There ought to be at least three men connected with every theological seminary in Turkey, who should give their full strength, certainly during term time, to the care and instruction of the students.

2. The kind of men needed.

In the great scarcity of pastors and preachers, men are often put into the theological schools who ought not to enter them. Perhaps more serious mistakes are made just here than in any other branch of missionary work. The reason is plain; a good native pastor is above all price, while one who enters the ministry from improper motives, who is not qualified for his work, and who takes little or no interest in it, is far more of a hinderance than a similar man in America or England. We say, in general, that no man should be advised or allowed to study theology who does not give clear evidence of piety. This caution may be thought unnecessary; experience has proved that it is not. Theoretically, probably, all missionaries are right on this point; practically, there are few who have not made serious mistakes. We believe the history of nearly every Christian mission of modern times will show that many young men have been encouraged to study for the ministry who have not been renewed by the Holy Spirit. What have been the results? Just what we might expect them to be. Such men become in time great obstacles to the Lord's work, often bitter opposers of that work. Churches die under their influence. Even where they do not oppose the

Gospel, they substitute other things for it. Moral philosophy, natural science, human learning take the place of the "word of God." Men, therefore, of earnest piety, men whose piety has been proved, and they only should be trained for the ministry.

Men also are needed who are *called of God.*

It does not follow that every young man, because he has real piety, should study theology. Here, too, all missionaries are liable to be in too great haste. Native pastors are needed; the Lord's work languishes because they are not to be found; what more natural than to advise young carpenters, shoemakers, blacksmiths, and farmers to leave their daily toil and enter the service of Christ as preachers of the Gospel? Very natural, but not always very wise; for men who enter the ministry should be men called of God, men moved by a divine impulse, men who have heard the Redeemer's last command addressed especially to themselves, "*Go ye*, into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature."

Men of good natural ability are needed; even earnest piety will not make up for a want of intellect. It is a great mistake to suppose that Christian converts in heathen and semi-heathen lands cannot distinguish between those who are able expounders of God's word and those who are not. Such converts discover the difference as quickly as the most intelligent audiences in America or England. The idea that any young man, if very pious, with a tolerable education, will answer for a missionary, is now pretty thoroughly exploded; it is equally a mistake, often made by good missionaries, to suppose that every young man of particularly earnest piety in their congregations should be encouraged to enter the native ministry. Earnest piety makes up for many defects; but when men are to be selected for native preachers, there is a degree of stupidity which it should not be allowed to cover.

Here an interesting question arises; at what age should men be received into the theological schools in our missions? Perhaps no definite answer can be given; yet we may say, in general, that if good in other respects, for ordinary native pastors, it matters not if they are somewhat advanced in years. Young men make the best scholars, but they lack

experience in dealing with others, and are more apt to be governed by their feelings than by their sober judgment. It is also true that young men are more pliable than those who have reached mature years, more easily moulded into the right shape; impressions made on their minds sink deeper and are more lasting. A man at thirty-five or forty sometimes makes up with wonderful energy under the new impulse given to his mind by the Gospel; if such a man wishes to preach the Gospel and seems truly called of God, who shall hinder him? We have been assured that, at one time, one of the most hopeful men in one of the theological seminaries among the Armenians was the father of eleven children, most of whom were living. If others at the age of sixteen or seventeen give evidence of true piety, have the proper qualifications, and are anxious to preach the Gospel, let them do so. The churches on missionary ground need good scholars in the ministry as well as those in America and England; and really good scholars, as a rule, can only be made of young men.

Men are needed who are ready to deny themselves. Self-denial should be one of the foundation stones of every church and of every Christian character; the preachers and pastors should be leaders in this respect. Whenever it appears that a man is in the seminary in order to obtain a living, the sooner his connection with it ceases the better.

3. When all other obstacles are removed, and a suitable number of young men are collected to form a theological school, the question then arises, "*What shall they study?*" This question calls up the whole subject of the proper course of study in a seminary for the training of native pastors and preachers on missionary ground. We are aware that we are here treading on disputed territory, that many of the wisest and best men have differed widely on this subject. Without attempting to defend, in detail, the suggestions we shall make, we shall state what appear to be the most essential things in such a course of study. And, in the first place, we think the young men who are preparing for the native ministry should study thoroughly the language which they are to use as preachers and pastors. The universal corruption of the East

shows itself in nothing more plainly than in the corruption of language; this appears not only in words of an immoral meaning, but in imperfect words, in words whose original form has been changed, in ungrammatical expressions, and in wrong pronunciation. Many Armenians, for example, have not only no knowledge of the Armenian language, but a very imperfect knowledge of the Turkish, which they use. The wrong grammatical forms and the wrong pronunciation, which they learn in childhood, cling to them in after years. What we urge is, that all students of theology should be taught to read, write, and speak correctly the language which they are to use as preachers of the Gospel.

They should study mathematics as a mental discipline. The main question here is, that of the extent to which mathematical studies should be carried. Much will depend on the mental capacity of the students. Algebra and geometry at least should form part of a four years' course. The importance of natural science, mental and moral philosophy, cannot be disputed; the question of the amount of time that should be given to such studies is the only one on which there can be a great difference of opinion. Students should certainly acquire a knowledge of the general principles of these sciences, yet such studies should not be allowed to exclude the more important study of the Bible and systematic theology. Natural science and mental and moral philosophy should be studied with special reference to their relations to Christianity. Shall the students study English? We answer, yes; at least they should learn English well enough to use English text-books in preparing to preach. The study itself is a good mental discipline, while the knowledge acquired, to the extent mentioned, opens to a native preacher a treasure-house filled with the ripe results of sanctified scholarship. A high authority in such matters has well said: "In the providence of God the English race occupy much the same place *now* in history which the Romans did in the time of Christ. They are the standard-bearers of the *thought* of all ages; their flag is in every sea; their influence brought in immediate contact with the life of every people. The English language is the store-house of all the best thought of the

world. This *thought* is a divinely appointed instrumentality of culture, of intellectual growth and power for the race, steadily accumulating as the fruit of study, prayer, experience, observation. Whether we will or not, this influence will be exerted, in its baser elements or in its better; it cannot be hindered." We may add, that whether the missionaries favor the study of English or not, the most active and intelligent of the native pastors and preachers will learn it; they will surmount every obstacle in order to avail themselves of the commentaries and theological treatises found in the English language. And they are right; every young man who has brains enough to go through a course of theological study is able to learn enough English to use English commentaries, and he should not only be permitted but required to do it. The evidences of Christianity, natural, doctrinal, and pastoral theology, are, of course, essential. The impression prevails, that young men in the theological seminaries in our foreign missions cannot grasp these subjects very thoroughly; this impression is probably not correct; from all we can learn on this point, we are inclined to think that such young men compare favorably with the same class in our own country. True they have never studied systems of logic, but they can see the force or weakness of an argument, and can appreciate a systematic and thorough presentation of a subject. Biblical and church history, homiletics and church polity must receive their proper share of attention. Much practical instruction in regard to public speaking, the composition and delivery of sermons, is necessary in order to make good preachers of the ordinary students in the mission theological seminaries. Throughout the whole course, the Bible should be made the most important of all text-books. All other discipline and all other acquisitions should be made to centre, as in a focus, on the Word of God. A sustained interest in the study of the Scriptures can only be secured by earnest and persevering efforts. Oriental minds are fond of speculation; the East is the hot-bed of wild fancies and dreams. Special care, therefore, should be taken to bind the attention of students to the *revealed Word*. To master thoroughly the divine revelation is the essential thing in pre-

paring for the ministry. Just in proportion as native preachers attain this end, will they be able ministers of the New Testament; if they come short here, all their other attainments will be of little value.

Thus much in regard to the course of study; in putting this course to a practical application, of course mental discipline should be made of primary importance rather than the imparting of information.

4. We come now to another important question, viz.: What training shall candidates for a native ministry have, apart from that which they receive through the medium of books?

We reply, they should be trained to *regular habits of study.* Such habits are worth more than volumes of information imparted to a student, yet few things are more difficult to secure in dealing with Orientals; they like to spend their time in idle talk; they need to be taught the value of time in reference to mental growth, and the importance of devoting a portion of each day, sacredly, to hard study.

They should also be trained to self-denial, while they are pursuing their studies. How this can be accomplished always may be a difficult question, but it is a matter of the first importance, and should be carefully weighed by those who have the immediate charge of our mission theological schools. Students in such schools are too apt to look upon missionary boards as their nursing mothers, mothers who are only too happy to supply their every want. If the young men in such schools are to become hardy soldiers of the cross, they must begin when in the theological schools. Such students should also be trained to aggressive work for Christ. By this we mean more than the preparation of good sermons, more than the care of a single flock. In the present state of God's work in the Turkish Empire, the evangelical churches should be emphatically aggressive, should be ready to send out their members everywhere preaching the Gospel and compelling men to come to the marriage feast; but the churches will not have this character unless the pastors have it, and if the students do not catch something of this spirit while in the seminaries, the probability is that they will never catch it at all. Christ not only taught his disciples by word of mouth,

but he sent them out, and led them out, and showed them *how* to go about their great work. How did Paul deal with the young men whom he wished to make leaders in Christ's cause? He taught them, by example as well as by precept, that they should not always act on the defensive, that they should attack the enemy on his own ground, and attack him without fear and asking no favors. The pastors, who are to guide the churches now springing up where Paul labored, should be men of the same spirit.

Students should also be trained to intelligent *self-reliance.* In Eastern countries, where might too often makes right, men of really independent judgment are not often found; people look up to their superiors. The first question is not, what do truth and duty require, but what is the opinion of those in authority. It is hard to bring even Christian men to think intelligently and act deliberately for themselves. The right kind of self-reliance is an important part of the education of a native ministry, especially among subject races like the nominal Christian races in Turkey.

Candidates for a native ministry should be taught also to regard the *preaching of God's Word* as the great business of their lives. They are very liable to get mixed up with secular and political affairs. In the infancy of the churches, such a result is almost inevitable, and, to a certain degree, is not to be deplored. Native pastors are the real moulders of opinion on almost all subjects, and they ought to be wide awake to all public questions. The danger is, that the political and secular interests of their flocks will so crowd upon their time and thoughts as to throw the preaching of the Word into the background. This result is almost sure to be fatal to the ultimate and highest usefulness of a pastor. Shallow sermons, thinly attended prayer-meetings, a decline in spirituality in the church, coldness, divisions, backbitings, these and similar things are quite sure to follow when a native pastor declines in devotion to *preaching* as his one great work.

Such students should be trained also to look to the churches, over which they are to be pastors, for their support. This is now so generally acknowledged that it seems unnecessary to

dwell upon it. We may remark, however, that the seminary is the place to lay right foundations on this subject. Students should be made familiar with the idea that their relations, after leaving the seminary, are to be with the *churches* rather than with missionaries from a distant land, or with the treasury of a foreign Board. Failure here has led to sorrows innumerable.

5. On what scale shall students be supported while pursuing their studies?

Practically, this is an important question. Strict economy should be the general principle for the guidance of the missionaries. Nothing more quickly demoralizes native Christians than a free use of money; nothing makes the work of a native pastor more irksome than constant anxiety about his salary; and nothing is more sure to create and keep up that anxiety than a liberal support while in the seminary. It seems plain that students in our mission theological schools should not be supported in a style above that which they will have to adopt when they become preachers and pastors. The poverty of the native Christians, and the weakness of the native churches should ever be kept in mind by those in charge of such schools. So far as possible, the students should be required to earn the money they receive; the best good of the students themselves requires this. To accomplish this end they may, in many cases, be furnished with work during term time, and in other cases be employed as colporteurs, teachers, and preachers during vacations. Such students are generally accustomed to hard labor before entering the seminaries; health, alone, requires that their active habits be kept up. If this is not done, they may become good scholars; but with weak, dyspeptic, diseased bodies they can never be active, robust preachers and pastors. Habits of industry, a proper appreciation of the value of money, their future happiness, all require that students have no more aid than is actually necessary for real wants.

6. How shall native pastors be supported after they have entered on their work? We have already touched upon this point; a full examination of it properly belongs to the more general question of the self-support of mission churches, yet a few additional words will not be out of place here. The only

safe principle seems to be to throw the native pastors, for their support, upon the churches at the time of ordination. Whatever aid is rendered toward the support of the pastors should be given *to the churches* and not directly to the pastors. No native preacher or pastor should draw his salary from the treasury of a foreign Board. Pastors and preachers should be taught from the first to look to the churches for their support, and taught not only theoretically but practically, by actually placing this responsibility upon the churches. Native churches are often unwilling to pledge themselves to support their pastors, and newly ordained pastors are often unwilling to commit themselves to their churches; but we are convinced that any other course than the one here recommended is fraught with evils and embarrassments that will only increase as time passes. Whenever foreign aid is rendered to a church in the support of its pastor, it should be done only with a definite understanding that such aid shall cease at the earliest possible moment. If a native pastor is not willing thus to be thrown on the church over which he is ordained, it is generally indicative either that there has been a serious defect in his education or that the man is not fit for the pastoral office. Those pastors who perseveringly insist on being supported by a foreign Board are, in the opinion of the writer, really not worthy to be supported very long by anybody. Moreover, we think this position is fully sustained by the history of the Protestant evangelical churches in the Turkish Empire. We learn from the report of the American Board for 1869, that there are seventy-three evangelical churches under its care in Turkey, and that forty-three of these have native pastors ordained over them. From private sources of the most reliable kind, we happen to know that the missionaries of the Board among the Armenians in Turkey have devoted much attention to the training up of a native ministry according to the suggestions contained in this article. We know, also, that their efforts have been attended with marked success. The most promising pastors in the country are those who have been educated on these principles; the strongest and most flourishing churches are those that have for years supported entirely their own pastors, and those pastors and churches that have most thor-

oughly tested this principle of self-support are the most thoroughly in favor of it; in fact, they could not be induced to return to their former relation as recipients of foreign benevolence. There are four theological schools in the three missions of Western, Central, and Eastern Turkey. These schools are located at *Marsovan*, *Marash*, *Harpoot*, and *Mardin*. The general principles on which these schools are conducted are the same, and are substantially those we have recommended. The work of evangelization is extending among the Copts of Egypt, the people of Syria, the Bulgarians in European Turkey, and the Kurdish-speaking Armenians of Kürdistan. For these different nationalities a native ministry must be provided. It is important that there should be agreement and united action among the missions and missionaries of the whole Turkish Empire in regard to the principles and method according to which that ministry shall be trained.

If evangelical missions in Turkey are to succeed, the whole work of evangelization will eventually pass into the hands of native Christians; if they are to fail, it matters little on what principles they are conducted. We believe they are to succeed. Unity of plan, therefore, in the organization and development of native churches becomes a matter of the first importance. Such churches will be a power in the land in proportion to their ability to work together for Christ and his cause. If the missionaries are agreed in regard to the general principles on which they will train up a native ministry, the future pastors of the evangelical churches throughout Turkey will be on the same level, will take substantially the same views of their duty, will work alike and *together* for the evangelization of the whole country. When the pastors are thus agreed, the churches will be trained accordingly. We write not in the interest of any particular Board or denomination or system, when we say that the missionaries in Turkey should seek after real unity in the plan of that spiritual building which is rising, under their direction, to the honor and glory of God. United action in training a native ministry will secure substantial unity in all else. In the writer's judgment, sectarian interests should be made to stand aside if they attempt to prevent or hinder this desirable consummation.

ART. III.—*The One Primeval Language traced experimentally through Ancient Inscriptions in Alphabetic Characters, of Lost Powers, from the four Continents.* By the REV. CHARLES FORSTER, B. D. London: 1851. Part I. *The Voice of Israel from the Rocks of Sinai, or the Sinaitic Inscriptions Contemporary Records of the Miracles and Wanderings of the Exode.* 8vo, pp. 182.

Sinai Photographed, or Contemporary Records of Israel in the Wilderness. By the REV. CHARLES FORSTER, B. D. London: 1862. 4to, pp. 552.

IT is well known that the valleys in the neighborhood of Mount Sinai contain inscriptions in an ancient and peculiar character, which have long been a puzzle to the learned. The earliest mention of them is by Cosmas Indicopleustes, or the Indian Navigator, an Egyptian merchant and traveller, and subsequently a monk, who flourished in the reign of Justinian, about A. D. 535. In his work entitled "Christian Topography," he speaks of these inscriptions, and attributes them to the children of Israel, during their wanderings in the wilderness. We translate the entire passage, as quoted by Beer, and copied from him by Forster:—

"As they had received the law from God in writing, and recently been taught letters, God made use, as it were, of a quiet school in the desert, and permitted them to carve letters in stone for forty years. Whence it is to be seen that in this desert of Mount Sinai, at every halting-place, all the stones which are broken from the mountains are inscribed with engraved Hebrew letters, as I who have gone through these localities on foot can testify. Some Jews, who read them, and explained them to me, said that the writing was to this purport: the journey of *So and So*, of such a tribe, in such a year, and such a month, as among us also people often write in foreign parts. Now, inasmuch as they had but lately learned their letters, they were incessantly practising and wrote profusely, so that all those places are filled with carved Hebrew letters, which have been preserved to this present time, as I suppose, for the sake of unbelievers. Any one who pleases can go to this region and see for himself, or at least can ask and learn that we have told the truth about it. The Hebrews, then, having first been instructed of God, in that they received letters by those tables of stone, and then learned them forty years in the wilderness, delivered them to their neighbors, the Phœnicians, to Cadmus, first king of Tyre; from him the Greeks received them, and after that they were successively transmitted to all the other nations in their turn."

No notice is taken of these inscriptions in any writings subsequent to the time of Cosmas, and they appear to have attracted no attention until his treatise was first published in modern times by Montfaucon, at Paris, in 1706. The learned editor does not seem to have ever heard of these mysterious inscriptions from any other quarter. He believes that Cosmas saw what he reports, simply on the ground of his credibility as a writer and a witness, though he supposes him to have been imposed upon by some mendacious Jews, when he imagines that they were written by the children of Israel. Sixteen years later, in 1722, the prefect of the Franciscans in Cairo passed through that region, and he is the first modern writer who gives any account of them from personal inspection. We shall give a brief extract from his narrative presently. His manuscript "Journal from Grand Cairo to Mount Sinai" was translated into English by Clayton, bishop of Clogher, and published in London. The worthy Irish prelate, who was thus the first to direct the attention of European scholars to this subject was himself so profoundly interested in it, that he offered the sum of £500 to the traveller who should copy and bring to Europe the inscriptions of the Wady Mokatteb. "This was soon after followed up in the East by the enterprise of Dr. Richard Pocoeke (afterward bishop of Ossory), the first European traveller who visited the peninsula of Sinai with the object of examining and taking copies of its inscriptions. Additional copies were subsequently made by Montague, Niebuhr, Rüppell, Seetzen, Burckhardt, Laborde, and others. "Adequate materials" for a satisfactory investigation can scarcely be said to have existed, however, until they were supplied "by Rev. Mr. Gray, whose collection of one hundred and seventy-seven fairly copied Sinaitic inscriptions appeared in 1800 in the Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature." "The following device was employed by this gentleman and his fellow-traveller, an Italian artist, to gain an opportunity of making their copies. Finding all efforts vain to induce their Arabs to stop for this purpose, they privately agreed, on reaching the Wady Mokatteb inscriptions, where they were to halt for the night, to loose the camels from their pickets while the guides slept, and let them wander over the

desert. At day-break the Arabs missed their camels, and went off in quest of them; while, during their absence of some hours, Mr. Gray and his companion quietly and uninterruptedly took copies of all the inscriptions within their reach." Of the difficulties to be encountered in copying these inscriptions, a brief extract from a communication from another traveller (Rev. T. Brookman), may give some idea. Forster's "Primeval Language," pp. 170–1 :—

"I found that if we tarried three days, or even two, our water and provisions would not hold out till the convent, whither we must go to take in a six days' supply for our return. The expense, too, of detaining the camels and Arabs would be not inconsiderable. I therefore determined to select only the best and clearest inscriptions for copying, and worked almost unremittingly from noon to sunset under a burning sun; my servant and the Arab sheikh and his boy holding an umbrella over me in turn. The next morning, before sunrise, I went to work again; and when the sun began to wax hot, I called my servant to bear the umbrella as before. He, having something to do in the tent, called the sheikh; and he from out of a rocky cave where he lay, called the boy; and forth came the poor boy from another shady retreat, to face the fierce glare of the sun, wondering what could possess the Frangee to stop in this frightful desert to copy these useless, and, as he thought, unintelligible writings."

Every recent traveller in the desert of Sinai gives some account of these remarkable inscriptions. We insert the following from Dr. John Wilson's "Lands of the Bible" :—

"When we got beyond the entrance of the Magharah, our Arabs made to us the welcome announcement that we had entered the Wadi Mukatteb, or the 'written valley.' We had not far to look for the mysterious inscriptions which we had so much desired to see. In the first or western division of the valley, however, which, like the second, continues for about an hour and a half, they are not numerous. We dismounted at the broad expansion of the Wadi which marks its division, and where it strikes to the south; and here we had them in abundance to the fullest gratification of our curiosity. They are found on both sides of the valley on the perpendicular and smooth cliffs of the new red or variegated sandstone, the strata of which are of enormous thickness, and on the large masses of this rock which have fallen from above. The surface of these stony tablets seemed to have been naturally prepared for the 'graving of an iron pen,' and the words which are written upon them, though not very deeply cut,* if we may judge from the small injury which the hand of time has committed upon them during the many ages they have existed, may probably 'last forever' in the sense of Job, the tried patriarch of Arabia Petræa, who wished such a commemoration of the language of his deepest sorrow.

* "In some instances they seem as if merely pricked by some instrument."

"The inscriptions are both literal and hieroglyphical, or I should rather say pictorial, for they do not seem the symbols of thought conventionally expressed. The letters vary in size from half an inch to six inches in depth, and they are generally arranged in single lines, as if representing a name and date, and preceded by a distinctive group of letters, representing the word שלם or 'peace.' A few of them are in Greek, but most of them are in the ancient Nabathæan character. The figures occurring at several places are very rude. They are those of men with shields and swords, and bows and arrows; of camels and horses, both with and without their riders, seated or standing by their sides; of goats and ibexes, with large curved horns; of antelopes pursued by greyhounds; of ostriches and geese, and unknown birds, indistinctly represented; of lizards, tortoises, and other creeping things; and of divers quaint phantasies, which cannot be characterized.

"The prefect of the Franciscan missionaries of Egypt, who visited them in 1722, and who was among the first in modern times to give precise information respecting them, says in his account of them, which we had with us on our journey: 'They are cut into the hard marble (sandstone) rock, so high as to be at some places at twelve or fourteen feet distance from the ground; and though we had in our company persons who were acquainted with the Arabic, Greek, Hebrew, Syriac, Coptic, Latin, Armenian, Turkish, English, Illyrican, German, and Bohemian languages, yet none of them had any knowledge of these characters, which have nevertheless been cut into the hard rock with the greatest industry, in a place where there is neither water nor any thing to be gotten to eat. It is probable, therefore, that these unknown characters contain some very secret mysteries, and that they were engraved either by the Chaldeans or some other persons long before the coming of Christ.' They are to be found not only in Wadi Mukatteb, but in all the principal Wadis of the peninsula on the route to Mount Sinai. Specimens of them were observed by Burckhardt on the heights of Jebel Serbal, and, what is most remarkable, we found one or two of them on the rocks at Petra. The valley of Mukatteb opens out to a considerable breadth where the inscriptions are most numerous. After the large bend of the valley, they are confined principally to the western side."

The gradual accumulation of materials stimulated European scholars to undertake the deciphering of these strange records, in the hope of penetrating the mystery in which their origin, their authors, their design, and their character and contents were enshrouded. But this was attended with difficulties of a very serious nature, greatly aggravating the inherent perplexity of the task, which was no less than that of unriddling the meaning of inscriptions in an unknown character, while the language in which they were written, and their subject and occasion could only be matters of doubtful conjecture. Modern antiquarian research has, however, achieved repeated triumphs of this very sort, as in the case of the Egyptian hie-

roglyphics, where the bilingual decree of the Rosetta stone afforded the clue; and the cuneiform character, where a shrewd conjecture from circumstances of the design of an inscription led the way to its successful explanation; and the old Zend manuscripts where a Sanskrit paraphrase facilitated the solution.

But in these scribblings upon the rocks of the desert, no one knew by whom, or when, or for what purpose, the problem was more than ever puzzling. And as has already been intimated, the puzzle was rendered still more intricate by various untoward circumstances.

1. They were not monumental inscriptions, in which the surface of the stone was first smoothed and carefully prepared for the purpose; and then the letters clearly and sharply cut by skilful workmen, with appropriate tools. On the contrary, the face of the sandstone rock was left in all its native roughness and inequalities; no graving tools were used. The letters were not carved, but rudely scratched by whatever the writer chanced to have at hand; mostly they appear to be formed by a series of little holes opening into one another, which have been dug or picked out by a pointed instrument resembling an awl. The writers' want of skill appears in the unequal size of the letters, and in the want of accuracy and uniformity in the shape of the characters. This is shown by the comparison of what is evidently the same inscription cut in different places, and even if the character were well known and familiar would make some of the inscriptions as difficult to decipher as those illegible scrawls which sometimes pass for writing and purport to be English.

2. The great multitude of these inscriptions, which are crowded or rather jumbled together in certain localities, makes it sometimes difficult to separate them, or to distinguish what belongs to each, or to tell where one ends and another begins. Especially as the lines are often not horizontal, but are turned in various directions to suit the surface of the stone or the convenience of the writer; and it is sometimes matter of doubt which way the line really does run. Some professed copies of inscriptions turn out to be confused fragments, combining disconnected parts of different inscriptions, but containing no

one entire—a sort of cross-readings, which of course destroys all possibility of making any thing out of them.

3. The professed copies were in very many cases not reliable, as was shown by the wide divergence between the different representations given of the self-same inscription by different persons. It is a task of no small difficulty to copy an inscription in unknown characters, however clearly these may be traced. But in such roughly-made legends, the difficulty was incomparably greater. It was next to impossible not to mistake occasional inequalities in the stone itself for strokes of letters, or not to overlook what were designed to be strokes, but were never perhaps distinctly made, and which, after lying exposed for ages, are now scarcely, if at all, discernible. It was also nearly impossible to avoid confounding letters which were nearly alike, and which in the haste and want of care with which they were originally made, were not so formed by the authors of the inscriptions as to be clearly distinguishable. They may be compared to writing, such as we often see, in which, from a few letters capable of being recognized, the reader is obliged to guess at the remainder of the word, which, knowing the context and probable scope of the whole, he is mostly able to do. But it is manifest that one who undertook to copy such a manuscript, without the remotest idea of its meaning, or even of the shape or sound of a single letter, must, from the necessity of the case, produce something far less legible than the original writing itself. Many of the points of distinction still existing among the letters, and which are all-important in deciphering it, would be effaced, unless the most rigorous methods were adopted to insure perfect accuracy. Unfortunately, many of the transcriptions were so loosely and negligently made, as to be absolutely worthless. Coutelle, for example, was so careless as to copy the lines from left to right, the reverse direction from that in which they were actually written; and as he further neglected to mark the limits of the lines, or keep each line distinct, the initial word of the inscription was often brought into the middle of the line, and every thing thrown into confusion.

4. The materials possessed were after all very scanty—merely a few hundreds of inscriptions from some of the more

frequented localities, while thousands remained uncopied; and from many of the valleys known to contain inscriptions not a single one was possessed.

Nevertheless, in spite of these formidable discouragements, Professor Beer, of Leipsic, undertook the study of the inscriptions, with the view, if possible, of making out the alphabet in which they were written, and ascertaining their meaning. He first addressed himself to the task in 1833, not long after the publication of the copies taken by Rev. Mr. Gray, as already mentioned, and probably incited to it by the considerable accession of materials thus made. His first attempts, however, proved entirely abortive and the matter was given up. He returned to it again, however, in the winter of 1838-39, perhaps led, as Dr. Robinson suggests (*Bib. Res.*, I. p. 553) by the report made of his visit to Sinai, and by the residence of Dr. Robinson's companion (Dr. Eli Smith) for a time in Leipsic. At length, "after several months of the most persevering and painful application, he succeeded in making out the alphabet, and in reading all the inscriptions which had been copied with any good degree of accuracy." In 1840 he published what he calls a "Century" of these inscriptions transcribed in Hebrew letters. The number deciphered somewhat exceeded what this name would denote, being actually 148. These were accompanied with fac-similes of the inscriptions and prefaced with some introductory discussions.

The style and tenor of the inscriptions was found to be almost universally identical. They uniformly read thus:—"The salutation of *So and So*, son of *So and So*," or "Remember *So and So*, son of *So and So*." To this was occasionally added one or two other words, mostly a title or a term indicative of occupation, as "poet," "priest," "scholar," "emir," "knight," and another word of very frequent occurrence which Beer understood to mean "pilgrim."

Prof. Beer does not detail the process by which he reached his results. But their accuracy admits of the most ample and satisfactory verification.

1. Among the inscriptions explained by Beer was one which he recognized as bilingual, and fortunately it is among those which are in the best state of preservation. Three different

copies of it had also been taken by different hands, by Gray, Lord Prudhoe and Coutelle, one of the French savants who accompanied Napoleon on his expedition into Egypt. The native inscription is immediately followed by one in Greek, the whole inclosed in lines which partly surround them and seem to indicate that they belong together. Judging from the style of letter, which is not cut but dotted out with a pointed instrument, the two inscriptions appear to be by the same hand. Beer was not able to read the whole either of the native inscription or of the Greek, but he deciphered enough of both to show their substantial identity. And it may be added that the labors of subsequent scholars have resulted in completely unriddling them both, and establishing their identity from beginning to end more fully than Beer himself suspected, and this by means of his own alphabet.

2. This gathers confirmation from other inscriptions upon these same rocks in the neighborhood of Sinai. In addition to the inscriptions in the old unknown character, with which we are now concerned, there are others in Latin, Greek, and Arabic. These are almost invariably of like tenor with the old inscriptions as deciphered by Prof. Beer's alphabet. The Greek inscriptions for example contain the word *ΜΝΗΣΘΗ* followed by the name of the writer, and that of his father, *i. e.*, Let *So and So*, son of *So and So*, be remembered. The verbal form is different from that yielded by Prof. Beer's alphabet—the Greek has a subjunctive aorist passive, while he finds a passive participle, but the sense in such a connection is substantially the same. The general style of the old native inscriptions, as thus deciphered, is therefore the same that is perpetuated in those more recent.

3. The proper names which Prof. Beer discovers in these old inscriptions, in many cases reappear in Greek inscriptions in the region, showing that they are such as were in actual use among those who cut their names in these places. They are also plainly Semitic in their character, and susceptible of explanation from Semitic roots, and are further almost invariably such as can be pointed out from other sources as actually borne by persons of Arab stock.

4. The alphabet which he finds, though distinct from the

other Semitic alphabets, and having peculiar forms and features of its own, is nevertheless analogous to them and stands in a close relation to them.

5. What is perhaps the crowning test of all is that this alphabet has been perpetually gaining fresh confirmation from further investigation and research. It not only explains those inscriptions on which it was based and to which it was originally applied; but it is equally successful in rendering intelligible other inscriptions, which were not then copied. Some of these are bilingual, where the test is decisive; some are of an entirely different description, varying widely in their contents, and found in other places. It has even given the first satisfactory explanation of the legends upon coins found in European cabinets, which no one had previously been able to decipher, and whose origin and character could not be conjectured.

In determining the age of these inscriptions Beer starts with the unquestionable fact that they must be older than the sixth century of the Christian era, when they were already seen and described by Cosmas. And they must be considerably older than his time, as their real authors and true character were then unknown.

Numerous crosses are found with the Greek and Latin inscriptions, indicating that these were beyond question the work of Christian pilgrims who visited these hallowed localities to deepen their impression of the power and grace of God, who revealed himself on Sinai and who wrought such miracles in the desert in the days of Moses. And this is confirmed by such additions as the Alpha and the Omega, or such ejaculations appended or prefixed as "Jesus Christ have mercy," or "Help, Lord." In a very few instances crosses of the ordinary form are connected with inscriptions in the original antique character. A much more frequent appendage is a figure resembling the Roman capital letter Y either erect or lying upon its side. This, which is evidently not a letter and forms no part of the legend proper, but stands sometimes at the beginning and sometimes at the end of the same inscription as found in different places, was thought by Beer to be a cross of a form peculiar to this region. Though no examples of it are found elsewhere, he suggests that forked crosses of this

shape may have been used in this quarter for the execution of criminals, and may hence have been adopted when the Gospel first penetrated into these parts, as the symbol of the Christian faith. If so, however, this unusual form of the cross could not have been continued long after the time of Constantine, upon whose imperial standards and public edifices and coins the cross was emblazoned in its ordinary shape, which thus became fixed throughout Christendom. This he accepts, therefore, as an indication that the inscriptions in question cannot be later than the fourth century after Christ. This, too, was a period noted for pilgrimages to sacred places. Christians in vast numbers flocked to the Holy Land to see the spots rendered memorable by the Scriptures. And Helena, mother of Constantine, it is well known, visited Mount Sinai and erected a sanctuary there. The immediate authors of the inscriptions in the old and strange character Beer supposed to be Nabateans—citizens of that wealthy, flourishing, and cultivated kingdom, which in the early centuries of the Christian era had its capital at Petra, and has left its imperishable monument in the magnificent ruins of that totally desolated city. Their language would naturally be, as that of these inscriptions was, Aramæan, with a large infusion of Arabic words and forms. And Beer ventured the prediction, which has since been verified, that if ever any inscriptions were found at Petra, they would be in the same character as that of the inscriptions at Mount Sinai.

The ingenuity displayed in deciphering these strange characters, notwithstanding the seemingly insurmountable difficulties which beset the task, is scarcely surpassed by any of the surprising achievements of palæography in modern times. The ulterior results flowing from the unriddling of the Egyptian hieroglyphics or the Persian and Assyrian cuneiform character, are more important. They bring to light the history of buried empires and open attractive fields of inquiry, the end of which cannot yet be conjectured. But the bald inscriptions on the rocks of Sinai, with tedious uniformity yield mere names of persons utterly unknown, and about whom no one cares, who, in an idle hour while resting on their journey through the desert, scribbled on the rocks, as modern

travellers do who visit famous places: and this constitutes their sole claim to an immortal remembrance. Niebuhr, who himself took copies of some of these inscriptions, was so impressed by all their surroundings with their utter valnelessness, even in advance of any accurate knowledge of their contents, that he advised scholars not to waste their time in the attempt to decipher them. They are not after all, as we shall see presently, so wholly unimportant as might appear at first sight. But whatever their intrinsic insignificance, and however the actual reading of these inscriptions may dispel the romantic interest derived from the imagination that they may have been coeval with the days of Moses, this should not hinder us from confessing the marvellous ability and skill displayed in deciphering these strange and unknown characters.

The alphabetic key wrought out by Prof. Beer has been universally accepted ever since by competent scholars as the true one, with perhaps the addition of a single letter which he failed to recognize. One of the most acute and able of his successors in this line of investigation, who dissented earnestly from some of his conclusions, bears his testimony that he has found no occasion to modify his alphabet in even the slightest particular.

Prof. Beer's conclusions respecting the authors and the date of these inscriptions were so intrinsically probable and tallied so well with known facts, that they too were generally admitted, and for some years formed the received theory on the subject. His argument that if these visitors to the places hallowed from the days of Moses were not Jews, they must have been Christians, seemed so plausible, that it was mostly regarded as conclusive. And yet this, as it now appears, was the weak point in the hypothesis. Beer's tractate was reviewed immediately on its appearance by Prof. Credner in the Heidelberg *Jahrbücher*, and this among other points contested. It was not until nine years after, however, in 1849, that the subject was once more taken up and subjected to a thorough and elaborate discussion—this time by Dr. Friedrich Tuch, well-known as the author of a valuable though rationalistic commentary on the book of Genesis. He brought an immense amount of learning, both philological and archæologi-

cal, to bear upon the subject; and warmly contested two points, chiefly, in the views expressed by Beer: the first had relation to the nationality, the second to the religion of the authors of these inscriptions.

As to the former point, Tuch denies that they were Nabateans, if this word be taken in a strict sense as it was intended by Beer,—that is, as denoting citizens of the kingdom at Petra, or even contiguous and closely related tribes. He contends, on the contrary, that the writers were inhabitants of the peninsula of Sinai itself, lying between the two northern arms of the Red Sea, known as the Elanitic and Heroopolitan gulfs, to whom the name Nabateans could only be applied in that loose and improper sense in which it was sometimes used by the old Greek and Roman authors. His arguments are mainly two. The first is taken from the language of the inscriptions. This he insists is not Aramæan, colored to some extent by the proximity of Arabic-speaking populations, but is out-and-out Arabic; not exactly the Arabic of the Koran, which, from the days of Mohammed, has gained the ascendency, and is the Arabic of literature; but the dialect of one of the tribes into which the Arabs were divided, and which, at the period to which these inscriptions belong, had as much right to be considered Arabic as the dialect of the Koreish, from whom Mohammed was descended. We have here, according to Tuch, a relic of the Arabic of this date, and of a dialect of Arabic nowhere else preserved. This position he proceeds to fortify by an elaborate and masterly examination of the contents of the inscriptions, scanty and apparently barren as they are. He first enters into a searching analysis of all the grammatical forms which are discoverable in them, and he shows with apparent conclusiveness that they are genuinely Arabic throughout. He thus examines and argues from the formation of the nouns, the intensive or superlative adjectives, the diminutives, the participles, the feminine ending, and, above all, the article *al*, and the cases of nouns distinguished by the vowel letters *u* for the nominative, *i* for the genitive. These last, it is true, did not extend to all nouns, but they were found with considerable uniformity in proper names and in titles denoting occupation or dignity. Several of these grammatical

criteria are, it is true, equivocal; the absence of medial vowels leaving considerable latitude of interpretation and much room for doubt and uncertainty. But some of the forms are clearly Arabic, and all might be.

He next proceeds to investigate the stock of words yielded by the inscriptions; all these he claims are clearly Arabic, not in form only, but in signification. And the proper names are for the most part such as are found at a later period in common use among the Arabs, and re-appear perpetually in Arabic writers, as he shows by adducing frequent examples.

Now, the Nabateans being of Aramæan or Syrian extraction, Tuch argues that the language of the inscriptions which is not Aramæan tinged with Arabic, but, on the contrary, Arabic somewhat modified by the Aramæan, cannot have been the language of Petra, and the kingdom centering there. The inscriptions, consequently, could not have been written by persons proceeding from that quarter.

Tuch derives a second argument tending to the same result from the topographical distribution of this writing on the rocks, or the localities in which it is found. No specimens of it, he asserts, have ever been found in the valleys east of Sinai, through which the inhabitants of Petra would approach it; it is all confined to the western side of the peninsula. And, as the language is not that of Egypt, and no such inscriptions are to be found there, he urges that there is no alternative but to ascribe these inscriptions to the native population of the peninsula of Sinai itself. Such a population once existed in considerable numbers, embracing, on the one hand, roving and savage tribes, like the Bedouins of the present day, who subsisted by plunder; and, on the other hand, the thriving city of Paran, mentioned by Ptolemæus in the second century of the present era—subsequently the seat of a Christian bishopric—whose ruins still remain to attest its former extent, and the magnitude of its buildings. Some of the rude pictorial representations of spearmen, warriors, hunters, camel-drivers, etc., might perhaps be traced to the former class of natives; the ready facility in writing which is displayed, and such titles as emir, elder, knight, poet, scholar, priest, betray rather the cultivation and refinement of the city.

Tuch's views of the language, and the distribution of these inscriptions, require some correction or modification, as we shall see hereafter. But, in a second point which he labored to establish, he has been more successful. He has given conclusive reasons for the belief that the writers of these inscriptions were heathen. These are drawn from a careful examination of their contents, such as Beer could not have made, or he would never have alleged them to be Christians. It was natural enough that this opinion should be entertained by Montague, Burckhardt, Gesenius, and others, before the legends had been deciphered. Their juxtaposition with the Greek and Latin inscriptions, which were undoubtedly Christian, and the accompanying signs of the cross made it easy to suppose that the whole had proceeded from Christian pilgrims on their way to the mount where the law had been given, or to the cloisters which had been founded in the desert. The reading of the inscriptions themselves, however, opened a new source of evidence, which conclusively pointed to a very different origin.

This was indicated first by the proper names found in these inscriptions; and the proof from this source is both negative and positive. The negative argument is that no Christian names, and more generally still, no Scripture names occur in the old character on these rocks. It is not until we come to the Greek inscriptions, that we meet such names as Moses, and Samuel, and Andrew. These are then intermingled with familiar western names, as Aurelius and Julius, and these sometimes in an orthography which implies a comparatively late date as Ainias (Aeneas), Cerillos (Cyrillos). In fact, according to Niebuhr, some of the inscriptions date even from modern times. But the inscriptions in the native character, with which we are at present concerned, contain no other names than such as were in use in Mohammedan and pre-Mohammedan times. And where, as in the case of *Cain*, names here found coincide with those occurring in the Bible, they were not borrowed from the Bible, but were in use among the ancient Arabs likewise. To be sure, the old native names were retained for a considerable period after the introduction of Christianity, and only gradually yielded to the

new names then adopted. But this does not apply in the present instance, for in the class of inscriptions now in question, there is not a single name which justifies the assumption of a Christian origin.

Then besides this negative argument, there is a positive one still more convincing. Many of the names here found are idolatrous, compounded with, or consisting of, the names of heathen deities. The persons either bore the names of the gods they worshipped, or else were denominated the servants, worshippers, etc., of this or that deity. Thus such names occur as *Abd-al-baali*, "servant of Baal," of the same formation as *Abdallah*, "servant of Allah," in Mohammedan times, and *Abdiel* or *Obadiah*, "servant of God" or "of Jehovah" among the Jews. In like manner, *Garm-al-baali*, "fear of Baal," or as others render it "strength of Baal;" *Aush-al-Baali*, "gift of Baal," which may be compared to the Jewish names *Nathaniel* or *Mattaniah*, or the Greek *Theodore* and *Isidore; Shaad-al-Baali*, "worship of Baal;" also *Garm-al-Shahri*, "fear of the moon," and *Bōrēiu*, an epithet of the new moon, meaning *released*, *i. e.*, from conjunction with the sun. And when found in such connections, names, which by themselves might be susceptible of a different interpretation, are determined to have an idolatrous meaning, such as *Abd-allahi*, "servant of God," *Garm-allahi*, "fear of God," *Aush-allahi*, "gift of God," *Shaad-allahi*, "worship of God;" where not the true God, but some heathen divinity must be referred to, which can thus stand as a parallel to Baal or the moon. Again, names occur, which can be proved from other sources to have been applied to idols worshipped in Arabia during what the Mohammedan writers style, "the days of ignorance"—*i. e.*, the period before Mohammed.

In addition to the argument thus drawn from the proper names, another is derived from the fact that some of the persons recorded in the inscriptions are denominated "priests." Thus we find appended to certain names the designation "priest of Ta," or "priest of the god Ta," or "priest of the Ta-god;" where Tuch supposes that "Ta" is the name of some divinity vouched for by these inscriptions as worshipped by the Arabs of that day, and having his proper retinue of priests,

but of which no other mention has been preserved. Inasmuch, however, as we have no knowledge from any other source of any divinity worshipped either by the Arabs or any people of antiquity under that name, a later scholar agreeing with Tuch in his general conclusions, prefers to regard *Ta*, not as the designation of the divinity itself, but as signifying the temple or sacred precincts within which it was worshipped; and he accordingly renders the terms above mentioned, "priest of the temple" and "priest of the temple of God." Another is described in the inscriptions as "priest of the beaming star," which, like the moon-divinity before spoken of, indicates the worship of the heavenly bodies. This combination of facts, all tending in one direction, with none of an opposite description, certainly warrants the conclusion that the authors of these inscriptions were heathen, and addicted to some form of Sabaism.

But how then are the crosses to be accounted for, which are found, if not frequently, yet in occasional instances with these antique inscriptions? In addition to crosses other figures are found on these rocks, a confused and incongruous medley of trees, shrubs, camels, goats, gazelles, ostriches, horses, asses, pilgrims, men at prayer, crucifixes, riders on horseback and on camels, warriors with swords, shields, and spears, archers directing their arrows against each other or chasing flying gazelles. These are scratched everywhere about upon the rocks along with the inscriptions and separate from them. Who can say which have come from the same hand or even from the same age? In the opinion of Tuch some of the fighting scenes may belong to the same period with the inscriptions, and may be intended to represent attacks by the desert tribes, similar to the assault by Amalek upon Israel. But much may be from entirely different hands. Niebuhr suspects that the representations of goats and the like betrayed the idle hand of some shepherd. Burckhardt found pictures of goats, camels, etc., quite out of the region of the inscriptions. Lepsius says that inscriptions are sometimes continued on or over such animal figures, showing that one is more recent than the other. And in some instances letters have been waggishly distorted into the similitude of

a man, camel, or other animal, evidently not by the original author of the inscription, but by some mischievous passer-by at a later period. It is manifest from all this that mere juxtaposition is no proof that what is thus found in close proximity is certainly contemporaneous. Such a conclusion would often be erroneous, not only because what is heterogeneous may thus be found in casual contact, but it may also have been purposely put together.

Now as to the crosses which are certainly from Christian hands; these often stand alone upon the rocks with no accompanying name or legend. They are scratched about in all positions, wherever there was a convenient place to put them. When added to the later inscriptions in Greek or Latin, either above or below, at the beginning, middle, or end, no donbt they have often, perhaps commonly, been made by the original writer of the inscriptions. Ont of the entire mass of inscriptions, which have been gathered up to the present time, amounting to many hundreds, there are but three instances (so far as appears from the copies madc of them), in which an inscription in the antique character is found associated with a cross in the erect form (†) with the upright stem connected by a semi-circular attachment to the right of the top into a Greek *Rho*, forming thus a monogram of the Greek letters (☧) XP. In one instance copied by Gray he appends the remark: "cross-letter, hardly accessible, done with the same instrument, and apparently of the same age." In a second, copied by both Laborde and Lepsius, this symbol stands both before and after a cartouche or flourish inclosing the name "Meshullam." In the third, copied by De Laval, there is no intimation of its contemporaneous character. In these cases Tuch is disposed to deny the symbol to be of Christian origin, and to regard it as mere ornamental device, borrowed perhaps from Egyptian monuments in the neighborhood, the so-called *crux ansata*. But if it be in reality the Christian monogram, there is little difficulty in assuming, either that it was subscquently added to the inscription, or that in these three exceptional cases the writers may have been Christians. They may have been among the latest inscriptions, and written when the Gospel was already penetrating into this region,

or some Christian who chanced to be acquainted with this character may have chosen to engrave his name in this antique style, as the whim of some modern traveller might prompt him to cut his name in the old black letter. In any case no conclusion can be drawn from these respecting the Christian character of the writers of the other inscriptions, where the internal evidence so plainly declares the contrary.

Simple crosses without any monogram are joined with these inscriptions in considerable numbers. But there is nothing in any case to indicate that they belong to the same date or have proceeded from the same hand. Sometimes the contrary is manifest, as where one of the letters, an Ayin perhaps, or a Daleth is converted into a cross by the addition or prolongation of a line.

With regard to the Y-shaped character upon which Beer laid so much stress, esteeming it a cross of peculiar form, Tuch very properly denies that there is any evidence of such a figure ever having been used with such a meaning. His own conjecture that it may have been designed to represent a star with three rays, and thus may have been a symbol of Sabian worship, will not seem probable to any one who looks at the character itself. Perhaps as likely a suggestion as has yet been offered, is that of a more recent scholar, that it is not a religious symbol at all, and that it covers no mystery of faith or worship, but merely serves the purpose of a link or bracket, binding together two or more lines which are to be united in reading.

But what is the design of these inscriptions? and why are they accumulated in those particular spots where they are now found? In a large proportion of them the name of the writer is followed by a word, which both Beer and Tuch take to be זאר *Zäir* or זיר *Zayir*, which means "pilgrim," or one who visits holy places for purposes of devotion, and answers to the modern Arabic *Hajji* (Hadji). If this reading be correct, the writers expressly designate themselves as travellers on an errand of piety to some consecrated shrine. And as they were not Christians, but heathen, they must have been impelled, not from regard for the scenes and occurrences of Holy Writ, except in so far as they may have tended to shape

even the pagan traditions and ideas of this region; they must have been on their way to such spots as were sacred to the polytheistic population of the peninsula. There is abundant evidence that such pilgrimages were familiar to the Arab tribes, and that Mohammed merely diverted to Mecca with its Caaba and its well Zemzem, those streams of pilgrims which had been in the habit of resorting to other sanctuaries, and drinking the water of life from other springs. Diodorus and Strabo both speak of a grove of palms in this region, to which pilgrimages were made every five years, at least as early as the third century before Christ, where hecatombs of camels were offered, and whence the life-giving water was carried home. Again, in the fourth century after Christ, Hilary speaks of seeing the inhabitants of the desert assembled to celebrate what he called a festival of Aphrodite. And at the close of the sixth century, Antoninus Martyr witnessed a feast in honor of the new moon, in the vicinity of Sinai. There is thus evidence that such pilgrimages were maintained in this region for many successive centuries.

Now, both the style of these inscriptions, and the spots in which they are found, tend to confirm the view that they are the work of these pilgrims. The rude and careless manner in which they are "scrawled about," without elegance or artistic skill, with no proper graving tools, on the unsmoothed rock, with letters of unequal size and irregular lines, and with outlines hastily drawn of camels and drivers, accord very well with the idea that companies of travellers amused themselves thus on their noon-day rests, or at their evening halts. Then they are the most numerous in the most passable and most frequented routes leading to Sinai and to Serbal, which latter was also a sacred mountain. And they are chiefly found on the south wall of the valleys facing northward, where the pilgrims would naturally seek the shade, and select their resting-places. From their character, they may, according to Robinson, be recognized as camping places, "and they are," says F. A. Strauss, "the very spots at which a halt is still commonly made." Indeed Tuch suggests that an investigation on the spot tracing the intervals at which the same inscriptions, containing the names of the same parties are repeated,

might lead to interesting results relating to the beginning and end of each day's march in those old times.

The date of the inscription is of course fixed by Tuch in conformity with this theory of their origin. They belong to the period of Sabian worship, and must, therefore, precede and be limited by the introduction of Christianity into this region. Christian fugitives from persecution in Egypt sought asylum in this desert as early as the second century. Hermits resorted thither in great numbers in the third and fourth centuries. Ammonius and Nilus (A. D. 373–400) testify to fierce conflicts between the Christians settled here and the aboriginal pagans; so that Christianity must have been firmly established there since A. D. 300, and have superseded and taken possession of the old national sanctuaries. At the end of the fourth century Paran was a Christian city, and was then already the seat of a bishop, of whom mention is again made in the middle of the fifth century. Robinson and Rüppell saw on its site the ruins of a church which belonged to the fifth century. And the remains of cloisters, chapels, and hermits' cells are scattered all around. From all this it is reasonable to conclude that heathen pilgrimages to venerated places in this region must have ceased in the course of the third century; and the inscriptions must of necessity be prior to this event.

Another criterion drawn from the names found in the inscriptions converges to the same result. Several of the inscriptions are bilingual, in the old character and in Greek: these contain the native names *Audos*, *Chalbos*, *Almobakkeros*, etc. Then there are others in Greek only, with foreign names, as *Aurelios*, *Herodes*. It appears, therefore, that the inscriptions in the native character reach down to the time when Greek culture penetrated these desert wilds. Those which are bilingual must be more recent than those which are exclusively in the native character, and cannot be older than the time of the Ptolemies.

As the conclusion of the whole matter, Tuch judges that these inscriptions must belong to the two centuries which preceded and the three which followed the time of Christ.

Prof. Beer had died before Tuch published these strictures upon his views. The positions taken by the latter have not, however, passed wholly unchallenged. Both the points controverted by him have been opened afresh within a few years. The paganism of the inscriptions has been impugned by Francis Lenormant in an article in the *Journal Asiatique* of Paris, for January, 1859, and their Christian origin once more asserted. As we have not seen this article, we are not able to state the line of argument pursued, or to say any thing respecting the ability with which it is conducted. But we do not see how any thing can be advanced which shall set aside the cogent reasoning of Dr. Tuch upon this subject.

The nationality of the inscriptions is open to more serious question, and here Tuch has found an able antagonist in a distinguished rabbi of Breslau, Dr. Levy, the author of a dictionary, recently published, of the Chaldee of the Targums and Rabbinical writings. Dr. Levy has the advantage of approaching the subject with a vastly increased apparatus. Since Beer and Tuch worked out their results with the very moderate quantity of materials within their reach, three new and copious collections of these inscriptions have appeared, one in Paris, one in St. Petersburg, and one in Berlin. The largest collection is that of the Frenchman Lottin de Laval, and published in connection with his journey to the Arabian Peninsula of Sinai and to Middle Egypt. He gives upon eighty folio plates more than five hundred inscriptions, great and small, from the region of Sinai, many of them being from localities from which few or none at all had previously been taken. He left Paris on the 4th of January, 1850, and returned in the early part of the following May, bringing with him a "rich store of archæological collections, views, plans, and inscriptions." The latter embrace all the monuments of the Pharaohs upon the peninsula, as well as the numerous Sinaitic, Arabic, Greek, and Armenian inscriptions which are scattered through the valleys which he visited. He claims that there is not a single line of all these in existence which he has not reproduced in his portfolios. He also boasts of being the inventor of a new process for the copying of inscriptions rapidly and accurately. In both these points, however, Levy joins

issue with him, showing that, rich as his collection is, it is by no means complete, and that its demonstrable inaccuracy is such as greatly to impair the value which it would otherwise possess.

The second collection is that of P. Porphyr, attached to the account of his journey to Mount Sinai, published in 1857, in the Russian language. It embraces eighty-nine inscriptions, mostly new.

But the most serviceable collection of the three is that by Lepsius, and published in his great work entitled "*Monuments of Egypt and Ethiopia.*" The copies are taken with the greatest accuracy, and amount to one hundred and sixty-seven, extending in length from one line to ten each.

One result of these renewed and extended investigations was the discovery of the fact that the inscriptions in the ancient character, instead of being limited, as had previously been supposed, to the western portion of the peninsula, were to be found in all the passes of the entire peninsula leading either east or west from Sinai or from Serbal. Another important fact was the discovery of monuments in Petra and the surrounding region, bearing the same identical character of the Sinaitic inscriptions. And a further fact was brought out by the publication of fac-similes of a number of Nabatean coins, with the name of Aretas and other kings of Petra stamped upon them in this same letter. This settled the question of the Nabatean origin of the inscriptions at Sinai, as Beer had claimed, but which Tuch had denied; and it afforded the opportunity of stirring the inquiry, upon which Levy heartily entered and for which his Chaldee studies so admirably fitted him, whether the language of the inscriptions is, after all, so thoroughly Arabic as Tuch had insisted, and whether it is not more properly, according to Beer's original idea, an Aramaic dialect with a considerable admixture from the Arabic. Levy is one-sided and extreme in his advocacy, refusing to admit Arabisms, even where they are most palpable, and explaining away what is most clear and evident. He goes so far even as to say that the article *al* and the vowel endings for cases are not peculiarly Arabic. He, however, points out many words and forms which have as much or more claim to

be regarded as Aramæan than Arabic. The most interesting case of the sort, and, if it shall be verified, the most important for the understanding of the inscriptions, is a new reading which he proposes for the word which recurs so often, and which Beer and Tuch took to be זאר "a pilgrim." According to Levy it is לטב "for good," for which he argues on palæographic grounds, and which seems to be confirmed by the corresponding *εν ἀγαθοι*(ς) in a bilingual legend.

The inscriptions in which it is found will then read, "May So and So be remembered for good." This he supposes to be not a friendly salutation, carved upon the rocks as a greeting to those who shall follow him upon the same pilgrimage, but a prayer addressed to the deity that he worshipped, and to which he would give new emphasis and force by putting it in solid stone and leaving it as his perpetual supplication. The words, thus understood are almost identical with those of Nehemiah, v. 19, "Remember (Eng. ver., think upon) me, my God, for good."

This view, both of the meaning of this phrase and of the character of the language, he labors to confirm still further by another word, which he finds often appearing in the same connection, לעלם "to eternity" or "forever." "May *So and So* be remembered for good forever." Or in connection with שלם, which is so frequently repeated at the beginning of the inscriptions, and which he translates, not as Beer, "the salutation of *So and So*;" nor as Tuch, who makes it a verb, "*So and So* salutes;" but according to its strict Hebrew and Aramean import, "the peace of So and So be forever;" again a prayer addressed to the God he worshipped, and of substantially the same sense as before. The word "pilgrim" being thus erased from these inscriptions, Levy thinks it is not necessary to assume that the writers were at the time on their way to holy places. They may have been or they may not. These pagan Nabateans may upon other occasions likewise have uttered their prayer that God would remember them for good, and that their peace might be made perpetual; and they may have left that prayer on record in these walls of stone, perhaps with attendant solemn rites, of which there is here no mention or suggestion, but which Levy thinks not improba-

ble, from a comparison of such language as Numbers v. 15, "an offering of memorial, bringing to remembrance," *i. e.*, before God. The figures of men and camels found conjoined with these inscriptions he takes to be pictorial representations of the petitioners themselves and their surroundings, and designed to carry out their idea yet more fully of bringing themselves into remembrance before God.

Levy brings a new criterion to bear upon the question of the age of these inscriptions. The Nabatean coins exhibit the forms of the letter in the second century before Christ; their dates can be fixed with considerable accuracy by the names of the kings under whom they were coined. Now a comparison of the letters of the coins and the letters of the inscriptions appears to him to show that very few of the inscriptions are as old as the coins. This is the limit of antiquity. His general result is, accordingly, substantially the same as that of Tuch. They belong to the two centuries before or to the two after Christ.

Levy's views of the language of these inscriptions have encountered opposition from Prof. Blau in a paper published in 1862 in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* (Journal of the German Oriental Society). Blau is as partisan, extreme, and indiscriminating on the side of Arabic as Levy had been on the side of Aramæan; if possible, a little more so. In fact, in his zeal he runs into excesses which are very ridiculous. Thus, to give an instance, the word by which the inscriptions are so frequently prefaced, would, in Aramæan, be a passive participle, "remembered;" and is so translated, even by Tuch, careful as he was of the Arabic type of the language. But inasmuch as this word in Arabic properly has an active signification—"remembering," or "mindful," Blau so renders it. This leads him to say that inscriptions so beginning are to be regarded as answers to another class, quite as abundant, which begin with the word שלם "salutes." The first who passes leaves his salutation for friends who are to follow on the same route, by scratching on the rocks, at some prominent point, "*So and So* salutes." His friends, coming after, and recognizing their predecessor's name, write immediately under, "*So and So* remembers." The word

לטב "for good," as read by Levy, he converts into בטל "resting," or "having a holiday," and infers that the inscriptions were made by the workmen in the mines and quarries of the peninsula, to while away the leisure hours on their holidays, as they passed to and from their homes.

On the other hand, we must not fail to acknowledge that Blau has done a good service in establishing the fact more thoroughly than had previously been done, that the names on the inscriptions are such as were current in Arabia. He has identified about ninety of them with names found in Arabic writings; and he gathers from these too, by an ingenious process, an evidence of date agreeing substantially with that already reached by others from different data, and by totally distinct methods.

The most important questions relating to these inscriptions may accordingly be regarded as now settled upon a true and satisfactory basis. Correct results have, however, been reached, as is commonly the case in all intricate problems, only by a series of approximations. It seems to be ascertained that the writers were natives of Arabia Petræa, inclusive of the Sinaitic peninsula; and whether they were subjects of the kingdom centering in Petra or not, they made use of the language and the mode of writing current there. They were neither Jews nor Christians, but worshippers of heathen divinities and particularly of the heavenly bodies. They were mostly pilgrims on their way to certain celebrated sanctuaries, which were for centuries resorted to at special seasons by the pagans resident in this region. The inscriptions in the old native character belong to the period immediately preceding and following the Christian era; and they come down to the time when the Gospel and the Christian Church penetrated these localities, supplanted heathenism, and suppressed its sanctuaries. They then yield to legends in Greek and Latin, and even more recent tongues, the work of Christians, who in imitation of their heathen predecessors have left the record of their pilgrimage to hallowed spots graven on the same imperishable rocks.

It has been intimated already that the study of these inscriptions has an interest and importance beyond the mere ingenuity

displayed in solving a difficult and perplexing enigma. While it has opened no extensive fields for research and made no very considerable additions to our knowledge of antiquity and general history, it is not wholly barren of results. It has made us acquainted in some scanty measure at least, with the language of Northern Arabia at this period, and thus fills a gap of some consequence in our knowledge of the history and dialects of the Semitic tongues. It affords some glimpses into the history of religion by furnishing the names and attributes of deities reverenced by the writers. And these have been the starting points of learned and ingenious investigations, in which all that can be gathered from classic and Arabic writers has been summoned to throw light upon their character and the nature of their worship. Something may be learned likewise in respect to the civilization of this region from the proper names indicative of occupations. Those derived from the mining and working of metals are particularly numerous, *e.g.*, לטש *Hammerer*, חרש or חריש *Artisan*, אלגרפר *Fireman*, קין *Smith*, etc. That these arts were practised there in remote periods is evidenced by the remains of mines with hieroglyphic legends attesting their antiquity, not to speak of the confirmation and illustration afforded by the book of Job, xxviii. 1–11, whose scene is laid in this region.

The deciphering of the Sinaitic or Nabatean alphabet, also prepares the way for the reading of any other monuments in the same character that may hereafter be discovered. To what this may lead it is impossible to determine or even to conjecture. When the old Persian cuneiform character was first unriddled no one could have anticipated the use to which it was to be put upon the exhumation of Nineveh and the discovery of that rich store of inscriptions to which it supplied the only practicable key. The whole region of Petra and Hauran is yet to be minutely and thoroughly explored. Intimations from recent travellers justify the belief that such explorations would be rewarded by important and hitherto unimagined discoveries. No one can tell what monumental records may have been left by the cultivated people who once occupied this territory. One interesting result of the discovery of the Sinaitic alphabet is, as already mentioned, the identifi-

cation of the Nabatean coins and the deciphering of their legends. It may be added that a gem in one of the European cabinets, previously regarded as Phœnician, has been recognized as Nabatean, and its inscription read. This deserves notice as the sole extant specimen, so far as is yet known, of a work of art proceeding from that quarter. Another isolated specimen but suggestive of the wide range that these investigations may yet take, has been found in a bilingual inscription in the Capitoline museum at Rome, taken from a grave on the *Via Portuensis*. It is thus described by Lenormant in the *Journal Asiatique* :—

"It is the epitaph, accompanied by the characteristic symbol of the candlestick with its seven branches, of a Jewess, named Ammias (feminine of the עמיר of the Sinaitic salutations), who was born in a town called Laodicea, probably that of Cœle-Syria, and died at the age of eighty-five years. The Greek text is accompanied by the formula שלם of the Sinaitic inscriptions, written with the same orthography and the same characters, and replacing the Hebrew formula שלום of the other epitaphs discovered in the same catacomb."

Strangely enough among the vast medley of inscriptions belonging to different ages and in different langnages carved upon the rocks of Sinai, there is one which, as remarked by Levy (*Zeit. D. M. Gesell.*, xiv., p. 483), appears to be in Sanskrit letters. The accurate knowledge possessed of Sanskritic palæography will enable scholars to determine its age approximately at least from the shape of the characters employed. It is in any event an interesting relic of the intercourse subsisting between India and Western Asia at the epoch to which it belongs. And it may not be without some religious significance. Possibly it may contain some indication of the spread of Buddhism westward, and thus, so far as it goes, tend to confirm the suspicion which has been entertained of its advance even into Egypt. Another inscription from a remote but opposite quarter is in the Numidian character, the same that is found in the celebrated Thugga inscription from the neighborhood of Carthage, and suggests pilgrimages from this quarter likewise.

It is even possible that these investigations may ultimately be found to have some points of relation with scriptural studies. This possibility would be converted into certainty

in one instance at least, if the new rendering, which Levy proposes for a difficult and disputed clause in Prov. xxx. 31, could be shown to be correct. Among the things there stated to be "comely in going" is, as our version has it, "a king against whom there is no rising up." Gesenius, who suspects an Arabism, translates "a king who has the people with him." Hitzig assumes an error in transcription, and alters the text into "a king who has God with him." Levy finds, or thinks he finds, the word which occasions all the embarrassment in this passage, in the Sinaitic inscriptions as the name of a divinity, and on this ground, while he defends the integrity of the text, he adopts Hitzig's understanding of it.

This more than doubtful combination is, however, of trifling consequence as compared with the intimate bearing which this whole subject would have upon the verity of the Scriptural record, if the view taken of it in the works named at the head of this article could be substantiated. We must devote to it, therefore, a brief consideration. Rev. Charles Forster, "one of the six preachers of the cathedral of Canterbury, and rector of Stisted, Essex," has revived in these publications the theory of Cosmas in the sixth century, that these inscriptions were the work of the children of Israel during their forty years' wandering in the wilderness. This he has sought to vindicate and establish in the most elaborate manner. He has further wrought out an alphabet of his own, by which he undertakes to decipher in detail these records upon the rocks, adding a translation from which it would appear that they were designed to record the miracles and divine interpositions of that eventful period. In spite, however, of the indefatigable industry shown in these volumes, and of the elegance of their appearance, which in the case of one of them is really sumptuous, and notwithstanding the pious intent of their author, we are obliged in candor to say that they are not likely to be of any advantage either to science or religion, so far as their main scope and purpose is concerned. The visionary character of Mr. Forster, his readiness to substitute conjecture for facts, and his unfitness for the solution of so perplexed a problem in which the data are so few, the chances of error so numerous, and the rigorous accuracy of mathemat-

ical demonstration so absolutely essential to safe results, is shown by a trivial circumstance at the very outset. Finding the name Cosmas on one of the Sinaitic inscriptions, he springs at once to the conclusion that this is an autographic record of the visit of Cosmas Indicopleustes to that region in the sixth century. (*Primeval Language*, p. 4, note.)

A careless and almost ludicrous blunder, which he makes in interpreting a Greek inscription found among the medley on the rocks of Sinai, does not tend to conciliate our confidence in him as an expounder of inscriptions in an unknown tongue and an unknown character. Some soldier, sent perhaps to chastise the predatory tribes of this desolate region for their treachery or cruelty, has scratched his judgment of them upon the rocks in the following uncomplimentary terms, ΚΑΚΟΝ ΓΕΝΟϹ, "rascally race;" and then proceeds, according to Mr. Forster's explanation (*ib.*, p. 30), ΟΥΤΟϹ ϹΤΡΑΤΙΩΤΗϹ ΕΓΡΑΨΑ ΠΑΝΕΜΙ XI. We lay no stress upon the fact that he reads ΟΥΤΟϹ instead of ΛΟΥΠΟϹ (Lupus), as this was a very natural error and is doubtless chargeable upon the inaccuracy of the copy which he had. But he takes ΠΑΝΕΜΙ to be the Macedonian month Panemos, and bases his estimate of the date of the inscription upon this hypothesis. This involves, in addition to grammatical and other difficulties, the incongruous assumption that the two letters which follow are the Roman numerals in a Greek text. The true reading is ΠΑΝ ΕΜΗ ΧΙΡΙ, "I, Lupus, wrote the whole with my own hand;" whereupon his entire argument vanishes into smoke.

Mr. Forster evidently has not the qualities which are requisite to success in deciphering obscure inscriptions. He has no conception of the patient toil and extensive learning necessary to execute such a task, nor of the pains which must be taken to guard against mistakes and arrive at correct and reliable conclusions. He says, p. xi., that any one "competent to consult the Arabic lexicon," by using his alphabet, can decipher inscriptions for themselves "from whatever quarter of the world" they may come. Nor has he the impartial and well-balanced mind which is needed to conduct an intricate investigation. He has a preconceived theory to sustain, and every thing is pressed, *nolens volens*, into its service. In his

transcription and analysis of the ancient legends, which he professes to unravel, he allows himself the utmost latitude. His alphabet is made up of a mixture of the Hebrew, Greek, Arabic, Ethiopic, and Syriac (p. 46). He omits letters *ad libitum*, assigns to the same character different meanings, and to different characters the same meaning, and often reads a whole group of characters as one, being governed apparently by the exigency of the case and the sense which he desires to discover. And then the result reached is no intelligible language, but a jargon, a mere jumble of unmeaning sounds. There are no inflected words, no personal endings of verbs, no prepositions or words indicative of relation, but a string of letters which he divides off at random into what he assumes to be Arabic roots, whose meanings he takes just as he finds them in Golius' Lexicon, without discriminating between what is ancient and what is modern, what is common to the Arabic, with the Hebrew, and what is peculiar to the Arabic; and even thus he is sometimes obliged to desert the Arabic Lexicon, and be helped out by the Hebrew. If the inscriptions as he reads them, that is, as transcribed by him into Arabic letters and divided by him into words, were put into the hands of the most accomplished Orientalist, we may safely venture to say, that he could make no consistent sense out of them; he certainly never would find the meaning in them which Mr. Forster professes to discover there. The language of the inscriptions, as he makes it out, is such as never was spoken and has no representative under the sun.

As the result he finds the facts of the Pentateuch corroborated in almost every line. We quote his own summary statement (*Primeval Language*, pp. 61, 62):—

"Among the events of the Exode these records comprise, besides the healing of the waters of Marah, the passage of the Red Sea, with the introduction of Pharaoh twice by name, and two notices of the Egyptian tyrant's vain attempt to save himself by flight on horseback from the returning waters, together with hieroglyphic representations of himself and *of his horse*, in accordance with a hitherto unexplained passage of the Song of Moses: 'For *the horse of Pharaoh* went in with his chariots and with his horsemen into the sea,' etc.; they comprise, further, the miraculous supplies of manna and of flesh; the battle of Rephidim, with the mention of Moses by his office, and of Aaron and Hur by their names; the same inscription repeated, describing the holding up of Moses' hands

by Aaron and Hur, and their supporting him with a stone, illustrated by a drawing apparently of the stone containing within it the inscription and the figure of Moses over it with uplifted hands; and lastly the plague of fiery serpents, with the representation of a serpent in the act of coming down, as it were, from heaven, upon a prostrate Israelite.

"These references to recorded events of the Exode compose, however, but a small part of the Sinaitic inscriptions as yet in our possession; the great mass of which consist of descriptions of rebellious Israel under the figures of kicking asses, restive camels, rampant goats, sluggish tortoises, and lizards of the desert."

Mr. Forster finds a significant mystery in each of the rude pictorial representations that accompany these inscriptions; and even in the caricatured forms into which later travellers, sportively inclined, have distorted the shapes of the letters (of which "Pharaoh's horse" is an instance), as well as in zigzag or irregular lines, which modern copyists have introduced into their drawings (to which the fiery serpent and the stone at Rephidim apparently belong); all these he devoutly regards as coeval with, and illustrative of, the inscriptions themselves.

The following specimens of the renderings given will abundantly suffice; the first is supposed to relate to the miraculous supply of quails or "feathered fowls;" the second, to the destruction of Pharaoh's host in the Red Sea.

"Sinai Photographed," p. 159:—"Congregating on all sides to ensnare them, the people voraciously devour the red cranes, bending against them the bow bringing them down. Eating eagerly and enormously the half-raw flesh, plague-stricken become the pilgrims. In the desert, waters flow gushing down the smooth rock. The people thirsting, gives them water to drink Moses."

Ibid., p. 164:—"The waters permitted and dismissed to flow upon the astonied men burst rushing unawares, congregated from all quarters banded together to slay treacherously lifted up with pride."

The second example, we may add, purports to be the translation of five words which he finds in the original.

It has been seen that Mr. Forster first arbitrarily deciphers, then as arbitrarily translates, the inscriptions which he undertakes to read; that, apart from the extravagance of his methods, there is much in his results that is incredible, and that never could be accepted by any competent linguist; that his conclusions are not only entirely unsupported, but directly

contradicted in the first place, even by Cosmas of the sixth century, whom he claims as his principal voucher, but who found in these inscriptions no such records of miraculous events, but simple statements of the names of travellers, which is much nearer the truth; and secondly, which is of far greater consequence, they are contradicted by the inscriptions themselves, as recently deciphered with scrupulous and scientific accuracy and a self-evidence which has commanded the assent of all competent scholars, and which is gathering additional confirmation on all sides from fresh discoveries and further investigations.

We restrict ourselves to one more remark in relation to these volumes. While they are evidently written in the interest of the Pentateuch, and the design of the well-meaning but misguided writer is to do a service to revealed truth, the aid afforded is treacherous and hollow. If his readings are correct, instead of sustaining they undermine most effectually the antiquity and genuineness of the writings of Moses. If he could establish his conclusions, sceptical critics could find no more welcome ally. The language of the Pentateuch is certainly not that of these inscriptions as he reads them. And if they are authentic monuments of the days of Moses, and his explanation of them is correct, they afford a palpable evidence that the Pentateuch was not written by Moses nor by any one in the Mosaic age.

Mr. Forster imagines that the language of the inscriptions is the ancient Egyptian; and that the Hebrew was first taught the Israelites by direct revelation from Heaven at the giving of the law. It is difficult to preserve one's gravity in arguing with a man who can propound so extraordinary an hypothesis, which, apart from its intrinsic absurdity, is contradicted by known facts at every point. The language of Egypt long prior to the time of Moses is well known from extant monuments. It bears no affinity to the supposititious tongue discovered by Mr. Forster, and no sane man would ever think of reading it by the aid of Golius' Arabic lexicon; and the ante-Mosaic existence of the Hebrew language can be established beyond all reasonable cavil.

Concede Mr. Forster's reading of the Sinaitic inscriptions,

and concede the date which he claims for them, and the defence of the Mosaic writings becomes hopeless. If the children of Israel in the age of the exodus spoke the language of these inscriptions, as this is made out in these volumes, the Pentateuch could not have been written for their use. Bunsen's unfounded hypothesis respecting the book of Jonah might then be applied to the first five books of the Bible, and that under circumstances which would give it real validity. He fancies that the song in the second chapter of Jonah is alone genuine, and that it is descriptive of an actual escape from the perils of the sea; this was misunderstood, and so gave rise to the legend of the rest of the book. For the first time in the entire history of Biblical criticism authentic monuments would stand in fatal antagonism to the verity of the Scriptural records. These inscriptions, it would be claimed, were the only coeval accounts, the only authentic originals. These do not necessarily contain any thing miraculous. They have, however, been misunderstood and exaggerated in later times. The Pentateuch is the legendary accretion, of which these inscriptions are the only reliable base. So that henceforth we would be obliged to derive our knowledge of the Mosaic period, not from Moses, but from Mr. Forster, and we could know only so much as the latter is able to teach us. For this we confess we are not prepared.

While, however, Mr. Forster has been in chase of a phantom—and it is to be regretted that so much patience, ingenuity, and expense have been devoted to so chimerical an end—the photographs and carefully prepared copies of the inscriptions, which these volumes contain, are of real and permanent value, and afford a useful addition to the materials previously existing or accessible for the study of these ancient and curious records upon the rocks of Sinai.

Art. IV.—*A Phase of the Church Question.*

So far as the cause of true catholic unity is concerned, the great Christian thought that underlies all these calls for Church union, we cannot see that this Presbyterian movement means much, or that its full success would be of any very great account.—John W. Nevin, D. D.

In the estimation of Dr. Nevin, as already shown,* the proper solution of the Church Question centres in a clear apprehension of what is involved in the *idea* of the Church. Very true. But whence comes the *idea?* The Christian Church rests upon no human "idea or theory." Ministers of the Gospel ought to remember that there is a *divine norm.* This is not found in the so-called Apostles' Creed. Dr. Nevin does not distinguish between what is divine and that which is simply human. The true creed is the apostolic formula: "In the name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost."

No other creed was known in the *primitive* Church, no other is divine. This does not define the idea. It matters little what the ancient fathers taught. Christians cannot admit the authority of uninspired men. Every true disciple of Christ can say with Ignatius: "But to me Jesus Christ is in the place of all that is ancient."—See *Epis. to Phila.*, chap. 8.

Neither Dr. Nevin, nor any other minister, ancient or modern, has a right to insist upon the binding authority of an *exposition* of a creed, which is known to be simply a *form* arranged according to the mind of the corrupt hierarchy of the fifth and sixth centuries. The authority of Christ in relation to the true idea of the Ecclesia goes before the notions of both ancient and modern fathers. The Saviour said: "The words that I speak unto you, they are spirit, and they are life."

The *form* of the so-called Apostles' Creed does not in itself constitute any divine norm. Dr. Nevin is mistaken in supposing that his scheme rests upon the apostolic idea of the Christian Church. The Greek fathers originated the word *catholic.* There is no apostolic authority for using this word, on the

* See October No. of this Journal, for 1869, Art. IV.

peculiar exposition of which is founded this private judgment scheme. To base an "idea or theory" of the Ecclesia upon what the Greek fathers taught, rather than to accept the Word of Christ, may be the work of a speculatist. No such theorizing can have any weight with those who prefer to follow Christ rather than to put confidence in men.

It is useless for Dr. Nevin to affirm that the creed defines the idea. Theological writers of all ages—Roman, Greek, and Protestant—admit that there is *One Holy Christian Church.* It is no less certain that this Ecclesia has always been regarded as the *aggregated* assembly of the saints. The notion of an *ideal Church* finds no authority in a word or phrase uttered by the Saviour. What is equally remarkable is the fact, that this abstract notion can find no foundation in history. It is not a question, therefore, whether the "idea or theory" entertained by Dr. Nevin may be received. History says: *No.* A *private-judgment* scheme, no matter how profoundly philosophical, can have no right, considered historically, to either respect or confidence.

There is only *one* truly primitive idea of the Ecclesia. The so-called fathers, whether Greek or Roman, may entertain whatever notion, idea, or theory they choose. The notions, ideas, or theories may be ancient: they are not primitive. Dr. Nevin, in company with Romanists, Greco-Romanists, Anglo-Romanists, and all other advocates of a human "idea or theory" may accept as normal what is simply ancient. True Protestantism accepts only the PRIMITIVE CREED.

The Saviour speaks through his Apostles, of the Ecclesia as "*the multitude of them that believe.*" This multitude is said to increase. "*And the Lord added daily to the Church such as should be saved.*" Here is the primitive idea of the Christian Church: it is the *Assembly of the saints.* Augustine says: "The Church consists of the faithful dispersed throughout the world." No other idea was known in the days of the Apostles: the Saviour teaches no other. This Ecclesia is founded upon a truly *personal faith.* Of this faith the Saviour says: "*On this rock I will found my Church.*"

Dr. Nevin does not distinguish between a personal faith, as a living reality, and a formal faith. The so-called Apostles'

Creed is simply a summary of doctrines. Personal faith, on the contrary, stands related directly to Christ. The words of Ignatius are to the point: "The beginning of life is faith, and the end is love."—See *Epis. to Eph.*, chap. 14.

Speaking of the apostolic idea of the Church, Pearson says: "For the single persons professing faith in Christ are members of the particular churches in which they live, and all these particular churches are members of the general and universal Church, which is one by unity of aggregation; and this is the Church in the *Creed*, which we believe, and which is in other creeds expressly termed one, I believe in one holy catholic Church."—See *Pearson on the Creed*, p. 507.

This eminent scholar speaks historically. No other idea is primitive: no other is Christian. Even Roman theologians reaffirm this apostolic idea. The Council of Trent says: "The Church is Catholic, that is, universal; and justly is she called Catholic, because as St. Augustine says: 'She is diffused by the splendor of one faith from the rising to the setting sun.'"—See *Cat. Coun. Trent*, p. 77.

In view of historical facts, it must be regarded as a matter of surprise to find Dr. Nevin willing to offer to the Christian world his own private-judgment exposition of the word, *catholic*, as the historical sense of the creed. His own "idea or theory" of a whole forms for him the principle of his scheme. Dr. Nevin says: "It is to be borne in mind that there are two kinds of generality or universality, and that only one of them answers to the true force of the term catholic." Again: "If it be asked, which of these two orders of universality is intended by the title, *catholic*, as applied to the Christian Church, the answer is at once sufficiently plain. It is that which is expressed by the word *whole*."—*Mer. Rev.*, vol. iii., pp. 2–4.

Dr. Nevin ought to know that his exposition is simply his own speculative idea. No such metaphysical conception of the word, catholic, has ever been known or recognized in connection with the historical sense of the creed. Dr. Dorner, the eminent Christologist of Germany, speaking of the "idea or theory" of the Church held and advocated by Dr. Nevin, says: "He himself," that is, Dr. Nevin, "moves in a subjectivism of his own which deceives itself with a pretended 'objectivism.'

For where does he get his certainty of the idea of the Church and its proofs?"—See *Ref. Ch. Monthly*, vol. i., p. 156.

This scientific scholar here charges Dr. Nevin with holding a purely arbitrary "idea," the product of his own imagination. Why has the inquiry made by Dr. Dorner remained unanswered? The answer is easily given. Dr. Nevin has *not* proven, and *cannot* prove, the absolute certainty of the principle assumed. He must defend his scheme at this fundamental point. It is demanded of him, before the Christian world, in behalf of *primitive* Christianity, that he shall show positively and conclusively that his metaphysical notion is absolutely the *divine truth.* It will not do to refer to the advances of modern philosophical investigations. No human philosophy can ever be regarded as authority in matters pertaining to things divine.

True Protestant ministers cannot allow human notions, theories, or ideas, neither traditional nor philosophical, to supplant the plain and positive Word of Christ. "Let God be true, though every man a liar." "Thy word is Truth." It is right to allow all necessary room for progress in scientific knowledge. Theological investigations ought to become more and more profound. But science, to be normal, must keep within the sphere of the conditioned. Dr. Nevin mistakes German Rationalism for absolute truth. Of his own imaginative "idea or theory," he says: "It enters into the very idea of faith, affects the sense of all worship, conditions the universal scheme of theology, and moulds and shapes the religious life at every point." Again: "It gives rise to two phases of Christianity, which are so different as to appear at last, indeed, in their full development, more like two Christianities than one."—See *Mer. Rev.*, vol. x., p. 191.

It is here said that there are two views. Dr. Nevin knows that there can be but *one true* idea of the Church. This must be apostolic: the other is Roman. The one is Christian: the other is a corruption. The one is primitive: the other is ancient. The one is divine: the other rests upon a human notion. The one is personal: the other is an abstraction. The one calls men to a life of self-conscious devotion to Christ: the other urges the authority of priests. The one is from

above: the other is from beneath. The one leads the soul directly to Christ: the other glorifies human agency. The one is Christly: the other is priestly. The one is the work of Christ: the other the idol of men. The one makes ministers humble: the other glorifies a priestly caste.

The logic of Dr. Nevin is accepted. His representation of the relation his "idea or theory," presumed to be a reality, sustains to his scheme, is correct. He stands charged before the Christian world with holding as absolutely true a principle proven to be unauthorized by Christ, and unknown in the apostolic age. Each minister, ancient as well as modern, may hold for himself his own "idea or theory;" but no one has any right—scientific, theological, or Christian—to attempt to identify his speculative notion with the apostolic idea of the Christian Church. Only the Word of Christ is absolute: "JESUS CHRIST, THE SAME YESTERDAY, TO-DAY, AND FOREVER."

No mistake can be more fearful than to ignore the apostolic idea in order to accept as a reality a purely human notion. The learned and pious Dr. Neander says:—

"In proportion as the idea of the Church diverged from its original spiritual significance, the Christian element was exchanged for the Jewish; and in this was the germ of Catholicism. It was too hard a task for humanity to keep itself up to the spiritual elevation of Christianity; and this mixture of the Jewish and the Christian was wrought into a systematic form in order that the development of the Christian consciousness might come forth with so much greater power at the Reformation. . . . Irenæus shows the first germs of this perversion: it was matured by Cyprian."—See Nean., *His. Chris. Dog.*, Bohn's Ed., vol. i., p. 220.

Dr. Nevin utters a significant truth, when he says: "We know well enough that it is not safe to follow any leader blindly, whether he be an original thinker, or an easy traditionist who never thinks at all."—See *Mer. Rev.*, vol. iii., p. 58.

The German Reformed denomination, in part, has followed Dr. Nevin "blindly" in allowing him to confound a human notion with the divine. In addressing this denomination, Paul would say, as he did to the Christians at Colosse: "*Beware lest any man spoil you through philosophy and vain deceit, after the tradition of men, after the rudiments of the world and not after Christ.*"

Dr. Nevin *assumes* that his "idea or theory" is the Christian Church! As well imagine, in a similar way, that his "idea or theory" of God is identically God himself. Not so. The so-called *ideal whole* is purely an abstraction, and as such can have no concrete existence. Dr. Nevin seems to have unbounded confidence in his own exposition of the creed. He says:—

"The idea of the Church as it meets us among other fundamentals of the Christian faith in this primitive œcumenical symbol, is not of a whole depending upon its parts (in which case it would be a mere thought) but that of a whole comprehending its parts in itself, and possessing them with its presence. In other words, it is the idea of an organic whole, and not the notion of a simply mechanical whole. A mechanical whole is made up of single things or particulars, put together in a purely outward way. An organic whole, on the contrary, is the union of particular existences and a general existence, through the power of a common life. In the first case, the general follows the particulars and depends upon them entirely: but this is not so at all in the second case. In an organic whole the general is before the particulars, underlies them and actually brings them to pass. . . . Let no one say this is absurd."—See *Mer. Rev.*, vol. xv., pp. 577–8.

The Christian Church has just as little to do with this metaphysical notion of a whole as with the idealism of Plato, or the dialectics of Aristotle. Like Romanism, this scheme is more in sympathy with priestly heathenism than with the Gospel of Christ. Man can lay down no principle for the Son of God. Dr. Nevin is sadly mistaken in supposing that his abstract notion of a whole can have any thing to do with the Church of Christ.

II. Mercersburg Theology, in principle, ignores the Gospel view of the Person of Christ. An inquiry into the merits of a principle, must necessarily involve careful reflection. Primarily, the metaphysical notion held by Dr. Nevin, as the principle of his scheme, has to do with the human apprehension of that which is divine. To follow him, in his transcendental wanderings, requires patient thought and careful reflection. As a speculative writer, Dr. Nevin has allowed himself to be thrown into the maelstrom of German pantheistic transcendentalism. Other metaphysical speculatists of equal, and even greater, power have been equally mistaken. "*Let him that thinketh he standeth take heed lest he fall.*"

"*The whole comes first, and forms the only possibility or potential reason, for all the particular existences by which it is brought to pass.*" What does this mean? Dr. Nevin seems to teach that the universe comes into existence first as a whole, which of course must include all its parts; and that this whole forms the "potential reason" for the existence of the particular worlds, suns, and systems. This is metaphysical mysticism, and as such involves a pantheistic conception of the universe.

"*The whole comes first.*" How? Christian philosophy recognizes the existence of the Personal God anterior to the the existence of the suns and systems constituting the present universe. To affirm that the whole existed anterior to an actual creation, is only a confusion of ideas. God existed, and therefore the worlds, suns, and systems were created. Plato may confound an idea with the existence of the Being of God. No such barbarian philosophy can stand for a moment amid the light brought into the world by the Son of God. The Gospel refers the understanding *immediately*, and not *mediately*, to God manifest in Christ, as the *condition* as well as the *ground* of all that exists. An *ideal* whole is an abstraction. Dr. Nevin can have no right, scientific or logical, to try to confound a human notion, whatever its character, with that which is divine.

"*The whole comes first.*" In no sense is this true with regard to Personal Being. God is in himself both the ground and the condition of personality. Dr. Nevin does not seem to see the pantheistic tendency of his "idea or theory." Not a word has been found in all he has ever written in which he has regard to God as the condition of personal existence. This may explain why he should speak of the *whole* as being the "*potential reason*" for the particular existences.

Still more. Dr. Nevin makes no proper distinction between life in the sphere of animal nature, and life in the higher world of personal being. He confounds *individuality* with the infinitely different idea of *personality*. In this way his scheme, in its last analysis, brings the human down into the sphere of animal nature. This is the baldest kind of pantheism. But he says: "Certainly I do not confound God with the world,

nor Christ with the church."—See *Mer. Rev.*, vol. xv., p. 592.

All know that no conscientious minister of the Gospel could knowingly teach a pantheistic "idea or theory." Whether consciously or not, Dr. Nevin does refer the mind bent on knowing the truth to his *generic whole* as the condition of the particular existences. This is pantheistic. It is explicitly said that the whole "*forms the only possibility, or potential reason, for all the particular existences.*" Thus the Gospel view of the Personal Being of Christ is set aside, and a pantheistic mysticism substituted. The "idea or theory" of the Christian Church, entertained by Dr. Nevin, falls back upon this pantheistic view of personality. A philosophical notion, wholly without any foundation in the sphere of Christianity, is *assumed* to be a reality. A human notion is thus made to take the place of the Christian Church. Speaking of the so-called Apostles' Creed, Dr. Nevin says: "Its doctrine of the Church falls back on its doctrine of Christ."—See *Mer. Rev.*, vol. x., p. 415.

Will any intelligent minister affirm that this creed, admitted, as to form, to be in accordance with the mind of the corrupt hierarchy of the fifth and sixth centuries, actually teaches any view, idea, or theory of the person of Christ? Certainly not. Dr. Nevin must see that his "idea or theory" is purely his own imagination. The word of Christ goes before every human form, or creed. Dr. Nevin must admit that this creed is simply a summary of doctrines: it may not be regarded as an essay on Christology. Speaking of his own peculiar exposition of the creed in contrast with the view of others, Dr. Nevin says: "The principle of this difference . . . is not just the doctrine of the Church itself in the form in which it is here made a part of the Christian faith, but the Christology which lies behind it—the peculiar way in which the coming of Christ in the flesh is here apprehended and confessed."—See *Mer. Rev.*, vol. x., p. 425.

Dr. Nevin condemns himself. He admits that it "*is not the doctrine of the Church itself in the form in which it is here made a part of the Christian faith*" that constitutes his imaginative "idea or theory." Is not this what logicians call

a paralogism? Why try to confound the creed as such with his *private-judgment* notion? Why not distinguish between what he knows to be the historical sense of the creed and his own abstraction? Besides, why attempt to identify this creed as to form with the original apostolic formula? Why ask a Christian to accept a Roman exposition of the divine Word of Christ? Virtually Dr. Nevin asks the disciples of Christ to believe in a human notion instead of believing in Christ himself?

Will Dr. Nevin affirm that *his* Christo-centric abstraction is identically the DIVINE? If not, then he can have no right, Christian or scientific, to assume that his "idea or theory" of a whole is identically the Christian Church. His so-called Christo-centric notion is infinitely far from being the divine reality. The true Ecclesia is no more an "idea or theory" than the universe in its relation to man is such. The *principle* upon which Dr. Nevin founds his scheme is not divine; it is not Christian. His "*ideal church*" is a visionary abstraction.

Relying upon the absolute truth of that which can only be a relative principle, Dr. Nevin constructs an imaginary scheme said to be churchly, in accordance with his own subjective understanding; and then in a purely rationalistic way projects this subjectivism into the sphere of what he imagines to be the objective. It is easy to see where this false philosophy must lead its votaries. Speaking of *heresy* in its relation to Christianity, Dr. Nevin uses these significant words: "Wherever it may end, it is sure to begin always, consciously or unconsciously, in a wrong view of the Incarnation." It is added that heresy turns the Incarnation "into a mere matter of speculative contemplation, by which it comes to be at last nothing more, in truth, than a thought or notion in the mind itself substituted for the fact it pretends to believe."—See *Mer. Rev.*, vol. x., p. 419.

Dr. Nevin describes himself. His so-called Christo-centric notion, no matter what he imagines it to be, is "*nothing more in truth than a thought or notion in the mind itself substituted for the fact.*" It is easy for a minister, fond of mystical speculation, to find fault with Protestantism, as being unchurchly

because it does not accept his private-judgment exposition of the creed: it is easy to denounce what is called "Puritanic Presbyterianism," when intelligent Presbyterian ministers refuse to put confidence in a pantheistic abstraction. Happy had it been for the peace and prosperity of the German Reformed denomination, if this so-called Christo-centric notion had never been known in the schools. It is always a misfortune to allow an individual exposition to be held as the absolute truth. German rationalism lies at the foundation of this scheme, and sooner or later will be exposed and condemned.

A pantheistic conception of the *ground* of existence must give rise to a false view of the person of God. This in turn has given rise to a so-called Christo-centric abstraction. Faith with Dr. Nevin, instead of being a concrete personal reality, actual only in the sphere of self-consciousness, becomes a phantom: confessionalism is identical with Christianity. The Gospel of Christ becomes an "idea or theory," and practical Christianity an absurdity. To be a member of what is called a church by means of priestly manipulation, is at once to be a Christian. Thus has a pantheistic mysticism been substituted for the Personal Christ of the Gospel.

By confounding an abstraction, said to be Christo-centric, with the Gospel view of the person of Christ, this false scheme assumes to be *churchly*. Any fanatic may imagine, in a similar way, that his "idea or theory" is identically divine. Any minister, fond of mystic speculation, may assume, as Dr. Nevin has done, that his exposition is the "*true and historical sense of the old creeds.*" No such assumption can stand. The principle underlying this Mercersburg scheme is just as far from being the truth as it is in Jesus, as German Rationalism is from being the Gospel of Christ. It were well for all ministers to bear in mind that what the Saviour says of himself, of the Father, and of the Holy Ghost, that, and that only, man can *know*. To attempt to identify any human notion with the existence of the Personal Christ must lead to heresy. This is what Dr. Nevin has attempted to do. His imaginative "idea or theory" of a whole finds no authority in what the Saviour says of himself.

Speculative studies have a peculiar charm. Profound minds

of all ages have loved to inquire into the "deep things" of God. All such investigations are attended with danger. Human weakness is nowhere more strikingly manifest than in the *History of Philosophy*. Once under the power of an "idea or theory," conscientiously believed to be a reality, an earnest mind will almost inevitably be led to an extreme. Thus in the case of Dr. Nevin; his so-called Christo-centric notion of a whole has become for him the principle of all his thinking: with tyrant sway his philosophy rules his theology. An "*Order of Worship*" has been constructed in the interest of this abstract "idea or theory." Dr. Nevin says: "They," that is, the members of the committee to prepare the "Order," "were themselves brought more and more under the power of an idea, which carried them with inexorable force its own way."—See *Lit. Quest.*, p. 39.

This Mercersburg scheme, like Romanism, is a species of priestly ritualism: it is from man. Romanism is based upon a human notion having for its centre a Pope: this scheme is founded upon a metaphysical abstraction having for its centre German Rationalism. Dr. Nevin has confused the mind of ministers who seem to have no acquaintance with the writings of the German metaphysicians. By affirming that Christ is the principle of his scheme, the real principle which is his own so-called Christo-centric notion of a whole has not been clearly apprehended. True Dr. Nevin holds and teaches many precious truths of the Gospel. Care must be taken to distinguish between these and the scheme as such. A church has been constructed, having for its foundation a pantheistic "idea or theory" of personal being. This phantom church Dr. Nevin calls the Christian Church! As well attempt to construct the universe, in a similar way, and call the abstraction the work of God himself. So-called philosophers expose their weakness by thus trying to know as God. Their speculative notions are right, they say, even though the Almighty should be wrong! Not content to sit at the Saviour's feet, they attempt to "find out the Almighty to perfection." Of the work of God, a greater than Dr. Nevin says; "Though a man labor to seek it out, yet shall he not find it: yea, further, though a wise man think to know it, yet shall he not be able to find it."

Thousands of ancient bishops, priests, and councils may not be regarded as superseding the Personal Christ. When the Son of God speaks, let so-called priests and bishops be silent. What the Saviour says is divine; what these priests affirm is human. Thousands of self-constituted hierarchs, whether Roman, Greco-Roman, Anglo-Roman, Nevinistic, or heathen, can in no sense secure or hinder the saving of a single soul. "It is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that showeth mercy."

This Mercersburg scheme would have priests to mediate between an abstraction, said to be an objective reality, and the subjective life of personal beings. The Apostles knew of no such visionary church. These heroic servants of Christ, speaking as moved by the Holy Ghost, do not say that the soul is enabled to love the Saviour through any such priestly mediation. This pantheistic scheme, like Romanism, would substitute a slavish subjection to a priestly abstraction for personal freedom in Christ. The Christian Church is *not* a PERSON. By necessary consequence, a priestly scheme can stand in no right relation to Christianity. Very properly does Dr. Nevin ask: "Is not God the last ground of personality?"—See *Mys. Pres.*, p. 173.

Christian philosophy stops not here. Does not Dr. Nevin know that *ground* and *condition* are correlated terms? If personality has its ground in God, it follows that the condition is also in God. A pantheistic philosophy *cannot* admit this. A *mediated* life is not a conditioned life. This scheme is shut up to the necessity of teaching a pantheistic notion. Dr. Nevin says: "In every sphere of life, the individual and the general are found closely united in the same subject. . . So in the case before us, the life of Christ is to be viewed under the same twofold aspect."—See *Mys. Pres.*, pp. 160–1.

It is easy to say that the life of Christ "*is to be viewed also under the same twofold aspect.*" But where is the absolute authority? Dr. Nevin can do no more than appeal to German Rationalism. Starting from an assumption, Dr. Nevin goes on to say: "Christ's life, as now described, rests not in his separate person, but passes over to his people; thus constituting the Church."—See *Mys. Pres.*, p. 167.

"*As now described.*" Here is the secret of this pretentious scheme. As Dr. Nevin describes Christ, so must the Christ be! This is extravagant enough, surely. The Gospel view of the person of the Saviour is denied the moment any human "idea or theory" is affirmed to be identically the Divine. It has already been remarked that the Christian Church is not a person: if not a person, then must it follow that the personality of man can in no sense stand related to the Church. Salvation is not conditioned in that which is impersonal. Certainly Dr. Nevin will disown the legitimate issue of his pantheistic scheme. He says: "It is not a system of subjective notions born only of the human mind, a supposed apprehension of supernatural verities brought into the mind in the way of abstract thought."—See *Vindica. of Lit.*, p. 66.

Will Dr. Nevin say that his "idea or theory" of a whole is not "*born only of the human mind?*" This is an "abstract thought" having no foundation in the sphere of Christian philosophy, and infinitely far from being the Gospel of the Son of God. Christ is himself in his own blessed person both the ground and the condition of salvation. "As in Adam all die, so in Christ shall all be made alive." The parallel is clear. The relation sustained to Christ is direct: it is personal. This is the Gospel view: this is the view recognized by all true Protestants. Dr. Schaff says: "*Protestantism goes directly to Christ.*" The relation of the soul to Christ is here admitted to be direct and personal. This is primitive Christianity. The divine Redeemer is allowed himself to say to the sinner: "FOLLOW ME." Dr. Nevin constructs a scheme which ignores the possibility of direct relation to Christ. He seems to think that his abstract church can, in some mystical way, supply the Presence of Christ. It is only necessary, he imagines, to follow his church. The Saviour may not be followed without the intervention of a priestly order. This is extravagantly false. Does Dr. Nevin suppose that there are priests in the Church triumphant? If not, then surely there can be none in the Christian Church militant.

Dr. Nevin is sadly mistaken in supposing that his objectivism "passes over" through the mediation of his imaginary priests into the souls of men. The Christian Church may not

be confounded with this pantheistic scheme. A phantom *notion* of what constitutes *sacramental grace* may not be allowed to pass for the Gospel view of "GRACE." It is proper, under all circumstances, to entertain high views of sacramental grace. No mistake could be more fearful than to imagine that a human "idea or theory" of sacramental grace is identically the divine grace itself. Dr. Nevin would explain *how* the Christian life originates. As well try to explain *how* God creates the soul. The Saviour says: "The wind bloweth where it listeth, and thou hearest the sound thereof, but canst not tell whence it cometh and whither it goeth: so is every one that is born of the Spirit."

The scheme originated by Dr. Nevin directs its so-called priests to say to the applicant for baptism: "You have come hither seeking deliverance from the power of the devil, the remission of sin, and the gift of a new and spiritual life."—See *Order of Worship*, p. 199.

Christian baptism stands in no relation whatever to this pantheistic notion of a mediated life. Going to a priest of an "idea or theory" is infinitely far from being a Christian. The issue is clear. Personal beings are to love Christ himself supremely. Ancient so-called fathers may have their creeds: modern philosophers and metaphysical dreamers may entertain their own notion, theory, or idea of these creeds. All will not avail. Christ is infinitely more to the soul than the church can ever be either in idea or in reality. Theories fall worthless to the earth, where they properly belong. Christ is related to the sons and daughters of the race: the Church stands in no such relation. The Saviour is the Personal Redeemer: the Church sustains no directly personal relation to the soul. The Son of God requires no one to yield obedience to an abstraction. To go to a human priest, supposing that by this means an entrance into the true kingdom of heaven can be secured, is a fearful delusion. The scheme that puts forth such pretensions is of the spirit of Antichrist.

The Gospel calls *persons* to a life of true freedom, not according to the dictations of priests, but in Christ. "If the Son, therefore, shall make you free, ye shall be free indeed." There is no room to conceive of any necessity for submission,

blind, ignorant, and slavish, to a so-called priestly order. Subjection to priests is abject slavery. Truth is always free. In vain attempt to defend a pantheistic philosophy, as though this could be identical with Christ himself. How can the finite mind comprehend *personal being?* If man cannot find out the mystery of his own person, how infinitely less can he comprehend the Person of the God-man. The Gospel is personal: it is not an idea: it is not a mere doctrine: it is Christ himself, the Saviour of sinners. The Apostles do not preach an "idea or theory" of Christ; but Christ himself. These holy men *knew* the Saviour: they loved him supremely. The same is true now.

The Apostles do not speak of their "priestly functions." They make no pretension to being a mediating priesthood between Christ and the human souls. None of this. Only when men have a human "idea or theory" to serve is there any need of priests. An advocate of this Mercersburg scheme says, "A priest is one whose sole object is to bring the people near to God."—See *Mer. Rev.*, vol. xv., p. 477.

However this may be, what minister at all conscious of his responsibility to Christ, will ever put confidence in an abstraction which demands what the Saviour does not authorize? Dr. Nevin may imagine that his pantheistic notion of a whole is in harmony with facts. It may be allowed to pass for what it is worth as a philosophical curiosity: it may not be regarded as having any reality in the sphere of that which is divine. As well suppose that Plato or Aristotle preached Christ, as to think of this Mercersburg notion being in any sense identically the Gospel. An "ideal church," founded upon a pantheistic philosophy, is no more the church of Christ than Confucius is Paul, or Zoroaster the loving John.

Dr. Nevin seems to think that his so-called Christo-centric notion is profoundly Christological. All admit that it is well to study the Gospel in the light of philosophy; human conceptions, however, are not to be confounded with divine realities. Here is where Dr. Nevin mistakes the calling of a minister of Christ. His so-called Christo-centric "idea or theory" is simply his own philosophical conception; and, as such, is subject to the vicissitudes of that which is human. His prin-

ciple compels him, in the construction of his scheme, to ignore the Gospel view of the relation the *sinner* sustains to Christ.

This Mercersburg scheme, it is imagined, is profoundly philosophical. Dr. Nevin assumes an unwarranted degree of self-confidence in supposing that his so-called Christo-centric abstraction must be received as the divine. This self-confidence, in time, works marvellously in the minds of his students, who do not perceive the *principle* upon which the superstructure rests. These do not seem to perceive that it is heresy to teach that priestly mediation, in the interest of a human "idea or theory," secures eternal salvation. Well, to pause and consider, no matter how fair or captivating a scheme may be, when such pernicious consequences follow. As servants of the Gospel, ministers will do well to have regard to their responsibility to Christ himself and to him only. This phantom Mercersburg invention, like Romanism, must necessarily ignore the Gospel view of personal responsibility in its direct relation to the Saviour, substituting the notion of priestly authority. The Apostle says: "God commendeth his love to us, in that while we were yet sinners Christ died for us." The Gospel is plain; even a child can understand.

Well may Dr. Nevin say that he does not confound God with the world, nor Christ with the church. All know that he does not *intend* to do so. Nor did Fichte intend to confound his "Ego" with God; yet he lived to perceive, though not until in his old age, the utter falsehood of his phantom "idea or theory." The same may prove to be true in this case. Dr. Nevin may come to see, sooner or later, that his imagination has led him far from the truth as it is in Jesus. His so-called Christo-centric abstraction is infinitely far from being the divine. His philosophy is fearfully rationalistic. A life mediated through priests is little better than the doctrine of an emanated life as taught by Zoroaster.—See *Hist. Philos.*, Bruckeri, Leip. ed., tom. i., lib. 2, cap. 3.

This speculative scheme, like Romanism, will prove a delusion. Founded upon a purely philosophical abstraction, it can have no power in the sphere of self-consciousness. There can be no intuitive knowledge, certain and sure, of that which is

derived from purely human sources. Ministers may try to confound a speculative "idea or theory," be it called Christo-centric or by any other name, with the Person of the Personal Christ; but in the end every such effort will fail. The servants of the Gospel may not assume to themselves priestly prerogatives in the interest of a human notion without doing violence to the Gospel itself. Ministers must have regard to their individual and personal responsibility to Christ himself, and to him only.

Christianity has to do with the *concrete*. Abstract ideas, theories, and notions, are worthless in their assumed relation to Christ. The Redeemer, as the personal God-man, possessed of a true human self-consciousness, speaks to personal beings in the sphere of self-conscious being; and not through priests. The Christology of the Gospel may not be confounded with any human Christo-centric notion. Dr. Nevin seems to entertain no higher conception of the Gospel than that the Christ himself has gone into heaven, leaving his disciples to love an "idea or theory." Not so. It is as true now as in the days of John or Paul, that Christ himself is to be loved supremely. "*The love of Christ constraineth us.*"

Ministers of the Gospel, if true to Christ rather than the advocates of an abstraction, are to *preach* Christ crucified. This is to be the watch-word, true and tried, of all who love the Saviour. It is the concrete reality of Christ crucified that moves the Apostle to say: "Herein is love; not that we loved God, but that he loved us, and sent his Son to be the propitiation for our sins. And not for ours only, but for the sins of the whole world." The Redeemer, as the Personal Christ, loves the children of a fallen race. Not one; but all: not the all in the sense of an abstract whole, but the all including the individual persons, and in each person the true humanity. In this sense, and in no other, can the Christology of the Gospel be understood. Whenever Dr. Nevin comes to see that Christ in himself is the *condition* as well as the *ground* of salvation, will he perceive the pernicious tendency of his pantheistic mysticism. The Apostles felt that their call to preach Christ crucified came from the Saviour himself: the same now. The true minister of the Gospel must be fully and clearly self-con-

scious of his direct and personal relation to Christ, to whom, and to no other, he is bound to hold himself responsible. To the Redeemer must account be made: "*For we shall all appear before the judgment-seat of Christ.*"

The Christian Life does not centre in the church, and much less can it be mediated through a priestly order. Practically the Christian life may be included in the words: LOVE CHRIST. All else is uncertain. The Apostle says: "In Christ neither circumcision availeth any thing, nor uncircumcision; but faith which worketh by love." The same now. In Christ neither being formally baptized, nor being unbaptized, availeth any thing. The Apostle does not undervalue Christian baptism. By no means. He only affirms that personal union with Christ centres in a personal relation to Christ. Dr. Nevin seems to imagine that personal acts can exist outside of the sphere of self-consciousness. In this way, it is assumed that going to a priest is being *made* a Christian. As well imagine that an *uncreated* infant could go to its supposed mother and ask to be born. The thought is an absurdity.

The Saviour calls no one to a slavish service. The Gospel view of the Christian life involves intelligence of the highest order. This intelligence is based upon the clear self-consciousness of a directly personal relation to Christ himself. Means of grace even are not the Personal Jesus. Dr. Nevin ought to be able to see that his view of "*sacramental grace*" is simply and only pantheistic mysticism. There can be no personal life in that which is simply a *means*. Why try to confound a purely sacramental transaction with the personal relation the soul sustains to Christ? To speak of the Christian Church as a self-conscious person, is contrary to the Gospel, as well as directly at variance with every kind of intelligent observation.

Sooner or later, the German Reformed denomination must come to see the vast evil of allowing a purely pantheistic principle to be held as the foundation of a scheme of theology. It is always dangerous to follow a human leader. The profoundest philosopher, after all, is only a fallible human being. Only Christ can make known the truth: only Christ is the BEAU IDEAL of true greatness. No intelligent Christian can

follow any other. Jesus says: "Follow me." "If any man will come unto me, let him deny himself, take up his cross, and follow me."

This cross is no imagination: it is no idea or theory: it is an *intensely personal death unto sin and a living unto Christ.* Here is the most concrete of all realities. The Apostle says: "I die daily." Again: "our old man is crucified with Him, that the body of sin might be destroyed." Freedom from sin, in the most comprehensive sense, is the end of the Christian life; death shall be swallowed up in victory. He who is unwilling to take up his cross, the intensive death unto sin, *cannot* follow Christ. Flesh and sense must be denied: passion and lust must be overcome, and if not given up or overcome, there must be a want of personal godliness in the actual struggle of life. Thousands have gone to priests whose daily life proves that they are not the disciples of Christ. These may be obedient to priests: they are not lovers of Christ! "By their fruits ye shall know them." Never were words more striking than the saying of Strauss: "*Where priests rule, there infidelity abounds.*"

The scheme advocated by Dr. Nevin is fallacious. It is not based upon the creed as such: but upon a *private judgment*, "idea, or theory," as a principle, put into the creed. Speaking of this creed, the eminent Danish divine, Dr. Martensen, says: "Its whole inner form and contents are such as to prove its insufficiency to serve as the highest *critical* standard of the church. . . . It is quite clear too, that without the Scriptures, we should derive from the Apostles' Creed a poor support. . . It gives us not the slightest information concerning the sacramental significance of baptism. . . We are, therefore, unable to see in this theory of the Apostles' Creed, any improvement upon the Reformation."—See *Mar. Dog.*, Clarke's Ed., pp. 40–1.

No theological scholar finds any fault with Dr. Nevin for attempting to construct a scheme of theology; his fearful mistake centres in trying to identify a purely human "idea or theory" of the Person of Christ with the existence of the Christian Church. This abstract notion he puts into the creed, as the principle of his scheme, in his own way; and

then confounds his own private judgment creed with the "old and historical sense of the creed."

The church question finds no solution in the speculative notion advanced by Dr. Nevin. He has labored hard to defend his so-called *churchly* theology; all his efforts must fall to the ground. A principle being false, the superstructure is worthless. This scheme is like Romanism, it makes formal baptism the *condition* of salvation. Reflection must convince every profound mind that ground and condition being correlative terms, it must follow that both the ground and the condition are in Christ, and can be nowhere else.

Let Christians come to realize, as they should, the Gospel meaning of the cross, and at once every priestly "idea or theory" will be swept into oblivion; and Christ will reign supreme in every heart. Personal activity in the spirit of the cross will become, as it should, the watch-word of the Christian Church. Ministers of the Gospel will arouse themselves to a more earnest sense of self-consecration to Christ. Dr. Nevin ought to see that his notion of a mediated life is positive pantheism; and as such, must lead, like Romanism, to a sort of self-glorification. Priestly conceit will take the place of apostolic devotion to Christ. The Saviour speaks to persons, not through priests, and much less through a human "idea or theory" of sacramental grace. The Holy Ghost, who is a person, works in the sphere of self-consciousness. This priestly abstraction virtually denies the personal presence of the Spirit. All is made to turn upon the pantheistic notion of a life mediated through priests. This life, it is said, is communicated in the form of a *germ*. Now the scientific scholar knows that a germ is not a tree. Without the correlative condition the ground or germ can never become a tree. By analogy it is the tree, and not a germ, that forms the vital point in the parallel. The tree *grows;* the germ passes away in the organic unity between ground and condition.

Christian unity centres in no priestly order; it is dependent upon no human "idea or theory" of the so-called Apostles' Creed,—it is the power of that which is divine: "The love of Christ constraineth us." The cross is the manifestation of

Divine love: "God so loved the world that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him might not perish, but might have everlasting life." *Personal faith* in Christ is here, as in other places, clearly affirmed to be the only bond of unity between Christ and Christians. This living faith finds its condition in Christ himself, and not in an "idea or theory" of what is called sacramental grace.

True Protestantism, like Apostolic Christianity, goes directly to Christ himself. A blind and superstitious reverence for human notions, ideas, or theories, forms no part of the Christian system. Christ is more to Christians than all the world beside. It is Jesus himself who says: "COME UNTO ME, ALL YE THAT LABOR AND ARE HEAVY LADEN, AND I WILL GIVE YOU REST."

A. S. V.

ART. V.—*The Jesus of the Evangelists: His Historical Character Vindicated; or, an Examination of the Internal Evidence for Our Lord's Divine Mission, with reference to Modern Controversy.* By the Rev. C. A. Row, M. A., of Pembroke College, Oxford, late Head Master of the Royal Free Grammar School, Mansfield; author of "The Nature and Extent of Divine Inspiration," etc. London: Williams & Norgate, 1868.

IT is more than two years since this work was published, but it is little known as yet in this country. In England it has received the highest praise from a number of the most competent judges. Dr. R. Payne Smith, in his Bampton Lectures for 1869, which have only been printed a few months, says of it, "For fulness of thought, and terseness and accuracy of reasoning, I do not know its equal. No man can read it without being convinced, I should imagine, not merely of our Lord's historical existence, which is what Mr. Row undertakes to prove against Strauss, etc., but also of his unapproachable perfectness." And yet, even in England, it does not seem

thus far to have gained the attention of a very wide circle of readers. It is just what its title imports. It does far more than refute the mythical hypothesis as to the divine origin of Christianity. It furnishes an unanswerable proof that the Jesus of the Gospels was a real person, and that his mission was divine. It cannot be denied that every thing of importance is gained if this point is established. We can afford, as the author truly says, to await the solution of all other difficulties connected with the Scriptures, if we can retain a firm conviction that the Gospels are historical in all their great features, and that we have a Christ whom we can worship, and love, and trust. Let this be believed, and then no error which the soul may entertain can be inconsistent with its exercising a saving faith.

This book, owing to its philosophical character, and the severity of its reasoning, may never have place in many libraries, but, by those who possess it, it will be highly prized. As a refutation of the destructive errors which it combats, it is unrivalled. Its lines of thought are not altogether new, and yet it is fresh and original. In one respect it differs from preceding works on the same subject. Mr. Row (more particularly is this true of the latter part of his book) grapples, far more than other antagonists of the school of Strauss do, with the details of the theory he opposes. The keenness and closeness with which he follows up his opponents, allow them not a moment's rest. He drives them out of every hiding-place. He gives them the benefit first of one of their assumptions, and then of another, until they have no standing ground left, and are completely driven from the field. This especially applies, as already intimated, to certain parts of the volume. As a whole, it has the merits of an able work, planned and written not merely with reference to opponents, whose arguments are to be pulled to pieces, but in order to exhibit clearly the truth on the subject of which it treats. It has been pronounced to be, what in our opinion it really is, a complete hand-book of Messianic argument, so that it is fitted to be very serviceable to the champions of the divine character of Christ and Christianity, by saving them immense labor in the collection of facts, while it will suggest many valuable

uses and inferences. It contains no rhetorical paragraphs, but it is pervaded by a calm, yet intense earnestness, and some of its passages are truly eloquent. Some of its views and assumptions are, as we think, utterly erroneous, and we expect to notice them hereafter, but they do not materially impair the force of the reasoning, which is thoroughly scientific.

Those who sweetly believe and know that Jesus now lives, do not need to have it proved to them that he was once in this world, with all those glories and excellencies which the Gospels ascribe to him, and yet even such persons find that their souls are refreshed and strengthened by reading well written disquisitions, in which the divine origin of Christianity is proved from the character of Jesus. For they are compelled while reading to contemplate, more or less steadily, his perfections. Now a large part of Mr. Row's book is similar in its nature to such disquisitions, for he spends much time in examining the portraiture of our Lord, in order to show the impossibility of its being a mere invention. If we may learn more concerning morals by studying the character of Christ than in any other way, and if it is true, as many think, that Christianity is as much indebted to the superhuman loveliness of that character, as to any of its doctrines, no book can be without value in which the divine lineaments of the Saviour are dwelt upon and clearly exhibited.

It is, however, the good of the unbelieving which is more directly sought by such treatises as the one before us. If it should be alleged that there is no need of such treatises, because the mythic hypothesis is by this time exploded, it is sufficient to reply that, even admitting it to be so, Mr. Row's book is a refutation not merely of what is strictly called the mythic theory, but of all that has been urged to prove that the Gospels are unhistorical: and that, supposing that such writers as Strauss and Rénan should after a while be forgotten, still there will ever be secret doubts in many minds as to the historical reality of the person of our Lord. In regard to the influence for evil still exerted by Strauss's Lives of Jesus, a writer, well qualified to speak on the subject, says: "They who speak of him as dead, are themselves dead, it is to be feared, to modern theological thought and issues. The influence of

his Lives of Jesus is to this day undermining the entire Christian system throughout the Continent, and very widely throughout this country. Had there been no Strauss to prepare the way, there would most likely have been no Rénan. And Schenkel says of his own work ("Character of Jesus," Preface, pp. xxiii, xxiv): 'Perhaps even now this work would not have been published, had not the sensation caused by the "Life of Jesus," by E. Rénan, forcibly reminded me of the necessity of meeting the deep want of our time, which demands a genuinely human, truly historical representation of Jesus.' Yet Schenkel is a disciple of neither the mythic school of Strauss, nor of the legendary school of Rénan, but of the Tübingen theory of the Gospels, originated by Dr. Baur. Thus it would be an easy task to follow outward, as from a centre and by ever-widening circles, the impulses and influences of Strauss, in all the more intellectual and scholarly attacks upon the Christian faith peculiar to modern times."

The great blemish of this book is, that it is not easy to see its plan. The arguments are sometimes misplaced, and are not kept sufficiently distinct. Even the chapters do not always follow each other in the right order. We could give a number of instances of faults of this kind, but we will proceed to furnish some account of the subject-matter of the volume, premising that the limits of an article will require us to leave much which we would like to present to our readers entirely unnoticed. We shall occupy but a short space in giving Mr. Row's definition of the mythic hypothesis as to the origin of the portraiture of the Evangelical Jesus.

The advocates of the mythic hypothesis admit the historical existence of Jesus, and moreover they concede, and even maintain, that he was a great man. They also grant that it was an historical fact that he was put to death. When this event took place, the disappointment of his deluded followers was great, but their wonderful enthusiasm prevented them from giving up in despair. They still believed in him as the Messiah. Such a belief, however, could not consist with that of his being conquered by death, and they therefore assumed that he must have risen from the dead. "Some of them saw him with their mental eye, and mistook what existed only in

their imagination for an external reality, and communicated their enthusiasm to the rest."* The resurrection, which was the first of the Gospel myths, having been invented, their imagination had full scope. They began, from this time, to imagine that they had seen him perform the wonders which the Messiah ought to have performed. And while some mythologists created miracles, others put parables into his mouth, and others invented discourses. One devoted follower added this trait to his character and another that, until they imagined that he was both divine and human—a divine man.

It was further necessary, inasmuch as the real historical Jesus died, that the mythologists should conceive of their Jesus as having suffered in a manner becoming a divine man. They did this, and they produced the portraiture of a sufferer such as never before nor since has been conceived of. They imparted a divine aspect to the crucified Jesus. Thus they went on creating detached portions of a character, the *full* conception of which existed nowhere. At last it entered the heads of some who mistook these fictions for facts, to attempt to weave them into a whole, and four persons succeeded in creating out of them four distinct portraits of one divine man. For the divine and human consciousness united in the person of Jesus, which we discover in the Gospels, was not a conception of the Evangelists, neither were the attributes in which they array him. Nor did they invent the miracles, parables, and discourses which they relate. These miracles, parables, etc., with the separate portions of Christ's character had previously been created by the imagination of an immense number of Christ's deluded followers. The religion in which he lived, and which he taught, was the conception of this multitude of enthusiastic men. What the four Evangelists did was to set forth out of these fictions a life of Jesus in an historical form. We are not to charge either the mythologists or the Evangelists with fraud. They supposed they were relating facts, and that the portraiture of Jesus which they dramatized

* Mr. Row, in his statement of the mythic theory, recognizes the concession as made by its advocates, that even the immediate disciples of Jesus testified to his supposed resurrection.

was an historical reality. This is the general outline of the mythic theory.

The author's argument against it is so constructed as to be much more than defensive. It shows that the portraiture of Jesus, as we see it on the pages of the Evangelists, could not by any possibility have been conceived of, or invented by any created mind; and yet either it was invented, or it is the portraiture of one who had an historical existence.

His book has the immense advantage of not contending for any minor issues. The critics bring forward difficulties connected with the Old Testament; difficulties connected with the inspiration of the Scriptures. They contend that the Gospels contain contradictions to the facts of history, that they are full of contradictions and incongruities, that facts exhibited in one Gospel are at variance with those contained in another, that the Gospel of John has little or no historic value, etc. But even supposing that these objections have not as yet been satisfactorily answered, what do they avail to shake our faith in the divine origin of our holy religion, if we know that all that is said in the Gospels concerning the Christ whom the church has worshipped is true; that precisely the Jesus whose character the Gospels present under so many aspects was an historical person. There is no reason why any mind should be in the least unsettled by any amount of such difficulties, if it can only find firm ground for its faith in the historical reality of the divine person of our Lord, as he is depicted in the Evangelists. It is the opinion of our author that this is the battle-field on which modern theological controversy will ultimately be decided.

The Jesus of the Gospels is a great spiritual and moral conception, and there is wonderful distinctness in their delineation of the superhuman glories of his character. It cannot be denied that this portraiture exists, and its existence requires to be accounted for. Is it the delineation of a reality, or did it originate in fiction? If it did not originate in fiction, it is the image of one who actually existed. It is the design of the author to show that it cannot, by any possibility, be fictitious.

He displays much acuteness in his first argument, and it is

most convincing, but we do not regard it as his main proof. The basis of his principal proof is that which history furnishes, which testifies that all developments of the human mind have been effected in conformity with a law of progress. We are fully able to ascertain the state of mind of the Jewish people when Christianity originated, *i. e.*, their state of thought on moral and religious subjects, out of which it is maintained that Christianity sprung. Then also the progress of mental and moral science enables us to determine with certainty the law of the development of the human mind; and the chief and most labored argument of his book, and that which occupies the most space, is designed to prove, and does prove unanswerably, that the conditions which history imposes, and the laws of mental development to the truth of which she testifies, render it impossible that the portraiture of the Jesus of the Evangelists could have been evolved as an ideal conception.

But this argument is not fairly begun until he has finished the first five chapters of his book. The reasoning contained in these chapters is, as already remarked, admirable and convincing. Proceeding on the assumption that the portraiture of the Evangelical Jesus is almost entirely an invention, he investigates its nature, examining the elements which enter into it, and points out the tremendous difficulties its authors must have had to encounter in fabricating it, even when untrammelled by the conditions imposed by history, and which are taken into view when he comes to his main argument. The consideration of these difficulties is of itself enough to show the absurdity of the supposition that it was only invented. We desire to give our readers a glimpse of the argument of these chapters, before we proceed to consider those contained in the subsequent portions of the book. We can, of course, merely present the salient points.

What then are the elements of the portraiture of Jesus, as that portraiture was invented by the mythologists? What are the things which enter into its nature? In the first place, there belongs to it a divine and human consciousness, in which consciousness no distinction whatever exists between the two factors of the divine and the human. The mythologists have

conceived of a being having precisely such a consciousness, whom they have dramatized over an extensive sphere of action. The difficulties to be mastered, as soon as they began their work, pertained to the very conception of the divine and human in one person. There must have belonged to the question whether such a union was possible, difficulties of a metaphysical nature which had to be settled in some way before they could have proceeded a single step in the direction of developing the Christ of the Gospels. The supporters of the mythic theory would of course claim that in the case of the mythologists these difficulties did not exist, inasmuch as they had the advantage which the perusal of the Book of Enoch must certainly have afforded them, in which book the Messiah is set forth as one who was to be both the Son of God and the Son of Man. But it is very doubtful whether the Book of Enoch was written prior to our Lord's advent. But admitting, for the sake of the argument, that it was, still it was necessary that they should solve the following problems, all unsolved before, and for the solution of which the Book of Enoch does not afford the smallest assistance. They had to determine the mode in which the two distinct factors of the divine and the human should be united in a single personality, the degree of prominence which should be assigned to each, and how they should be blended in an harmonious unity. But these problems the credulous, simple-minded men who created the myths solved successfully, although philosophers might have discussed them forever without arriving at an agreement.

The minds of the inventors of the Gospel miracles, parables, etc., must have been deeply imbued with the spirit of the Old Testament writings. But in the Old Testament the closest contact into which God and man are brought took place when holy men were inspired to prophesy. This, therefore, was the only *model* which they could have had before them. But in the case of the prophetical illapse, the persons of the inspired and inspirer are invariably distinct. The divine and the human always form two separate factors, and refuse to unite in a single consciousness. The light of inspiration invariably comes from without, and by the very terms of its utterance,

implies the presence of a separate consciousness. Really, then, they were without the aid of any model to direct their course. And yet they have uniformly portrayed their Jesus with a consciousness in which the distinction between the divine and the human does not exist. Whenever he acts or speaks, the careful reader of the Gospels cannot help perceiving that the Jesus who is there portrayed is utterly unconscious of any separation between God and himself. And yet we feel that there is a soul intensely human. The divine light is enshrined in a purely human temple. Moreover, the portraiture of Jesus, both as a teacher and a worker of miracles, presents a perfect *uniformity of type and conception*, notwithstanding the multiform aspects in which it might have been dramatized. But the essential unity which characterizes it, the author dwells upon at length in a separate chapter.

But again, another element in this delineation is suffering. Inasmuch as the historical fact that the human Jesus died was not ignored by the mythologists, a part of the task which lay before them was to depict the portraiture of a *sufferer*, who should be both divine and human. We see the difficulties to be overcome in solving the problem. If the human was to be represented as dying through suffering, how were the artists to avoid representing the divine as swallowed up in the sufferings of the human? But if the divine maintains its character, how can it be so portrayed that it shall not lend an undue support to a human sufferer? The success of the creators of the mythic Jesus was wonderful. Consider his perturbation as the hour of his death drew nigh. Since he was human, it was necessary that the thought of his impending sufferings should terribly agitate his frame. But it was equally necessary that the divine should be preserved intact. "This was the problem they were required to solve, and their answer was the scene in Gethsemane. Who shall describe it after them?"

A part of their task was to depict the sufferer as making a voluntary surrender of his life in an act of self-sacrificing love. They therefore refrain from describing him as offering a defence, or as attempting to work on the conscience of the agents in the scene.

The death of Jesus was to be so dramatized as to exhibit him as retaining all the affections and feelings of a man, and at the same time to present him to view as invested with the attributes of one who was divine. And its moral elevation is such as to prove that it is indeed the true copy of a divine original. "The scene of the penitent thief is the most perfect exhibition which we can conceive of the presence of divinity personally abiding in dying humanity. The conception of the prayer for his murderers is so intensely sublime, that the thought of such a spirit of forgiveness had never before occurred to a human mind." It may be objected that these scenes are described only by Luke, and that they are *subsequent additions.* But the portraitures of the other Evangelists are of essentially the same type, and fit in their proper places as parts of the same whole.

But the mythologists, in representing their Jesus as exhibiting such sublime self-possession and calmness and unselfishness, were in danger of losing the conception of perfect humanity. We see the triumph of a divine being, but hardly that of one possessing our nature. "But they went to work spontaneously, and presented as their solution of the difficulty the exclamation on the cross, and the scene of darkness." While the divine consciousness remains entire, all the affections and feelings of a man are retained to the very last.

Again, there are the moral qualities which enter into the conception of the portraiture of the Evangelical Jesus, but we have no room for even a meagre abstract of what the author says on this subject. It is contained in the fourth chapter, in which he points out some of the difficult problems which the mythologists had to solve when they attempted to invest the human Jesus with the moral attributes (especially the attributes of benevolence and holiness) which belong to the Divine Being.

Much of the contents of the fifth chapter we are also compelled to leave unnoticed. It is entitled: "The moral teaching of our Lord." For those who created the Jesus of the Gospels have portrayed him as the great moral and religious teacher of mankind. The greatness of the work which they have represented their Jesus as accomplishing in this char-

acter will be seen, when it is considered that his moral system supplies a motive which is adequate to impart vitality to the moral law, and to make it a living principle in man. In this his originality as a teacher consists. It is in the attractive power of our Lord's own person that this motive is found. Philosophers had portrayed the idea of perfect states and constitutions, but the ideal refused to become the actual. They created moral systems but could not impart to them vitality. But Jesus not only taught men what is right, but created a motive in his own person powerful to make it live in the hearts of men. That motive is his divine attractiveness.

Our Lord is depicted as habitually preaching himself, and, in virtue of his being divine, as claiming the throne of the human heart as his lawful right. As the divine man he was able to surrender his life for men in an act of self-sacrificing love, and he can therefore vindicate the human heart to himself by a claim compared to which all others are feeble. The power generated in the spiritual world, when the divine man lived and died and rose again for man, was that of constraining love. It is thus that his originality as a teacher appears. In connection with his teaching he created a new spiritual power, a new body of motivity by means of which he proposed to act on man. The creation of this spiritual power is precisely that which man requires. The teachers who preceded our Lord had indeed discovered the main outlines of the moral law, but they were utterly unable to supply a motive of sufficient power to make it a practical reality. This inability was openly declared,* At this moment a teacher appeared in our world

* "The Ethics of Aristotle is unquestionably the most important work on man's moral nature which was produced by the ancient world. The philosopher has handled the whole question with a masterly analysis. If we wish to get a correct idea of the despair with which philosophy contemplated the improvement of the masses of mankind, it is necessary to read the whole of the conclusion of this remarkable work. After the fullest discussion of man and the motives on which virtuous conduct rested, what good did he hope to accomplish by his labors? He tells us plainly that his expectations were of the most limited character. He hoped to do something with a few choice spirits, but he says positively that he was wholly unable to reach the masses of mankind. 'Reasonings,' says he, 'are unable to impel the many to what is good and noble; for they are

claiming to be divine, and the Christianity founded by him has breathed a new vitality into the human bosom.

The means and instrumentality on which the Evangelists have represented him as relying to effectuate his great work in the spiritual world is one which had been unthought of before. That instrumentality is faith. All his predecessors had attempted to act on man through the principle of *habituation*. This principle does indeed exercise a powerful influence over the human character. Within certain limits, habit has made man what he is, but it is unable to resist the vehement impulses of passion, and it is unfit to be employed as the instrument of conversion. The power of evil must be restrained, before the principle of habituation can be set at work for the generation of good. The only road through which the sinner can be reached is the representations of the understanding. Our Lord therefore did not appeal to the power of habit. The principle which he called into being, partly intellectual, and partly moral, he designated faith. He insists in his teaching on the pre-eminent necessity of faith. He pronounced spiritual life to reside in his person. He taught that the cordial reception of him would generate it in man. The result has been the creation of the Christian Church. Thus have the mythologists dramatized their Jesus. Can the portraiture be a human invention?

There is another point which the author handles at considerable length in this chapter, in regard to which he falls into serious error.

It is difficult, he says, for any one to believe that the Gospel narratives are fictions, who considers how remarkably the writers, when they relate the acts of our Lord, recognize the philosophic truth that man's moral and spiritual nature is regulated by laws widely different from those which prevail in the material universe, and that while power is the force which

not naturally disposed to yield obedience to shame but to fear; nor to abstain from bad things on account of their being disgraceful, but on account of punishment; for, living by passion, they pursue their peculiar pleasures, and avoid the opposite pains: but of what is morally beautiful and truly pleasant, they have not even a conception, being devoid of all taste for it.'—('Nichomachean Ethics,' Book X.)"

moves the physical, motive is that which impels the spiritual world. They have never once described him as infringing the laws of the spiritual world by an exertion of power, but have invariably depicted him as observing them. "To state the case broadly. While our Lord is always represented in the Gospels as curing diseases by a power which overrules the ordinary course of nature, he is never once depicted as invoking the aid of a supernatural power to cure the diseases of the soul," nor are we ever led to suppose that the Evangelists intended to represent him as implanting faith in the soul by an exercise of power. They must somehow have learned the truth that the whole apparatus of power contradicts the very idea of a moral agent.

Now for this assertion as to the intention of the Evangelists our author has no warrant. Not only would the imparting of faith and spiritual life appear to have often accompanied our Lord's miracles of healing, but the descriptions of some miraculous cures are such as to suggest the idea that the same *power* which healed the body implanted faith in the soul. Our belief is that Jesus often did when he was on earth, as he constantly does now, act by his supernatural power directly on the soul, new-creating it, "curing its diseases," "creating faith" where it did not exist. We admit, however, that his invariable action, in the spiritual world, was in conformity with law, and that he is never represented as failing to observe the laws of the spiritual world. Our author's error consists in his supposing that to cure the soul's diseases, to implant a faith in it which previously it did not possess, involves the setting aside the laws by which the human spirit is governed, so as to do violence to its nature. And he assumes that if the soul is in any case the subject of the divine power acting immediately upon it, it is coerced and its free agency is destroyed. Whereas, the truth in relation to the subject is, that although there is both an efficacious and an immediate operation on the soul when it is made spiritually alive, yet the divine act is perfectly congruous to its nature. Indeed, not only is no restraint laid upon the spontaneous movement of the faculties, but the more powerful this direct

operation, the more freely does the soul move under its influence.

Thus far the author has been engaged in investigating the portraiture of the Jesus of the Gospels, and has pointed out the unsurmountable difficulties arising from its very nature, which must have attended all attempts to create it. He has examined the elements which compose it, and has shown that its creation would have required the solution of problems which no set of mortals (not to speak of the men who are said to have invented the myths) would have been competent to solve.

He now pursues another line of argument. As the supporters of the hypothesis of a mythic origin of the Gospels maintain that the Evangelical conception of the Christ must have originated in the state of Jewish feeling and ideas prevalent at the commencement of our era, and must have been produced from them by a succession of growths, he proceeds to discuss this state of feeling, with the view of ascertaining its precise nature, and shows the impossibility of the idea of the divine man Jesus, as he lives to view in the Gospel narrative, being evolved from it within the limits of time which could be allowed for its production.

It must be remembered that the maintainers of the unhistorical character of the Gospels do not postulate more than about sixty years for the production of the portraiture of the Christ of the Synopties, nor more than 120 for the production of the Johannean Jesus. They are fully aware that this interval of time is, to say the very least, as much as authentic history will assign them, and that it is not generally supposed to allow even as long a period. They would have been glad to have demanded a still greater interval, but they were well convinced that history would have protested too strongly against any additional demand. They are, therefore, compelled to be satisfied if those who oppose their theory will admit that the Synopties were published, in their existing form, some time during the ten years preceding the termination of the first century, or about sixty years after the crucifixion, and that St. John's Gospel was published at about the termination of the first sixty years of the second century, or 120 years after

the crucifixion. These intervals of time which they demand, the author, for the sake of the argument, concedes to them. In a subsequent chapter, indeed, he argues that the question of the actual date of the Gospels is one of very little importance, inasmuch as they were in existence, in their leading details, at a much earlier period. In that chapter, which is entitled, "The evidence afforded by the Epistles for the early existence of the portraiture of the Christ," he shows that the great features of the conception of Christ appear in St. Paul's Epistles in a developed state. He thus proves that the churches were, within twenty-five years after the crucifixion, acquainted with those features, as we read them in the four Gospels. More than this, the great features of the Christ of the Evangelists were not only existent, and current in the church *at the time* when the Pauline Epistles were written, but had been so for several years previously. This assumption is necessary, to account for the manner in which the Apostle so constantly alludes to Jesus as both divine and human, and as having taught, and lived, and suffered, and risen again, precisely as he is represented to have done in the Synoptics and St. John. The manner in which he writes to the churches with reference to these things, supposes that they believed in their truth previously to the time of his writing. The chapter which contains this discussion is full of interest and instruction. At first, however, as remarked, he concedes the entire interval of time which his opponents demand, and he devotes a considerable portion of his book to show how ridiculously insufficient that interval was for the production and development of the Evangelical Jesus. We have endeavored to give some idea of his argument by which he shows that the mythic theory, even with the advantage of unbounded time at its command, would fail to account for the existence of the portraiture of the Christ. What he now undertakes to establish, and what he does establish triumphantly, is that its failure is rendered more evident when we conceive of it as having created and dramatized the conception, within the limits of time which those who have propounded it have demanded for its evolution.

The maintainers of the unhistorical character of the Gospels

are compelled to admit that the time which they insist upon being conceded to them is very short. And yet they contend that even during this limited time, Christianity grew and was fully developed—that we see in the Christ and the Christianity which he founded, merely a natural and unbroken evolution of thought out of Judaism. This, in fact, they must contend for as long as they deny the existence of the supernatural. The state of thought and feeling in the midst of which the mythologists lived, could have been the only starting point from which the Evangelical conception of the Christ originated. The forms of Jewish feeling and ideas on moral and religious subjects, constituted the materials which the disciples had ready to their hands on the morning following the crucifixion, and out of which they created the conception of their Jesus. It could only have been from the already existing ideas that the myths had their rise. Indeed this must have been the case had the stories been forgeries, and had their authors *consciously* invented them. They must have been embodiments of the ideas and conceptions of their authors, and of the conceptions of their times on moral and religious subjects. The writer of fiction in all cases has his materials, which he is to work with, ready when he begins. He adopts the religion, the morality, and the manners of the times in which he lives. So it was with the mythologists. In inventing the myths which compose the Gospels, they worked with materials already existing, just as truly as Homer when he invented his heroes started with the heroic character, the theology, and the morals of his times. His different heroes are idealizations of the already recognized heroic type of character. It is certain then that the materials with which the mythologists worked could not possibly have been any thing different from the then prevailing forms of thought—the moral and religious ideas and conceptions already existing, and the models already furnished for their contemplation in their religious literature, and in the living characters of their own day. And therefore out of these, the impugners of the historical character of the Gospels who deny the reality of the supernatural, insist that Christianity was developed by the mere action of the laws which regulate the progress of the human

mind, and that, be it remembered, in a very brief period of time.

Now, the author contends that this position is utterly untenable, and his argument is reducible to these two propositions: first, that the interval which separates true Christianity and the portraiture of the Christ from the Jewish state of thought and feeling, out of which it is maintained that Christianity was evolved in the manner described, was immense, almost infinite; and secondly, that the laws which regulate developments in the spiritual and moral world are exceedingly slow in their operation. These are the two points of his argument. The reasoning by which he establishes both of these propositions is most convincing.

In order to demonstrate the truth of the first one, he carefully investigates the nature of the state of Jewish thought out of which Christianity is said to have emerged by the mere laws of natural development, devoting several chapters to the task. They treat of the following subjects: The preparations made in the Gentile world for the advent of Christianity; The preparations made by Providence for the introduction of Christianity through the developments of Judaism; Messianic conceptions in the Old Testament; The developments of the Messianic conception between the prophetic period and the advent; The developments of Judaism between the termination of the prophetic period and the advent; The limits of the influence which can be assigned to the historical Jesus in the creation of Christianity on the supposition of his purely human character.

The line of thought indicated by some of these titles has been traversed by Pressensé and various other writers, but not with any thing like the same completeness. On the subject of the Messianic conceptions in the Old Testament, the author sensibly remarks: "Certain Messianic delineations are contained in the Old Testament as matters of fact quite apart from the question as to what was the intention of the writer. The question for us to consider is, to what extent could such passages have suggested to the authors of the Gospels the portraiture of Jesus? It is evident that a prophecy may be one sufficiently clear after its fulfilment, which was previously ob-

scure. Such prophecies can only in a very limited sense be said to be developments in the direction of Christianity. If they required the advent of Christianity to make their meaning plain, they can have had little influence in creating it." Again: "We do not want to know what the prophets may mean with the light of Christianity reflected on them, but what they actually did mean to the Jew. . . The larger proportion of the Messianic Psalms contains delineations of the greatness and the holiness of the idealized David. There are also Psalms which idealize David, or the author who composed them, as a sufferer. Both these species of Psalms are directly referred to in the New Testament as prophetic. Their idealization is fulfilled in the character of the Jesus therein portrayed. When the reality is presented to us, we can see that in all its great outlines the type and the ante-type correspond. But this is no measure of the conception which the twofold delineation would produce in the mind of the Jew."

These remarks are obvious enough, but we by no means agree with him in all that he says in regard to the degree in which the Messianic predictions contain a delineation of the Jesus of the Gospels, for in the chapter in which the above remarks occur, he seeks to ascertain the degree in which they do this by examining—and the discussion is elaborate and most interesting—the most important of the Messianic passages contained in the Psalms and in the Prophets. It may be admitted that it is difficult for us to read the pages of the Old Testament with the eyes with which their authors, and those to whom the Old Testament Scriptures were addressed, must have viewed them. We cannot, it is true, avoid reflecting back on them the light which exists on the pages of the New Testament. Still, we are convinced that there is a much nearer resemblance to be found in the pages of the Old Testament to the New Testament delineations of our Lord than our author supposes to be the case; in other words that there is a larger amount of Messianic conception in the writings of the Old Testament than Mr. Row professes to be able to discover. But, however this may be, it is sufficiently apparent that these predictions would have afforded but little assistance to persons who set themselves to the work of portraying, from

the outline contained in them, the living Jesus of the Gospels. We take exception still more emphatically to much that he says in the chapter on the Judaism of the Old Testament. His language is quite too strong in regard to the low state of morals which, he insists, characterized the Jews in Mosaic times, and those of the Psalmists and the Prophets, and in regard to their want of benevolent feeling. The actual condition of these ages in regard to moral and religious attainments, Mr. Row, as it seems to us, greatly underrates. We have never met with a writer who goes to the same length in this respect. Here are a few examples of his extravagant language: "The high spirituality of the Psalmists did not succeed in liberating them from the effects of that moral atmosphere which they habitually breathed. Their morality was that of an Oriental, who was accustomed to pour out blood like water."—"In the eyes of the authors of the Psalms this present life formed the chief scene of the moral government of God. The masses probably entertained, as all other nations have done, some general ideas about an Under-World; but of no potency to enforce the principles of moral obligation."—"Nothing tends to give us a deeper impression of the low state of religion, for which primitive Judaism was adapted, than *the entire absence of any provision in the Mosaic institutes for a system of religious teaching.*"—"None of the eminent Jewish worthies ever withheld himself from a deed of blood. He saw nothing wrong in taking unsparing vengeance on his enemies, and destroying them without discrimination in the mass."—The close walk of the Psalmists with God "did not generate in their minds the feelings of humanity toward enemies. It is true that they usually viewed their enemies as the enemies of God, but this has been the case with every persecutor, even with a Dominic." The author will not find many reverent believers in the Bible who are prepared to coincide with him in these views. Certainly we are not. Nor are we ready to admit that Job, Hezekiah, and the Old Testament saints in general, were utterly ignorant of the doctrine of human immortality—were never visited with an idea respecting it.

Mr. Row speaks of the improvement or progress made by the Jews in their knowledge of truth, and their moral stand-

ard, in a way which exalts human reason in matters of religion, very much as rationalists are accustomed to exalt it. At least so it appears to us in reflecting upon the manner in which he handles the topics of some of the chapters whose titles we have just given. His idea seems to be that at first the profoundest ignorance prevailed in regard to certain truths in morals and religion; but that this darkness disappeared little by little, and thus without the aid of any supernatural revelation, the doctrine of the soul's immortality, and other truths which came to be received, gradually developed themselves, and finally, some time before the advent, constituted a part of the popular belief. This concession on the part of Mr. Row to Naturalism we cannot but regret. Our conviction is that certain fundamental truths were early revealed to man, and that they are assumed from the beginning of Scripture, and that these fundamental ideas of faith and morality, "constitute the basis and background of primary truth, from which the special revelations stand out as they come successively into view." His erroneous assumptions touching these matters do not, however, materially weaken the effect of his argument. Most clearly does he show how immense the interval is which lies between the state of thought out of which, as it is alleged, Christianity grew, and Christianity itself. The chapter on "The developments of Judaism between the prophetic period and the advent" is, with whatever faults it may have, able and interesting. It treats of the tendencies of Jewish thought and feeling as represented by the three great sects of Phariseeism, Sadduceeism, and Esseneism; and which were rapidly developing themselves in the direction of Rabbinism. In these tendencies we see the last phase of Judaism, which, although it was intensely adverse to the religion and morality exhibited in the person and teaching of our Lord, yet constituted the atmosphere in the midst of which Christianity originated. How can it be maintained that within a period of a few years the one grew out of the other in conformity with the action of the laws of human thought?

But in considering—for the purpose of showing the vast interval which separates Judaism from the Jesus of the Gospels—what the starting-point was from which the Evangelical

conception of the Christ must have originated, the influence of the supposed purely human character of the historical Jesus should be investigated. The author, therefore, in the thirteenth chapter of his book inquires into this influence. For the merely human Jesus of history, with the atmosphere of thought in which he was born and educated, constituted a part of the materials in the hands of his followers when they began their work of elaborating the conception of the divine Christ. But his examination of this subject our limits forbid us particularly to notice.

We will now attend to the author's discussion of the truth contained in the second proposition, that the laws which regulate developments in the mental and spiritual world are exceedingly slow in their operation. The chapter which he devotes to its consideration is entitled "The law of our religious and moral development."

It has already been shown that if the portraiture of the Jesus is an invention and not a reality, it must have originated in the state of Jewish ideas and feelings prevalent at the commencement of our era, and must have been evolved from them by a succession of growths. And these growths must have been regulated by the law of the development of the human mind. Suppose then that the interval is very great which separates the starting-point of the conception of the portraiture, from that portraiture in its full dimensions. Then it is evident that the laws of mental development ought to be very swift in their operation in order to render possible the bridging over that interval in a short period of time. If, on the contrary, all history teaches that those laws are exceedingly gradual and slow in their action, it follows that the supposition is absurd that the mythologists in their creations advanced, in a few years, from the point at which they must have started to the full and glorious conception of the Jesus who is portrayed in our Gospels. Now, that developments in the world of mind proceed by very gradual stages, the author proves by many illustrations. He points out the exceedingly gradual progress of philosophy and of art, and of the various religions of mankind, and shows that mythic creations must also follow a definite law of growth. The whole

chapter is worthy of being quoted, but our space forbids even an analysis of it. We cannot refrain, however, from presenting our readers with the following extract:—

"History does not present us with a single instance of an individual who has created a religion essentially new, or who has succeeded in extensively modifying the old. We pass over the question of the origin of Christianity as the direct subject of debate. Mohammedanism is the work of an individual, but it was evolved out of systems actually existing. It is no new creation. We can without difficulty ascertain its component parts and their relation to the past. It is exactly fitted to the state of the Arabian mind when it originated, and grew out of its idealization. Of every element not Arabian we can distinctly point out whence it came. The history of Mohammedanism is very important for our purpose, because its origin is not matter of speculation, but an historic fact. It proves that the professed author of a fresh revelation cannot disconnect himself either from the present or the past. All which he is able to effect is to exhibit existing materials in new combinations. He is surrounded by a moral and spiritual environment which binds him fast, and prevents him from being the creator of a new system of thought and feeling. The prophet's religion was an embodiment of the conceptions of his countrymen, enlarged by the introduction of such foreign elements as had been for a considerable period working in the national mind. . . . The different systems of historical Christianity have been the result of gradual growths. They have never been produced at once in their perfection. They have advanced through a succession of stages of development. They have required long intervals of time for their elaboration. Nicene Christianity took three centuries in completely evolving itself out of Apostolic Christianity. The full conception of the Theocratic church of the Middle Ages required even a longer period for its development. Christianity in its present forms has taken another three centuries to evolve itself out of that of the Reformation. Yet it will be hardly pretended that as large an interval separates either of them from the other, as that which lies between the most advanced form of Judaism, which was in existence at the advent, and the full conception of the Jesus of the Evangelists. If the progress of religious developments has been gradual, that of morality has been still more so. The powers of the imagination aid the former, but produce but little influence on the latter. The morality of each succeeding generation is bound to that of the past by the strongest bond of continuity. History presents us with no great moral reformer who has succeeded in stamping a new morality on his age and nation, and scarcely with one who has recalled it to an older and better type. Nor does she exhibit to us instances of individuals who have elevated themselves to a state of morality far above the atmosphere which they have breathed. She testifies to the fact that all progress in the moral world of an advancing character is effected by a succession of very gradual stages, although the movements in the direction of deterioration have been far more rapid. Even when higher types of morality have been introduced from external sources, although the general conscience may have recognized their superiority, the previous moral conditions have retained their hold."

We have now taken a brief view of the argument on which the author has bestowed the most labor. The law which the Creator has imposed on the human mind as the law of its action and progress would render necessary, in order to the development of the portraiture of the Evangelical Christ, *out of the previously existing state of Jewish thought*, a period of time, in comparison with which the time which the mythologists really had at their command was an infinitesimal quantity. He truly says, that "physical speculators stand in a far more favorable position than the advocates of the unhistorical character of the Gospels do, for imparting to their theories an appearance of probability. If they wish to elaborate a man out of an ape, or a piece of sponge, an interval of one hundred million years may easily be conceded to them, or, if necessary, the period may be multiplied indefinitely." The proof is complete, and its force impresses the reader much more than would be supposed, from the account which we have given of it. It occupies seven chapters of the book, the titles of which we have already given. Together with the last four they furnish a valuable thesaurus of Messianic argument. The subjects treated in the last four chapters are as follows: "The limits of the period which authentic history assigns as that during which the conception of the mythical Christ must have been created and developed in its fulness;" "The evidence afforded by the Epistles for the early existence of the portraiture of the Christ;"* "The nature and character of the mythic Gospels;" "Features of the Gospels which are inconsistent with the supposition of their unhistorical character."

In the first five chapters of the volume the author, as has been seen, examines the Evangelical portraiture of the Christ, just as it is, in its completed state, and assuming that so much of it as is supernatural is a pure invention, he pointed out the

* We have already alluded to the argument of this admirable chapter in a former part of this article. Professor Fisher, of Yale College Theological Seminary, in the Introduction to the new edition of his "Essays on the Supernatural Origin of Christianity," refers to it as satisfactorily showing that some of the Pauline Epistles presuppose a character and work accordant with what the Gospels relate of Jesus

insurmountable difficulties (in view of the problems which would have had to be solved) which must have encircled those persons who were engaged in its creation. In the two chapters, the fourteenth and fifteenth, entitled, "The Jesus of the Gospels no mythical creation," and "The moral aspects of our Lord's character an historical reality," he reverses the process. Supposing the mythologists to be about to commence their work, he begins with them, accompanying them closely in all their way as they proceed, and fixes the attention of his readers on the tremendous obstacles which must impede their progress at every step. Nothing can be more dispassionate, more careful, nor more searching than the reasoning of these two chapters, which, together, occupy nearly sixty pages of the book. And some of the paragraphs have a special interest for the contemplative mind which takes delight in reflecting upon the majesty and beauty of our Lord's character. But of the contents of these chapters, as well as of those of the last four alluded to, we must omit all notice. We will conclude our article by briefly considering the argument of the twelfth chapter, entitled, "The portraiture of Christ, as it is depicted by the four Evangelists, constitutes an essential unity."

In this chapter he proves its historical character from the fact of this unity. Mr. Row is of opinion that the numerous instances of diversity and agreement in three of the Evangelical narratives prove that they are the work of many minds. He believes that the Synoptic Gospels which are so remarkably characterized by these phenomena underwent a considerable amount of oral transmission, or in other words, that there was at first an oral Gospel for a considerable length of time; that parts of this oral Gospel were then reduced to writing; and that of this Gospel which was partly oral and partly had been reduced to writing, the Synoptics are three different reports. During the moderately long period in which the Gospel was in an oral form, a large number of distinct human personalities and human agencies were employed in its transmission, and in this way the Synoptics came to be the work of many persons. He strenuously maintains that this is the only explanation of the singular discrepancies which we discover in

the different Evangelists, united, as they frequently are, with the closest verbal agreements. The variations were introduced in the course of the transmission. "The vast amount of diversity," he says, "which our Gospels present us with, both in their form and aspect, constitutes a proof which is absolutely irresistible, that they are the work of a multiplicity of minds. No single mind, nor even several minds, could have constructed four histories, which could have contained the agreements and disagreements, the samenesses and variations, which are presented by our Gospels." *

The argument then is, that if we find that the portraiture of the Jesus is a perfect unity in all the aspects in which it is depicted, then, inasmuch as it is the work of a multiplicity of minds acting without concert, this unity proves the truthfulness of the portraiture, or that it is the portraiture of one who had an historical existence. Under such circumstances, the assumption of its truthfulness is absolutely necessary to account for its oneness, whereas its oneness cannot possibly be explained if a multitude of men working without concert *invented* it. The advocates of the mythic theory as to the origin of the portrait, also postulate a multitude of persons for its production, but they have no way of explaining its unity, for they decry its truthfulness. They may indeed contend that there was no unity in the various conceptions of the original portrayers of the Evangelical Christ but on the contrary irreconcilable diversities, and they may insinuate that when the four Evangelists undertook to write their narratives they effaced the diversities and imparted to the Jesus a certain degree of unity. But the answer to this is, that the unity underlying all and the minutest portions of the narratives is of such a character as to show that it was inherent in the numerous fictions out of which the Gospels were composed, and if this was the case they were not fictions.

As, then, the nature of Mr. Row's argument in this chapter

* In the October number of this Review, for 1848, there is a very interesting article from the pen of Dr. J. A. Alexander entitled. "The Gospel History." In the course of the article he gives the hypotheses of Eichhorn, Schleiermacher, Giesler, and Hug of Freyburg, by means of which they attempt to account for the resemblance and difference of the Gospels without denying the veracity of either.

in proof of his position that the Divine man, instead of being an ideal creation, was a reality, of which each Evangelist has given a portrait taken from a somewhat different point of view, requires him to establish the fact that a substantial unity underlies the whole portraiture; he proceeds to show, with his characteristic fulness and conclusiveness of reasoning, that the Jesus of the Gospels does present us with a substantial unity in all the multiform aspects in which the Evangelists hold him up to our view.

Now in regard to all this, we would remark, 1. That it is to be regretted that in connection with Mr. Row's method of accounting for the diversities which we discover in the Gospels, viz., that they are the work of a multiplicity of minds, he makes the hurtful concession that they contain some real discrepancies or inaccuracies of historical statement. He holds an unsound theory of inspiration. These concessions are more clearly and expressly made in the last chapter of his book, where he shows that the Gospels fulfil the historical conditions on which they are based. Whether the Synoptics are compared with each other or with the fourth Gospel, it cannot be proved that any statement contained in one is really inconsistent with any which is made in the others. 2. There are certainly apparent disagreements in the four narratives. It is very probable that there was at first an oral Gospel, but there are other methods for satisfactorily accounting for these apparent variations besides the one which the author maintains that it is necessary for us to adopt. We should probably be able to explain most of them by distinguishing between mere juxtaposition in the record, and immediate chronological succession. 3. Mr. Row's argument is, that if we assume that many persons were engaged in the production of the Gospels, each acting independently of the other, then the fact that the portraiture in its multiform aspects is a perfect unity, proves that it belonged to one who really existed. But the unity is at least an argument against the *mythic* theory whether the Gospels are supposed really to be the work of many minds or not. That theory is, that all the parts of the portraiture were the creations of the imagination of an immense number of Christ's deluded followers. As the inventors of the myths

which compose the Gospels were many, the mythic stories were numerous. And they owed their existence to the spontaneous powers of the mind, "acting not in obedience to reason but to impulse." They had the most difficult problems to solve. Each mythic story consisted of a small fragment of a character. Each mythologist went on creating fictions independently of all the others. And these inventions, produced in the manner described, united together, resulted in the production of the glorious portrait which we have presented to us in the Evangelical Gospels. Now, if this is propounded as an account of the origin of the portraiture, it is sufficiently refuted when it is shown that that portraiture is a unity. It is self-evident that "a complicated unity could never be evolved" by means of a succession of such creations as these. If, therefore, we explain the variations in the Gospel by some other method than that which Mr. Row adopts, and refuse to admit with him that many persons were the authors of them the argument against the mythic theory founded on the complicated unity of the portraiture still has force.

With these comments on the chapter which treats of the essential unity of the portraiture of the Evangelical Jesus, we must bring our review of this able and interesting book to a close Of some of its chapters we have only been able to give the titles. It has been our desire to enable our readers to form some idea of both the compass and the thoroughness of the author's argument. We should rejoice to see an American reprint of the work. It cannot have a wide circulation without doing much toward settling the controversy to which it relates.

Art. VI.—*China as affected by Protestant Missions.*

The subject divides itself under three heads. 1st. China; 2d. The commerce and civilization of that great empire; and 3d. What the missionary has done to bring it prominently before this country and the world. China is in the same latitude with us, having similar varieties of climate. As we have the Atlantic, so they have the Pacific ocean. As we have thirty-eight States, so they are divided into eighteen provinces. As the State of Massachusetts has its own notions and peculiarities that differ much from those of South Carolina, so these provinces have their peculiarities, and we study them in whole and in parts. As we have governors, so they have viceroys; but these rule two provinces. As we have a few first-class cities, so they number theirs by hundreds, if not by thousands. As we have forty millions, so they have nearly four hundred millions, and are about ten times as populous.

We propose to speak of the greatness of China, under different heads. China is great in her antiquity. Founded before Nineveh or Egypt, she still exists. Before Romulus built the walls of Rome, before Samuel anointed Saul to be king over Israel, she was a vastly-extended, mighty empire. Her records reach back four thousand years. Before Columbus was born, a canal twelve hundred miles long was finished. Their great wall, covered with granite, has been built twenty centuries. While we Americans were barbarians—before the days of Alfred the Great—while our ancestors were savages, the merest plebeians of China were clothed in silks and satins. Visited by Marco Polo in 1250, the first European traveller who ever saw them, and who told about their civilization, their silks, their porcelains, and their wonderful cities, he was pronounced insane and the greatest liar of his age. It is only lately we have recognized him as a truthful traveller. Then China is great and almost unrivalled among nations in her age and antiquity.

She is also great in her discoveries. The fruit of her genius, science, and investigation. Secluded from the world, she

studied them out alone. Printing, gunpowder, the mariner's compass, porcelain, the making of paper, india-ink to stamp it—such discoveries would make any nation proud, and immortalize any people. Printing on wooden blocks she invented in the year 177 of the Christian era; we invented printing in 1450. In the eighth century she had fifty-three thousand old, and twenty-eight thousand new works in her public library. The mariner's compass, without which America could not have been discovered, or our nation have any existence, we owe to China. A people making such great and useful discoveries so early must be a great and interesting people.

She is also great in her manufactories. Her silk fabrics she invented as original, and in beauty, durability, and excellence they cannot be equalled or surpassed. Hundreds of years later they were made in France and Italy, but these cannot compare with those of China. The Queen's diamond must be cut in Holland, and yet the art was well known in China for centuries. Their tissue paper, out of rice, cannot be made by us, and no substitute for india-ink has been discovered. Untaught and alone they studied these out. Except the steam-engine and electric telegraph, there is no great invention they did not originate. Then they can compare favorably with the polished nations of the world in manufactures.

China is likewise great in her system of internal improvements, and in this (steam excepted) excels most nations. They have easy and free intercourse through all the empire, and have had for hundreds of years. Napoleon's road over the Alps is the wonder of modern engineering, and yet they have roads over the Himalaya Mountains equalling the Simplon road over the Alps. They have two thousand canals, the great highways of travel, which serve also for irrigating and draining. Their agriculture is the best in the world. For hundreds of years they have been using the same land, supporting an immense population, and yet the soil is richer than ever. We boast much of our virgin soil, but it cannot surpass theirs. They have a bridge of granite at Fouchow, eight hundred years old. Here many of our bridges break down. If such a thing happens in China they bastinado the builder. All these works were built and in complete operation while the dark ages

lowered over Europe, and the civilized nations of France, Germany, and England bowed to priest and Pope, and monkish processions and worshipping old bones and relics were the earnest occupation of multitudes in polished Christian Europe. Certainly the contrast in civilization is in many points in favor of China.

Great in her system of laws and languages. The great Roman empire in her palmiest days numbered 250,000,000; China exceeds 400,000,000. The Pandects of Justinian, the great law code of the Romans, so highly eulogized by Gibbon, was made late in the empire. The laws of China were codified 2,000 years ago. These laws, examined by the ablest British jurists, and commented on by the *Edinburgh Review*, are pronounced the wisest and best of Asia, and will compare most favorably with the laws of the most civilized nations. These laws are revised every five years. This fact proves the Chinese not to be the stereotyped nation they are so often represented to be. In China they all read the same language. As the Roman empire was consolidated by the use of the Latin tongue and ours by the use of the English language, so China has preserved her empire and nationality by similar means. In these respects the comparison is not unfavorable for China

Great, too, in her literary system; and in this they excel other nations. Popular education is more general, and the social structure, tested and tried through centuries, is more firmly established than in any other nation. All public offices are opened to graduates *alone*, without distinction of birth, nationality, or creed, and *intelligence* is the only legalized passport to office. The emperor is supreme, and yet the law binds him so that only *literary graduates* can be appointed to office. Compare this with England, France, or favored democratic America, and the palm must be awarded to China.

Great is she in her commercial advantages—an unrivalled system of internal communication—an immense, ingenious, active, and laborious people—a healthy climate—a sea-coast of several hundred miles in extent—a tonnage equal to that of England, France, or America. Her merchants—shrewd business men—coming in contact with English, French, and Americans, fully equal them. The rich men scattered up and

down through Asia are largely Chinese. As diplomats, as merchants, the universal testimony is—they are active, shrewd, sagacious men.

What is the present state of China? As we in America, in our late war, extinguished many abuses and abolished slavery, so these Chinese, by their last European war, have done the same thing, freed themselves in a measure from the exclusive domination of an idolatrous religion. Now all religions are free, and Christianity is tolerated throughout the empire. The Radicals are in power. The uncle of the emperor and the leading viceroys side with and favor the foreigners. The cabinet of the emperor will compare favorably with the cabinets of France, England, or America. They have established a national college at Pekin; a naval school like our Newport; and a military school like West Point. All these institutions are under the control of foreigners, principally British and Americans. In China they have no tolls upon their canals and bridges. Let Americans think of this, overridden by so many and mighty monopolies. They have no banks, no paper money. They have an income of three hundred and nineteen millions; in this being fourth on the globe. They have no *public debt*, though they have had many wars and internal commotions. Would that our civilized financiers could discover the secret. Taxes are very light. With our vast debt and enormous taxes, let us ponder this. There is a land with *no debt* and *light taxes*, and that land is China. Here is a study for financiers of England, France, and America.*

The missionary! Who gave us true knowledge of this wonderful land? The missionary of the cross. Need we speak of the labors, the talents, the sacrifices of as noble a body of men as earth ever saw in modern times, rivalling and equalling the labors, talents, and sacrifices of Apostolic days? We cannot mention all: Morrison was the first apostle. He arrived in 1807,—for several long years he studied, toiled,

* The secret, as we believe, of there being no national debt is explained by the fact that when any debt is contracted by the government it is immediately paid, often by exorbitant levies on the people. Instead of a system of regular taxes, there is in vogue a system which sanctions much extortion at irregular times.—EDITOR.

translated, but in 1814 he brought out the first printed Chinese copy of the Holy Bible. He was assisted by an old manuscript copy found in the British Museum, and by an enlightened Chinese scholar, his first convert. A shrewd energetic, money-making company of East Indian merchants, who never paid out money except for value received, recognized Morrison's services. They helped him publish his Chinese grammar, paid £15,000 to publish his dictionary, and made him Secretary of the Company. *These books* are the foundation of the chief commercial intercourse of France, England, and America with China—the recognized dialect or version of the China trade. All honor then throughout Christendom to Morrison the pioneer of the Christian world to the commerce, the Christianity, and civilization of China.

What do we know about China? We take down the *Chinese Repository* from 1833 to 1851, edited by Dr. Bridgman, and ably followed by G. Wells Williams, author of the "Middle Kingdom," a name long favorably connected with the Chinese Empire. A practical printer, he made great improvements and simplified the process; a ripe and a thorough scholar, his services as interpreter of our various embassies in Japan and in China were invaluable to us.* Without war or bloodshed we obtained equal rights with France and England in 1859 and, as a reward, our government honored themselves by appointing Mr. Williams Secretary of Legation to China. America made a deep and lasting impression, and China has intrusted her fortunes to, and asked to be introduced to the family of Christian nations by our American Burlingame. Williams sowed the seed. Burlingame is the ripened fruit. *The American Missionary brought about that treaty.* Mr. Burlingame said he owed more to Williams than to any other man. The 22d of February Washington was born. The 22d of February witnessed the death of Anson Burlingame, the statesman and diplomatist of America. His career was unique and honorable. A true American, and yet his mind comprehended the genius of that wonderful empire. In him

* We have good evidence that Dr. Martin was also interpreter for the English and American embassies.—EDITOR.

was centred a rare combination of talents. Who can take his place and complete his unfinished work?

Again the missionary looms up before us. A new imperial college at Pekin must be established. Emancipated from Confucius, the best teachers must be given them. Dr. Martin, the missionary, is the man selected. A converted Chinaman has charge of the foundry and West Point school at Shanghai, and another convert directs the naval school at Fouchow. Euclid translated into Chinese by another missionary, Dr. Wylie, is the text-book of the school.

Rev. Dr. Hepburn, the missionary, and a thorough Japanese scholar, after several years of hard work, has just completed his dictionary of Japanese and English words. The first edition of 1,200 copies was soon exhausted, 300 copies being specially ordered by the Japanese government for the use of their scholars and officials. This work is printed at the mission press at Shanghai, brought there by Williams. On this work is founded our commercial intercourse with Japan. To Dr. Morrison, in China, Dr. Hepburn, in Japan, both Christian missionaries, the commercial world owes the foundation of our commerce with these important countries.* Do we not, however, in honesty owe a great debt to the missionary, and shall we be backward in acknowledging it?

Again, the Japanese government has established a national school at Jeddo, the capital, for their youth to be instructed in Japanese and English. Mr. Verbeck, another missionary, is at the head of that department, and has a class of 250 pupils. The Japanese government pay his salary, give him a house in which he resides, and furnish him a guard of honor. Martin in China, Verbeck in Japan, both missionaries, both at the head of the national schools in their respective capitals. The American missionary is giving into the hands of our merchants the prized commerce of the continent of Asia. The Christian missionary is the pioneer of the com-

* We do not, indeed, forget that long before the time of Morrison or Hepburn the Dutch and Portuguese had a considerable trade with China and Japan. The medium of communication between the merchants and the natives is not exclusively the Chinese or Japanese as learned from Morrison or Hepburn, but likewise a corrupt form of the English.—EDITOR.

merce, Christianity, and civilization of Asia. Shall they not have the credit of it? Let us now attend to the reflex action of China upon our own country. Will the Chinese prove the solution of the labor question?

The mineral question concerns us all. With a plentiful supply of gold and silver the financial question becomes an easier problem. Gold and silver being plenty, a stream is started that will vivify and fertilize the most barren parts of every land. The foreign mineral lands are mostly owned by England, France, Prussia, Austria, Italy. Those classic lands, however, hardly equal the territory of our mineral lands. What a precious heritage providence has bestowed upon us? Are we equal to the responsibility? Time will test the wisdom of our policy. Silver, quicksilver, wedded together, each is necessary, indispensable, for the other. Our quicksilver, ten times richer than any other mine, destroying the great monopoly of Spain, cheapens the price, and stimulates to a wonderful extent the product of the South American mines. Graphite also is ours, the indispensable necessity of the crucible to melt the silver and the gold, indestructible by fire, and not absorbing the precious metal. Did ever Providence give so grand a possession to any nation? The extent of territory—903,000 square miles—population, 780,000—not one person to a square mile. The same extent of country in Europe has a population of 150,000,000 of people. The great want is population. Can our native population supply the demand? By no means. We want a large number immediately, and an inexhaustible source of supply. Whence shall it come? China—China alone can meet the demand. Nature has formed them for these very services. Physically formed, they safely breathe the impure air of mines and subterranean passages, where other races faint and perish. A people distinguished for their patient industry, they have learned to toil. They have made their country a garden spot, and enriched it beyond all other lands. They have a great genius for steady work and unfailing perseverance. We need a docile, quiet, inoffensive race, not afraid or ashamed to work, and here we have them. They ask no political favors, and do not seek to be our legislators and rulers. They have learned

stability at home and they like a strong orderly government. They are an educated people, and venerate learning. The poorest coolie can often read and write. Now for the application. They are anxious, begging for hard work. Our people are restless, and wish to avoid it. They work at the mines all day and are satisfied with eight dollars a week. Our people grumble and pass on to richer diggings at twenty-eight dollars a week. They come and glean and obtain a competency after our populace have decided they must move or starve. Quartz mining is inexhaustible, and yet our people, recklessly extravagant, have already wasted $300,000,000. Certainly the time has come for a new system, for a slow, plodding, but not a reckless people. We need the silver and the gold, our currency and fiscal operations plead strongly for it. Shall we neglect the gift that Providence has provided for us? But there is a bitter prejudice against this Mongolian race. Let us heed our lesson. Such prejudices must succumb.

The want of good household servants is a great and deplorable evil. For every disease, however, Providence provides the remedy, and often summons human ingenuity to work out the problem. When hand labor was too expensive, God provided machinery; when sewing-girls were exhausted, the machine took their place. The mails are not rapid enough, and we use the telegraph. So in the present case the Chinese, possessing all the qualities of good servants, are at our door, begging,—not with brazen look and arrogant manner, as too many are, demanding employment. They are good cooks, the best in the world, the French excepted. They will obey orders to the letter and spirit. They work all day, and are satisfied with moderate wages—who says all this? The Pacific Mail Company from San Francisco to China employ only Chinese—Chinese sailors, cooks, waiters. They speak in the highest terms of their honesty, sobriety, faithfulness. Passengers passing over that route give the same unvarnished testimony. San Francisco, California, tells the same tale. For fifty cents they do more work and better than those who charge one dollar for it. A friend, for years in business in China, has employed Chinese servants. His statement is this: "I have been very sick; no female could have nursed

me more tenderly than this Chinese servant—very fastidious, no woman could have better, ironed my shirts or made my linen whiter—fond of good living, no cook could have prepared better or more palatable dishes—always at hand, ready, good-natured, willing; no money, no motive could tempt me to part with him." A friend, used to the best comforts of life in the East, and interested in the silver mines of Nevada, says that he wanted no better cook or attention than he received from his Chinese attendant. Rev. Dr. A. L. Stone says the Chinese make the best kind of help. They adopt at once any new habit desired, are clean and competent; always respectful, and never seem tired out. They never steal, nor do they have company. The testimony of several of the best Spanish families in New York is, that the Chinese excel all other servants. They use and much prefer them for all kinds of work. Their family attachments are strong, and they do not wish to change. Such testimony must be conclusive to all unprejudiced minds.

In conclusion let us learn the lessons of history. The nations that despised the barbarians fell. Greece was the classic land, the mother of the arts and sciences, the promoter of commerce, the instructor of antiquity, and yet proud, and despising the barbarian. She fell before the power of Rome. Rome took her place and strode over a prostrate world. She ruled with an imperious sway. Overbearing, haughty, she despised the barbarian and before that terrible horde her imperial sway perished. All men are our brothers, all are co-laborers with us in the emancipation of the world. We pass over the ocean, tell China she belongs to the brotherhood of nations, and her open ports and valuable commerce will be our rich reward. Christianity must triumph. With all her faults America is the grand Protestant nation of the world, and we are rising up to our true position. We no longer wrangle about minor matters, and the hosts of our Christian ranks are becoming united. A stronger bond of religion and fellowship awaits us. Our money is poured out like water for noble and charitable objects. The missionary is better understood and more highly appreciated. Closely united by commerce, by telegraph with other lands, our missionary friends

and children are not beyond our reach. A strong united government at home, we speak, and Turkey, India, China, know that we are a power upon the earth. The bright cross appears in the heavens, "*in hoc signo vinces.*" A greater than Constantine is marching to universal conquest, and under our immaculate king, a universal Christian empire will surely prevail.*

ART. VII.—*The American Colleges and the American Public.* By NOAH PORTER, D. D., Professor in Yale College. New Haven, Conn.: Charles Chatfield & Co.

EDUCATION is a work consisting of several stages, which necessarily differ greatly from one another. It includes all that is due to the culture and direction of all the mental and bodily powers of children, of youth, and of men and women, as well as their equipment for professional life. The style of teaching which is best for a child may be unsuitable for the boy of fifteen or sixteen; and the young man between twenty and twenty-five has reached by natural growth a stage at which he is less capable of profiting by drill, and better prepared to apprehend abstractions and generalizations, and to organize practical knowledge.

Obvious as this fact must seem when mentioned, the overlooking of it has occasioned the principal difficulties in both the theory and practice of education. One plan treats children at school on the principles suited to the college; another carries the methods of the school into the treatment of young men; and a third confounds school, college, and university in one. Objections may be raised to the distinctive use of these names, and many will make no difference

* Our readers will judge how far any part of the foregoing article needs qualifying in the light of the Tientsin massacre, the authentic details of which have been received since it was in type. A masterly description and analysis of that barbarous slaughter, by Dr. Martin, of China, has been published in a late number of the *New York Evangelist.*

between school and college, and cover the whole course of education by the one word—school. But where there are real distinctions, corresponding names are indispensable to the proper ends of language. Common usage has, in the main, so appropriated these. And a right understanding of the duties of an instructor depends very much upon the correctness with which he discriminates their respective meanings. The slackness so commonly complained of in preparatory schools in this country is chiefly due to their aiming at what does not belong to them to do, and to a great extent neglecting, or going through in a perfunctory manner with their proper work, and hurrying on to carry their pupils into the sophomore or junior classes in college, to the spoiling of half the college course, as well as the whole of their own. Similar is the injury done by young men to themselves in their attempting, as some do, to carry on professional studies, while in college. Order, that first law of heaven, and which ought to be the first of human culture, is in no other serious business of life so much neglected. In nothing else have the recent improvements in normal and model schools been of more value than in the stress which they lay upon order. Every part of instruction has its best use in its proper place: and all together may be rendered worse than useless by being put into improper places. Many of the difficulties encountered by theorists arise from the attempt to regulate all steps of the process by one measure.

Greater progress might have been made toward a proper distribution of the work had successive generations been more careful to study the experience of the *past*. Amid the efforts for improvement, which so commendably distinguish the present, there is still too little regard paid to that earnest but much neglected witness. Experiments are made, and fail, and are forgotten, and are tried over again, to fail again and be forgotten, and again mislead some future experimenter. What are some of those great heterogeneous enterprises of which, as if they were novelties, extravagant expectations are now entertained, but the reproduction of what, in a more spontaneous way, grew up, flourished, and failed, hundreds of years ago.

Science records her progress and her failures, and carefully retains knowledge of all, for warning and encouragement, as well as for steps to higher success. Why should education stumble along, with the ruins of her own failures about her feet, with no other idea in her mind than that of reconstructing the same; or why launch out into chimerical enterprises without regard to the results of bygone experiments? History alone can make a plain man a prophet. Within certain limits what has been will be. In the material world the rule is positive and precise; and in human nature also there are laws which may be relied on. There are experiments which have been made so often that they need not be tried again. It has been abundantly proved that the memory will not execute the office of the understanding, that you cannot make philosophers without knowledge, that a disorderly mind will not do orderly work, and that men can no more perform the intellectual processes of children than children can rise to the capacity of men; and yet, in how many of our institutions for education do we find all these things overlooked, and that to the greatest extent in those which are most daring in novelty as most boastful of improvement. The way by which reasonably to expect progress is that of cautious, carefully tested improvement upon the old. And what is needed is not so much addition to the subjects now studied, as to have them set apart, better classified, and adapted to the state of mental preparation for them. The best results of experiment are to be found where one would most naturally look for them, in the old institutions, which have not failed to appreciate the spirit of the age. In them, among many admitted crudities, there is really a stem of traditional progress from age to age, which is for the better. There is a solidity and healthy vitality in them, which is due to the freshness of the new being ever sustained by union with the tried stability of the old. It is a long and interesting way by which that position has been reached. The whole of modern education is the outgrowth of mediæval schools, which were in most respects very unlike it. And much as has latterly been said and done (and in some cases well done) for taking education out of the hands of the church, yet for

both its planting and culture, through many succeeding centuries it was chiefly indebted to the church.

Heathen schools in the Roman Empire disappeared with heathen religion. All that Christians respected in their teaching was transferred to the schools of the church. With the decline and fall of the civil power in the West, the purity and intelligence and energy of the church also suffered. The time came when the end of the world was thought to be so near that it was not worth while to expend thought upon education or any thing else which pertained only to time. Little was studied except what was of use in the service of the church, and, as time advanced toward the tenth century, very little was the amount deemed necessary for that.

One or two extraordinary men in the ninth century, especially Charlemagne on the Continent, and Alfred in England, made some improvements in the schools, which, although they had little immediate effect, lay as seed in the ground, preserving their vitality for a more genial season. And when the thousandth anniversary of the Saviour's Passion had passed over, and the earth was found to continue her former round of seasons, to be as firm to the foot, and as little like burning up or falling to pieces as before, the nations of the West began to recover from the paralysis which had long rested upon them. The schools, which had diminished in numbers, and been reduced to the baldest rudiments of instruction, began to partake of the general intellectual quickening. Dreary was the nature of the education given in their classes, and lightened only by its scantiness. Improvement was at first not undertaken there. But in connection with some schools, oral lessons were given on the theological questions of the day, which created a new interest in the minds of the pupils. For a time primary education continued in the same depressed condition, while the interest in the lectures increased. Youth crowded to hear lectures, without being properly qualified to profit by them. Of course that was an incongruity which could not long exist. The practical difficulties involved constrained attention to its remedy.

In the course of the twelfth century more thorough attention was given to the use of the means of instruction then possessed, by a vastly increased number of students; and ere the end of it, additions were made to the studies, especially in the departments of logic and mathematics, by importation from the Moorish schools of Spain. The value of the lectures and the range which they took grew proportionately. Both lecturer and pupil rose to a higher level and to broader views, as they were prepared and sustained by the disciplinary classes. Still the lectures were the attraction of the schools, and both supplied the demand for intellectual culture and incited to it. The lecturers were the intellectual heroes of Europe, who were the first to awaken the hitherto dormant energies of the young nations. The only subject of which they treated was theology; but from only debating occasional topics of present interest they in course of time expanded their grasp to take in the whole field. Arid and shallow, their treatment was minute and orderly in its superficial divisions and classification, and was perhaps the better intellectual gymnastic for those times, that it had only the semblance of profundity.

The Latin church had come into the inheritance of a large share of the Western authority of Imperial Rome; and every question of popular interest was concerned with her practice or dogmas; and the lecturers, for the most part, occupied themselves with their defence and exposition. In return, the schools were sustained by the church, and many ecclesiastics and pious laymen of wealth devoted their labors and much of their property to the improvement and extension of the means of instruction. Thus, they were constituted charitable institutions, and that system was created whereby college education has continued to this day to be furnished at a price so far below what it costs.

In the old cathedral and conventual schools the person who had charge of the preliminary branches was called the *scholasticus*, and the teacher of theology, the *theologus*. That course went no further, and some of the poorer institutions had only the preparatory part. Hence the common name scholastic.

In a few places, youth were brought together by the reputation of illustrious teachers of law, as at Bologna, in Italy, or

of medicine, as at Salerno and Montpelier, constituting schools less directly under control of the church.

Consequently there were, in the first instance, two classes of great schools, the theological and the scientific. In course of time, however, the theological universities adopted also the faculties of law and of medicine, and theology was introduced into Bologna.

By such means there were assembled at some seats of learning, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, such numbers of students as find no parallel in any universities of the present day. For youth were there in all grades of preparation for all the professions then in existence.

With increase of numbers, regularity of classification and description became more imperative. Students were arranged, or arranged themselves, according to the houses in which they lodged, every such house having its own internal government, and all the houses, departments of study, and stages of progress were grouped together under one head of general legislation by the civil and ecclesiastical authorities; and the term *universitas* was applied to the corporation embracing the whole.

A few such seats of learning made more illustrious name than the rest, and reached maturity sooner. Paris and Oxford stood highest, or were the most numerously attended; but all were on the same general plan. In the thirteenth century they had reached the completeness of their type, and the full tide of prosperity.

The plan of the mediæval university was determined by the incidental or casual way in which it had grown up. It was simply the aggregate of all the departments taught and of all the different stages of progress in education as conducted in one city, from the primary school up to the Doctor's degree. Being the result of successive additions to the common school, without the guidance of any preconcerted design, it was still only an aggregate upon the same original basis. Oxford was at once the chief grammar school of England, the great free school for the poor, the seat of liberal culture, and of professional education, for students of theology, and, in its best days, also of law and of medicine.

The routine of school study had consisted of two series: one literary, containing grammar, logic, and rhetoric; the other scientific, divided into four branches, arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and music. Upon this *Trivium* and *Quadrivium* the whole structure of liberal culture rose, by gradual insertion of successive improvements, and development of their internal substance. In the first instance the literary course outran the scientific, and out of the zealous prosecution, especially of its logic, grew that systematic and dialectic theology which has been called the scholastic; and formed itself into the special work of the theological faculty.

Both courses, as latterly matured, constituted the department of Arts, the work of another faculty. Upon the introduction of law and medicine two new faculties were formed, one of which had its affinities most intimately with the scientific course, thereby leading to the improvement and enhancing the estimate of the *Quadrivium*, as a branch of the arts. Thus arose, by gradual combination and necessary segregation of elements, the four faculties of arts, of theology, of law, and of medicine. *Facultas* signifying, in those days, the ability to teach in any one branch, was applied also to "the authorized teachers of it collectively."

In respect to their internal government, those institutions exhibited a strange anomaly in their times, being more or less republican. The University of Bologna was a corporation of students assembled for the purpose of attending upon the instructions of certain eminent teachers of law resident in that city; and its earliest statutes were compacts entered into by the students for mutual support and assistance. They elected their own officers, and maintained their own order. The University of Paris, on the other hand, was an association of teachers connected with the schools in that city. Such was also the foundation at Oxford. But much of the democratic spirit of the Italian universities prevailed in both, which regarded the body of teachers and students as a *Demos*. That spirit extended to others which followed the example of their constitution.

Mediæval universities, as a whole, formed a community among themselves, speaking a common tongue, the Latin,

having a common occupation, recognizing the authority of one church, and united with the stronger attachment to each other, that they were separated from the people of the different countries in which they were planted. The universities of Paris and of Oxford, were not properly French and English respectively; they belonged to the church. Paris was as free to English scholars as Oxford was to Frenchmen, or to scholars from any nation professing the Western Catholic creed; and students migrated sometimes from one to the other by thousands.

A great change came upon the mediæval universities in course of the revival of learning and the Reformation. Toward the middle of the fourteenth century, the scholastic philosophy began to decline, and the revival of classical learning to enlist that zeal of youth which had so long been absorbed by the war of dialectics. But the universities were slow to admit the classics to a place in their course of study; and youth in large numbers sought and found the instruction which they demanded elsewhere, and by other means. Thus while knowledge became more extensive and more common, the attendance upon the universities fell off. The classics ultimately vindicated their place in the department of Arts, and greatly enlarged the resources of the *Trivium*, and in course of time effected a change which overthrew the dynasty of scholasticism.

As the sixteenth century dawned, most of the universities could present eminent professors teaching the liberal views and improved scholarship of the time, and even broaching the question of reforming the church. That again prepared another ordeal through which the universities had to pass. It was within their halls that the great Reformation began, that its first controversies were waged, and its first heroes did battle. By them had so large a part of the Christian world been prepared to accept that revolution, and out of their lecture-rooms stepped the men who conducted the popular movement and sustained it. From the University of Paris came the demand for Papal reform, as early as the Council of Constance; in the University of Oxford, in the latter part of the fourteenth century, did John Wyckliffe commence the war

upon long persistent abuses; the University of Basel led the way to reformation in Switzerland; in the University of Wittenberg, Luther and Melancthon were professors; from that of Paris went forth Farel and Viret and Calvin; in the universities of England were prepared the theologians of the reign of Edward VI., and there did Bucer and Peter Martyr find refuge; and in the University of St. Andrews did the Scotch reformation open its career and offer up its first martyr, and there were equipped for their work and their suffering Hamilton, Buchanan, and Knox. The Reformation was, under Providence, emphatically the offspring of the universities; and most of them suffered severely from the conflict which it involved. It was inevitable that the seat of war should be most deeply agitated by the strife. And when the combatants emerged into peace at its close, it was to find themselves broken and divided, some having triumphed and held their ground on the side of reformation, and others driven back toward the position of the Middle Ages. Yet the work effected proved for the benefit of all. Enlarged and more generally enlightened intellect was applied to their improvement, in more distinct separation and classification of the work of the old universities; and in the establishment of new, upon improved principles.

In the long course of that controversy and its sequel, the preparatory schools were separated from the universities, and set up by themselves at various places over the country, a step which was also rendered necessary by the breaking down of the convents and monasteries. School education was no longer to be confined to literary centres, but to be put within easy reach of every family throughout the Protestant world.

The university course, as thus distinguished from the school, consisted of two separate departments, the liberal and professional. The former had originally consisted of two parts, the *Trivium* and *Quadrivium*, and although the distinction between these two was no longer scrupulously observed, studies belonging to the one being in some cases pursued within the bounds formerly reserved for the other, still the course of Arts remained twofold. To the first part, which corresponded to the old *Trivium*, as to the place which it occupied, were

given, if we take Oxford as an example, four years, or thereby, immediately after the school course. Upon finishing that successfully, the student received the degree of Bachelor of Arts. Three more years, corresponding to the place of the *Quadrivium*, enabled the candidate, who sustained a satisfactory examination, to take the degree of Master of Arts, as having completed the liberal course, or as it was called the course in the Arts.

If a man proceeded further with the view of qualifying himself for a profession, he had to begin from the year of his Master's degree, except in the case of law, which might be commenced a year sooner, and could be finished in six additional years. The medical course required seven, and the theological eleven, years from the Master's degree. At the close of this course of professional preparation the successful student was honored with the degree of doctor, in law, in medicine, or in theology according to the profession studied. These degrees were not then mere honors; they signified real degrees of attainment, and were certificates and licenses to teach or to practise the professions to which they were attached.

The latter part of the sixteenth century saw the rise of the Dutch universities, those benign fruits of the Reformation, in which classical scholarship and a new and greater philosophy were combined with the development of reformed theology.

In the course of the eighteenth century, and especially in the latter part of it, the German universities began to assume the place of precedence which they now hold. Their position was taken upon the principle of more perfect separation of departments. Taking, for example, the University of Berlin—not only was the grammar school left off, but also all that part of the course of Arts required for the Bachelor's degree, which was committed to the college, or institutions of that grade. The Master's course was made co-ordinate with the professional, and assigned to the Faculty of Arts, or of Philosophy in the university, with its analogous degree of Doctor in Philosophy.

Consequently there was a triad of educational institutions established and carried out with more or less precision in the

different German states, consisting of the school, confined to preparatory training; the college, under one name and another, assigned to liberal culture alone; and the university, provided with professional instruction, as well as with the means of further pursuing liberal education for those whose leisure or taste dispose them thereto, or who choose to make it their profession as teachers or authors.

As long as the universities retained their mediæval type, those of England—namely, Oxford and Cambridge—maintained their position among the first; but they have not kept up with the progress of improvement. Their mediæval course is no longer practical; and no adequate provision has been made for supplying its place. The highest praise of English education pertains to the collegiate schools. The practical course of the universities only carries forward to a higher point the work of the school, and answers the purposes of liberal culture—that is, it is of the nature of what belongs to the college.

In the French revolution of the last century, the university of Paris was entirely swept away, together with all the other universities of France. Public instruction was organized on a new plan by Napoleon I. That plan was abolished by Louis XVIII., who attempted one of his own, which the rule of the Hundred Days defeated. Upon reconstructing the government after the battle of Waterloo, the subject of education was put into the hands of a commission which adopted substantially the ideas of Napoleon.

According to that method, the university is nothing else than government applied to the universal direction of public instruction. First in the series of institutions are the common schools of different grades; then the colleges and lyceums, both pertaining to the department of liberal culture; and highest in rank are academies, which are local divisions of the university, distributed over France, and the central authority and head of all is at Paris.

American universities fail in that clearness of segregation, which would assign them to their proper functions. Invariably they retain the college as a part of their course, and make it their Faculty of Arts. In this they coincide with the uni-

versities of Scotland. Consequently they have nothing which corresponds to the second course in the Arts, and the Master's degree is a mere empty title. At the same time, the attempt to combine the college with the university always produces an incongruity. The two parts of the institution will not cohere. They cannot properly be governed on the same principle. The university proper is a place of study for men already cultivated by liberal education, where they learn the professions to which they propose to devote their lives. And it is as desirable that they should be completely separated from the college, where immature youth are trained in the liberal arts, as it is that these latter should be separated from the grammar school, where boys are drilled in the elements. Each one can conduct its own work better alone.

In America, a true university is that which is established in various places over the country, in law schools, medical schools, and theological seminaries. Concerned with studies, which, to be pursued with most profit, demand a previous college training, yet unembarrassed by any complication with colleges, those institutions conduct their own work, after their own proper manner, in a very effective way. Advantages are no doubt to be derived from assembling them all at one place, libraries in common, for example; but perhaps not enough to counterbalance that of each one being put in its own most proper locality.

The university, as now distinguished from the school and college, is the professional part of a complete education; and its pupils are liberally educated men, already trained to a rational use of their faculties and determined to their respective purposes in life. Its internal government should be addressed to the end of maintaining order and inciting to diligence, by eliciting voluntary co-operation, bringing out the approval of judgment, and the action of conscience. Its peculiar restraints, over and above those of general society, are such as belong to a voluntary association for the attainment of a common end. The methods of instruction proper to the university are, accordingly, such as to aid the thinking of mature minds: as lectures, prelections, conversations on the subject of study and on books assigned to be read; demonstrations by means of drawings,

models, maps, charts, or of the actual subject; experiments, examinations, and practice in the formal processes of the profession in view.

The original method of teaching was that of dictating what was to be learned, making the pupil commit it to memory, and afterward examining him, to test his understanding of it, correct his errors, and fix the whole more firmly in his mind. As the class advanced, dictation expanded into the freer and broader current of lecture, in which a more matured capacity of apprehension was called into exercise. The amount of attainment was not great, but the course was long, owing to the slow and laborious method of progress. The introduction of text-books was a great improvement, especially in the earlier stages. Dictation could then be laid aside, though it is still practised, to some extent, with profit. In the part of his education to which that method belonged the student can now generally do better for himself, in mastering passages assigned to be read, if he is afterward thoroughly examined upon them. But at the stage of progress, where anciently dictation ripened into lecture, there is still nothing which can entirely take the place of the old method. For the use of lecture is not all summed up in supplying the lack of books. On many points it has still to serve that purpose; but is now far more needed on account of their unmanageable number. It is profitable to have a guide who can present us, in brief, with the substantial teaching of all that pertains to our subject of study. One man can thereby save, as well as direct, the time and efforts of many. To master the literature of a profession, and the substance of all its instructions, is the work of a life-time, and in some professions is too much for the longest human life; but one man, by devoting his whole attention to a single branch of it, may be able to present the amount of what is to be found in that branch, in a course of lectures not too prolonged for a place among the studies preparatory for the profession. Thus a corps of professors, each laboring consistently in his own department, can, within a few years, furnish an amount of information which no one of themselves, in his whole life-time, could have collected and digested. Moreover, it is of no little value to receive the influence proceeding from a mind kindled by en-

thusiastic pursuit of one department of knowledge, and deep insight into its laws.

In all professions the power of correct and rapid observation, and assignment of things to their classes, is of inestimable value. And there is no better discipline of mind to that end, which education can propose, than the task of listening to lectures with a view to being examined on them. It is an exercise tending to the highest intellectual maturity to control attention to a strictly didactic lecture, to apprehend accurately its particular statements, its general plan and purport, while it is in the course of delivery, and to retain and marshal the whole for future use.

It is certainly pleasant to follow a teacher who is able to enlist attention and retain it; but of far more educational value for the student is it to learn to command his own attention to whatsoever his duty requires. The former is only to yield to the mastery of another mind; the latter is an act of self-control, going to render a man master of his own powers. The habit of mind formed by being entertained is superficial, never dares to penetrate beyond the outward effects of any thing; to the solid basis of the beautiful and entertaining it never reaches, and is ever helplessly dependent upon the work of others. It is not a result of education, except in as far as the capacity to enjoy certain objects goes. To be able to take interest in works of science and art, and their nice discriminations, to be impressible by the finest shades of beautiful affection does certainly belong to the best points of mental culture; but the mere capacity to be entertained does not. The least informed are the most easily entertained, and at the least expense. It can never enable a man to work, to produce any of the effects which an educated man is expected to produce for the benefit of society.

A man, in acquiring power over his own attention, secures also power over the minds of others. All persons who do not possess it have a natural tendency to lean upon him who does. And every educated man ought to be such as his uneducated neighbors can have recourse to, as not only better informed touching his profession, but also as better able to turn all the powers of his mind with effect to any emergency which

may arise among them. The young commit a great mistake who exclusively attach themselves to that which is entertaining among their studies. Entertainment, of course, is not to be rejected when occurring naturally; but by far the most profitable is that intellectual effort which takes hold of and masters what is orderly but not attractive. That student is earning the noblest triumphs, who, pushing through the outworks of an uninviting study, fighting his way manfully with every obstacle, at length reaches a point where the symmetry of the whole lies before him, and the delight of conquered knowledge dawns upon his heart. That is the man who will make an impression on the society in which he lives, if not upon the broader world, to be remembered long.

The effort of properly attending lectures is one which requires no little mental training such as is seldom found short of the higher classes in college, and then only in the case of those who have been faithful to their previous studies. A common defect of the uneducated, or imperfectly educated, mind is that of not giving attention correctly. To hear correctly, and at once, what is said, is a most desirable practical power, and not less important the habit of reporting correctly.

Popular lecturing is necessarily a different affair. Inasmuch as, in that case, a mixed audience is addressed, and mental preparation cannot be presumed, the lecture must take the character of entertainment, and make as little demand as possible upon that attention which is felt to be an effort. It belongs to the head of amusements, takes its place with the theatre and dramatic readings, and has little to do with education.

The recitation method of instruction is that which is best suited for boys at school, and in the greater part of the college course, and must be retained in the university, wherever drill is needed. The lecture is best for aiding the studies of mature minds in collecting and classifying information, and ought to interchange with the recitation in the more advanced part of the college course, while in the university it is necessarily the prevailing method.

In college, the grand objects in view have reference to self-

culture, to formation of habits of attention, of diligence, of reading, command of the faculties, and of regular and constant application. Of course, it is of no little importance what the material of study is; but much more is the intellectual discipline which it furnishes. In the university, on the other hand, the great concern is the subject-matter of study. The student, it is presumed, has already the necessary training, and is now seeking clear and classified information for his life's work.

Conversation, or examination, or making of abstracts, should always accompany a course of lectures for instruction, as helpful, if not indispensable to the certifying, digesting, and assimilating of the instructions received. Taking of notes during the time of listening to a lecture is an interruption, and granted only to defective memory. It were better to grasp the whole discourse as a unit, by one continuous effort of attention, and write the notes after returning to one's room; but that demands an excellence of memory too rare to admit of its being recommended as a rule; and to learn to take notes with facility and without embarrassment of attention, is an attainment valuable for life.

Upon the whole, the great aim of the university is to instruct, promote, and direct professional enterprise. The school is a system of constraints; the college of mixed constraints and inducements, designed to guide, to correct independent action. The university is a commonwealth of minds already committed to their own responsibility. Neither school nor college have properly any professional bearing; the university is entirely professional.

They are the studies of the university which have no natural termination. The work of the school comes to an end when its pupils are adequately prepared for college; the work of the college ceases when its classes are properly qualified to take up the studies of the university; but the work of the university initiates men into that career which, as long as they are useful to the world, has no end. Up to the close of their college course youth receive education for their own sake; in the university they are to learn how to be useful to others. And although that end may be attained by many

different ways, yet fundamentally it lies in the right directing of enterprise, and toward the forming of public sentiment accordingly, and through the channel of professional effort.

The best service a man can render his fellow-men is generally in the line of his profession; but there is also an indefinable influence for good or evil wielded by every respectable professional man, through his intercourse with society, and which increases in power and extent with his professional success. Consequently the common duty belonging to all educated men is that of guiding public sentiment aright; that is, in a manner conducive to the good order of community, to the support of enlightened enterprise, and the cause of God, peace, and good will among men.

By profession, in these remarks, we would not be understood to mean only medicine, law, and theology, but every learned occupation, demanding, for true success in it, a basis of liberal culture.

One of the things which it belongs to the college to teach, is the reliability of truth; that there are principles trustworthy and eternal, many of which can be known indubitably, and ought to be so known by all educated men. This position should be abundantly sustained from every branch of science, that the young mind may be well fortified in regard to it. Immense evil has been done by the false dictum, so often repeated, that nothing can be known for certain. It puts the mind in a state of universal scepticism, defeating all the most valuable ends of education. It is chiefly with a view to the inculcation and full exposition of this doctrine that the precise sciences should be taught in college. The fuller study of mathematics belongs to the engineer or astronomer, and accordingly to university work; the minute study of chemistry belongs to the professions founded thereupon, but their fundamental principles ought to be well enough explained and substantiated for youth in college, to establish in their minds conviction and confidence in their reliability. A minuteness of instruction, beyond the demands of this purpose, is out of the proper line of college work, and belongs to the university.

At the same time, to prevent the evil of confidence in the the wrong place, the bounds of actual knowledge ought also

to be set forth, and the vagueness of conjecture, where nothing but conjecture exists, should be distinctly set over against positive knowledge, where that exists. How to test the credible and distinguish its features, and what features mark any thing as incredible, is a point essentially belonging to the same connection.

For such purpose was geometry employed by the Greeks, and law by the Romans. Law, studied as a profession, is out of place in a college course; but law, to all the extent of inculcating the reality of the great principles of civil order, is one of the most valuable instruments at the disposal of liberal education.

A good college education may as properly be laid out upon a youth destined to be a merchant, or a farmer, or a tradesman, as upon one who has a view to a learned profession. The difference is only that the liberal professions demand, if not by rule, by the nature of the case, previous attainment in college studies, and other occupations do not so demand it. There can be little doubt, however, that all the respectable occupations of human life would be better conducted if in the hands of liberally educated men. But that implies a breadth of culture extending to all the studies prior to, and independent of, the particular professional training. Most industrial pursuits depend upon science. But an education containing nothing but science is not a liberal one. It cultivates only a part of a man, and that the harder part, which it hardens. There can be no liberal culture without art: and the most available of all arts for the purpose is that of literature.

The work of Professor Porter, of Yale College, the name of which stands at the head of this article, is a defence, and a very able defence, of the system and methods pursued in the oldest and best American colleges. Commencing with an historical review of the rise and progress of the existing agitation on that subject, the author takes up the line of argument, as before the bar of the American public, and discusses the studies of the regular course, in comparison with those now recommended as better; the enforcement of fidelity in study, as compared with greater license; the evils of the college sys-

tem, and their remedies; the common life of the college; the religious character of American colleges; the class system, and other kindred topics, in all of which he defends, in the main, the state of things as it is. With a clear and full admission that it is not without many faults, he maintains that the existing system has within itself better aptitudes for reform than are to be found in any of the novelties which are now by many persons proposed to take its place. His argument covers the whole ground, and is sustained in a lucid and animated style with the cogency which naturally grows from a full knowledge of the subject, and long experience in dealing with it in all its details.

Art. VIII.—*The Invitation Heeded. Reasons for a Return to Catholic Unity.* By James Kent Stone, late President of Kenyon College, Gambier, Ohio; and of Hobart College, Geneva, New York; and S. T. D. Fourth Edition. New York: The Catholic Publication Society. 1870.

How the Rev. Dr. Stone Bettered his Situation: An Examination of the Assurance of Salvation and Certainty of Belief to which we are affectionately invited by his Holiness the Pope. By Leonard Woolsey Bacon. Reprinted from the *New Englander*, July, 1870. New York: American and Foreign Christian Union, 27 Bible House.

Lecture on the Vatican Council. By Archbishop Purcell.

The author of the "Invitation Heeded" is a son of one of the most distinguished ministers of the Protestant Episcopal Church in this country—especially of the class known as Low Church. If we are not misinformed he is also descended from that great jurist whose name he bears—the late Chancellor Kent, whose "Commentaries" are among the foremost standard authorities in American jurisprudence. We infer from this volume that he had for some time been investigating the great questions treated in it, before he was greeted with the late formal invitation extended by the Roman pontiff to all Protestants to put themselves under his jurisdiction. He

had already become eminent in his own communion. His book betrays an inquisitive, earnest, and impassioned mind, endowed with considerable learning, culture, and elegance, and master of a style of more than average force, beauty, and point. Dr. Stone's characteristics, surroundings, and antecedents, invest his conversion to Romanism with unusual interest, and render his book one of the most plausible and effective pleas for the church of his adoption which has issued from an American pen. But if such a writer fails as to the material issues involved, his plea only weakens what it aims to support.

Mr. Bacon's tract is not so much a direct sifting or refutation of the reasonings in this book, as a positive, derisive, and irrefutable demonstration of the impossibility of obtaining the assurance of salvation of which Dr. Stone is in quest, according to the institutions, dogmas, and methods of the Romish Church. It is a very apt and trenchant application of logic, humor, satire, to a case which well deserves this incisive and caustic treatment. The pivot on which Dr. Stone's plea turns is that of Papal infallibility. With this his whole argument stands or falls. If he is successful in establishing that, of course he proves it the duty of all to submit to the Roman pontiff. Failing of this, he fails altogether.

The Papist and Protestant agree that we need an infallible guide in religion. But the latter insists that God's Word, the former, that the church, through its hierarchy or some order or council or person thereof, is this infallible guide. Dr. Stone, the Vatican Council, and all ultramontanes maintain that this infallibility vests in the Pope primarily and exclusively, as the head of the church. We hold that all members of the true church, which is Christ's body, *i. e.*, all real Christians and saints know infallibly all truths essential to salvation, because they find them asserted in the Scriptures, upon the authority of God. His voice they hear, and will not follow a stranger. This results from their being guided by the Holy Spirit whose anointing makes them to know all things essential to salvation; that they are the truth and no lie, and that no lie is of the truth. 1 John ii. 20–27.

But how do we know the Scriptures to be the word of God?

What ground of certainty can we have that it speaks to us in the name and by the authority of God? Romish theologians, Dr. Stone included, deem these crucial and stunning questions. They think the sole possible answer is, that we can know it only by the testimony of the church. This testimony they maintain is that of the Romish hierarchy, and not only so, but ultramontanes, such as Dr. Stone and the Vatican Council, hold that it must be given by the Pope as the only original and primal repository of infallibility.

But the fallacy of such assumptions and paralogisms is readily apparent. How do we know the heavens, the earth, our own fearfully and wonderfully made frames, to be the work of God, to declare his glory, and evince his eternal power and Godhead? Do they beam upon us a self-evidence of infallible certainty to every candid mind? And as surely as they are self-evidently the work of God, are not the Holy Scriptures self-evidently the word of God, the utterance of one who spake as never man spake?

It is vain for Papists to impugn the sufficiency of such evidence. They are now wont to appeal to it as the evidence of the divine origin and prerogatives of their own body and the infallibility of its primate. Although Dr. Stone, like the Pope and Vatican Council appeals at great length to the Scriptures to prove the primacy and infallibility of Peter and his alleged successors in the pontifical chair,* nevertheless he follows Archbishop Manning, and the drift of recent ultramontane theologians in appealing to this self-evidence as the main proof of the divinity, supremacy, and infallibility of the Romish Church in the person of its supreme head. Says Dr. Stone, "The Catholic believes in the Holy Catholic Church. But he does not so *merely* as a logical inference from the words of Scriptnre. He does not even need the Scriptures to know that the chnrch is divine. There she stands and her existence is the evidence of her origin. She speaks; and her claims are her credentials. She acts; and her work is her vindication," p. 146. To this attitude the Vatican claim is driven by remorseless logic. The claim is that the Scriptures derive their authority solely from the testimony of the church, uttered by its infallible

* See pp. 228 et seq.

head, the Pope. But if asked, on what evidence does the claim of the church and Pope to infallibility and spiritual supremacy rest? it will not do to say, upon the Scriptures. This is the old fallacy of the circle in proving the church by the Scriptures and the Scriptures by the church, which it is easier for our author to underrate than to escape. He, with other ultramontanes, is sagacious enough to see that, if testimony ever so conclusive for the Papacy could be obtained from the Scriptures, on their system, the whole fabric falls to the ground, unless they can rest it on other foundations. If the Scriptures rest on the church, how can the church rest on the Scriptures? On what then does the church rest? Whence the evidence of its divinity and infallibility? Clearly nowhere unless in itself. This being so, the appeal to Scripture in support of the Papacy so often made by their theologians, by Dr. Stone, and by the Vatican Council nullifies itself. It is an appeal to a witness they have already discredited.

The issue then is clear and simple. Which bears the strongest self-evidence of a divine inspiration, authority, and infallibility? The Word recorded in the Holy Scriptures, or the occupant of the Papal chair at Rome and his predecessors fulminating anathemas against all Christians, ministers, and ecumenical councils even, who dispute their infallibility? Is it necessary to argue this self-answering question? We shall soon see how Dr. Stone disposes of some of the noted and unquestionable historical illustrations of the fallibility of the Pope. Meanwhile we will notice some allegations or assumptions which are constantly appearing in his book against the infallibility, sufficiency, and authority of the Bible as a rule of faith, and which, if of any force, rebound with tenfold power against his favorite dogma.

He argues strenuously that a church, so far as divine, must be infallibly guided, and that such infallible guidance involves an infallible head. But who is that head? One is our Head even Christ; we know no other. The true church is his body, and its members, members of him, informed by his spirit, and having an unction from the Holy One, whereby they know all things necessary to salvation. This church of those "called to be saints" claims to know infallibly the essentials of the

Christian faith, the things that are freely given it of God; not for the purpose of lording it over the consciences of others, but for its own sure guidance in the way of life, and certain acceptance by that Master to whom alone it stands or falls, and who is alone Lord of the conscience. In this highest sense of the word church, and to the extent above described, it ever has claimed and does claim to know in whom it believes. It rests on a sure foundation. It is not true in this sense that Rome alone has claimed sure divine guidance, and thus proves its exclusive divinity, as Dr. Stone claims. It alone has claimed infallibility as the peculium of Popes, cardinals, or other ecclesiasties for the government of the whole body. How then do the saints thus infallibly know the essential truths of salvation? By the Word, the inspired Word. But says Dr. Stone (p. 141): "The fact of inspiration is a supernatural fact, a divine fact, and can only be attested by a divine witness which you are not." Who then is such a witness? The Pope of Rome, or a truly divine witness testifying in his word, and in our spirits to the divine truth and authority of that word? "God hath revealed them to us by his spirit." He taketh the things of Christ and showeth them unto us. However else "it doth evidence itself to be the Word of God, yet notwithstanding, our full persuasion and assurance of the infallible truth and divine authority thereof is from the inward work of the Holy Spirit, bearing witness, by and with the Word, in our hearts." (Confession of Faith, Chap. I., 5.)

"But" says Dr. Stone, "your hope, then, is based upon your faith, and your faith reposes upon the fact of inspiration; but the fact of inspiration is supported by what? Your little world, like the Hindoos, rests upon the elephant, and the elephant rests upon the tortoise, and the tortoise rests upon nothing. This is only saying that your faith rests upon inspiration, and inspiration is proved by your faith." (P. 140.) Is not Dr. Stone sharp enough to see that this is good for nothing, or else thrice good against his own system? Because we believe the Bible inspired upon the evidence of divinity it bears, as evinced by the Spirit witnessing in it, and in our own souls by enlightening them to see it, are we therefore proving it by our faith, or not rather exercising faith in it

because proved true in its own divine light? Is not his puerile arguing just as applicable to his own doctrine of the self-evidence of his Papal inspiration and infallibility? Is it not doubly true in this case that all the inspiration here is what his belief creates—and that here we find the real elephant resting on the tortoise and the tortoise on nothing? Have we not the testimony of God through his Spirit witnessing in his Word, and also in our hearts, opening our eyes to understand wondrous things out of his law? And if we receive the witness of men, is not the witness of God greater? (1 John, v. 9.)

Dr. Stone freely admits that the Pontifical chair has been disgraced by a number of wicked Popes. But he, with others of his school, contends that they have been preserved from sanctioning error in doctrine. We will let our readers see how he tries to parry the suicidal blows which some of the Popes themselves have dealt against this claim, in certain deliverances which few Romanists hardly dare, in this age and country, pronounce free from inerrancy or fallibility. The official sanction of error by any Pope is fatal to the doctrine of Papal infallibility, and renders the anathemas denounced upon those who dispute it, alike absurd and profane. The manner in which he tries to neutralize these examples displays at once his brilliancy as a special pleader and the desperateness of his cause. We give first his exposition of the Inquisition, and the persecution of Galileo.

"The Spanish Inquisition, as its name implies, was not a Catholic, but a national and local tribunal. It was an institution more political than religious, authorized, it is true, by the Pope, but solicited and maintained by the royal power; an institution devised to protect the unity of the Spanish kingdom, and founded upon the principle that heresy was a crime against the peace of society, and, as such, punishable by the civil power. Mr. Lecky, and even Llorente himself, admit that the Roman Pontiffs more than once endeavored to mitigate its severities, and protested against the horrible excesses of Torquemada. And when Charles V. and Philip II. attempted to impose the tribunal upon Italian cities, the Popes encouraged the Italians in resisting the imposition.

"As for the Roman court, I am not aware that the smallest proof has ever been given that its proceedings were other than mild and conservative. As Balmes well observes, 'the conduct of Rome in the use which she made of the Inquisition is the best apology of Catholicity against those who attempt to stigmatize her as barbarous and sanguinary.' The records of the Roman Congregation were carried off to Paris by Napoleon, early in the present century; a

French translation of a portion was made by order of the emperor; and it was not till 1846 that the last of the plundered documents were returned to the Vatican. In 1849, the Roman archives were again pillaged; and seventy folio volumes of the Inquisition are at present in the library of Trinity College, Dublin. Nothing, however, has ever been discovered which could bring discredit upon the proceedings of the tribunal.

"The publicity given to these Roman records has had the good result of disposing of the old myth of the woes of starry Galileo. An immense amount has been written on the Galileo trial within the last thirty years; and any one who will take the trouble to do a little reading will speedily convince himself that the astronomer never suffered the torture, and that the *E pur si muove* is, as has been pithily said, '*un de ces mots de circonstance inventés après coup.*' All that the Inquisition ever did was to tell the man of science to stick to his science, and leave the church to take care of the interpretation of Scripture. To say that the Catholic Church ever committed itself against the Copernican system—or any other system—of astronomy, is rodomontade. Copernicus himself was a Catholic priest, for many years an honored professor in the city of Rome itself, and, in 1553, dedicated his great work, *De Revolutionibus*, to the head of the church, Pope Paul III.

"The third remark is one which I have hesitated to make, but which I trust no generous friend will judge unfairly. It is that for a Protestant to talk loudly about toleration, and to arraign the church of his forefathers on a charge of persecution, is, on the whole, the most *naïve* piece of effrontery in the annals of controversy." (Pp. 97–8–9.)

Our first remark is, that the admission of Dr. Stone that the Pope "authorized" the Spanish Inquisition is fatal to his infallibility—the only point in question. Again: the issue with Galileo was not primarily whether he should stick to his science and leave to the church the interpretation of Scripture. This mode of twisting language is simply a desperate expedient to disguise the real issue. It was simply and purely a question whether the sun is stationary and the earth moves. Galileo affirmed, Pope and cardinals objected. Galileo was right, they were wrong. The question is not how far their criminality may be mitigated by their circumstances and surroundings. But what does it prove touching Papal infallibility? If Galileo did not "suffer *the* torture," it would require equal boldness and blindness to pretend that he did not suffer dreadful tortures at the hands of the Romish hierarchy, with Papal sanction, for declaring the truth. However we may palliate this action on their part, what does it prove about their infallibility?

Finally, it is irrelevant in regard to this issue to retort upon

Protestants their alleged persecutions in former ages. Suppose they were at fault in the matter, does this justify Papal persecution? Or does it neutralize the conclusive evidence they furnish of Papal fallibility?

Let us next see how our author deals with another great case which annihilates Papal infallibility.

"Pope Honorius was condemned by the Fathers of the Sixth General Council, together with Sergius, Cyrus, Pyrthus, and other Monothelite hereties. When we have said this, we have exhausted all that history can furnish against the infallibility of St. Peter's chair. Does it prove any thing against that infallibility? Let us see. The Head of the Church is infallible when, speaking as the Head of the Church, he gives a decision upon a matter of faith. Well, Sergius, with true Greek subtlety, endeavored to entrap Honorius into a heretical definition. Honorius *declined to give any definition at all.* Here are his words: NON NOS OPORTET UNAM VEL DUAS OPERATIONES DEFINIENTES PRÆDICARE. It is not necessary to urge that the letters of Honorius were of a private and, as we should say, confidential character; that they were never made public until after his death; that they show, to any one who will take the trouble of reading them, that their author was no Monothelite, but was deceived by the adroit sentences of his Eastern correspondent, supposing him to speak, not of a Divine and a human will, but of two contrary wills of the spirit and of the flesh—all these are important considerations; but they are superfluous. It is enough that the Pope refused to exercise his apostolic prerogative. He gave no erroneous decision, for he decided nothing. But the Council condemned him. Certainly; and why? *Utpote qui eos* [*Sergium et rel.*] *in his* [*erroribus*] *sequutus est.* Not because he defined error, but because he allowed the errors of others. But this construction of the intention of the Council might be disputed. Let it pass, then; it also is superfluous. *The Council is ecumenical only in so far as it was confirmed by the Holy See.* It is by Pope Leo's letter of confirmation, therefore, that we must judge of the character of the condemnation passed upon his predecessor. Here, then, we have the famous Papal censure upon a Pope: 'We anathematize the inventors of the new dogma' (then follow the names), 'and also Honorius, who did not strive with energy to maintain the purity of this apostolic church, by the teaching of the tradition of the Apostles, but who permitted that this church without spot (*immaculatam*) should become stained by profane treason.' Or, as it is expressed in the letter to the bishops of Spain, 'Honorius, who, failing in the duty of his apostolical authority, instead of extinguishing the flame of heresy, fomented it by neglect.' Honorius was frightened at the bare thought of a new Eastern heresy, and instead of investigating and condemning, he strove to arrest the evil by hushing it. In a word, he erred, not in faith, but in judgment; he was condemned, not for heresy, but for negligence; *non erravit definiendo, sed tacendo, et omittendo quod definiendum fuerat.*" (Pp. 333–4–5.)

According to this, Papal infallibility consists: 1. With declaring it not needful or obligatory to define the truth

against heresy when that heresy is asserting itself in, and dividing the church. 2. With being "deceived" by the adroit sentences of an heresiarch. 3. With being condemned by an ecumenical council, or what would be ecumenical, if one could be such, when not approved by the Pope it condemns, for following (*sequutus est*) the condemned heresy. 4. With requiring the Latin verb *sequor* to be translated "allowed" instead of "followed" 5. With being anathematized by a subsequent Pope for not "striving with energy to maintain the purity of the apostolic church," and permitting it to "become stained with profane treason!" 6. With erring, "not in faith but in judgment." If Dr. Stone finds such Papal infallibility a safer guide than the "sure word of prophecy" the "incorruptible word of God which liveth and abideth forever," we deplore his choice, but cannot follow him. We will hear the voice of the true Head of the Church. But such a stranger we dare not follow. Such is the wretched abortion brought forth by this mountainous labor to show us an infallible guide to salvation better than His Word who is the Way, the Truth, and the Life.

Dr. Stone says, "no council is ecumenical unless confirmed by the Holy See." Archbishop Purcell, however, in a lecture on the Vatican Council, reported in the New York *Tribune*, endeavoring to soften to his audience this dogma of Papal infallibility, to which he had been bitterly opposed, says that in the deliberations of the Council—

"The question was also raised by the cardinal: 'What is to be done with the Pope if he becomes a heretic?' It was answered that there was never such an example; but in such a case a council of bishops could depose him for heresy; for, from the moment he becomes a heretic he is not the head, nor even a member of the church The church would not be for a moment obliged to listen to him when he begins to teach a doctrine which the church knows to be false, and he would cease to be a Pope, being deposed by God himself. If a Pope, for instance, were to say that a belief in God is false, you would not be obliged to believe him; nor if he were to deny the rest of the creed. 'I believe in Christ,' etc. The supposition is injurious to the Holy Father in the very idea, but it serves to show you the fulness with which the subject was considered. Ample thought was given to every possibility. If he denies any dogma of the Church held by every true believer, he is no more Pope than either you or I; so in this respect this dogma of infallibility amounts to nothing as an article of temporal government or as a cover for heresy."

If this be so, a council has power to depose an heretical Pope, whether indorsed by him as ecumenical, or indorsed by him at all, or not. "The church would not be obliged to listen to him when he begins to teach a doctrine which the church knows to be false." Indeed! And how is the church to know it false, unless in the exercise of its own judgment in the light of reason, Scripture, and the Holy Ghost? Is not the Pope, then, like all others, to be judged by tests and standards outside of himself, and to be followed only so far as he follows Christ in his Word?

His Grace says he further objected to this dogma in the Council in the following conclusive manner, nor does it appear that any attempt was made to solve his difficulty, nor do we think it is capable of solution.

"Well, when I got to that part of my discourse I told the cardinals in Council that there was another weightier objection which I wished to have removed before I gave my assent to that dogma, and that was, how we are to understand the claims of Boniface VIII., who said: 'Two swords are given me by God, a spiritual and a temporal one?' I sought in the Dominican library of Minerva, in Rome, to refresh my memory, and to see on what grounds they claimed the right of controlling temporal affairs, of deposing Henry VIII., or Elizabeth, or any other temporal prince, or absolving their vassals from their oath of allegiance, if their sovereigns did not respect the act of excommunication by the church. I could not find any text of authority for that in the Bible; hence I wanted the Council to say whether they asserted a right of that kind, or assumed it as a right. The entire Council with one voice cried out: 'Those Popes had no authority, no commission from God, to pretend to any such power.'"

Indeed, the dogma of the Vatican Council declaring the Roman Pontiff infallible, and denouncing the curse upon all who deny it, revolts not only the Protestant, but the best part of the Romish Church itself. Tidings come from various quarters that this opposition to it, maintained by an influential minority of the Vatican Council itself, is now organizing and voicing itself among important portions of the Romish laity and hierarchy. May God speed their effort and maintain his cause.

Art. IX.—NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

Manual of Historico-Critical Introduction to the Canonical Scriptures of the Old Testament. By Karl Freidrich Keil. Translated from the Second Edition, with Supplementary notes from Bleek and others, by George C. M. Douglas, D. D., Professor of Hebrew and Old Testament Exegesis in the Free Church College, Glasgow. Vol. II., 8vo, 435 pp. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. New York: Scribner, Welford & Co.

An Introduction to the New Testament. By Friedrich Bleek. Edited by Johannes Friedrich Bleek. Translated from the German of the Second Edition, by the Rev. William Urwick. Vol. II., 8vo, 426 pp. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. New York: Scribner, Welford & Co.

The introductions of Keil and Bleek have, from the date of their appearance, been esteemed the best and most serviceable manuals of the kind in Germany, where criticism and exegesis are prosecuted with a thoroughness, acuteness, and learned research unknown elsewhere. These works, which are indispensable to one who would acquaint himself with the latest and best results of Scriptural investigations, are now, by the publication of their second volumes, made entirely accessible to English readers.

The respective merits of these introductions, and the general character of the translations, were sufficiently stated in our notice of the preceding volumes. Keil and Bleek have both proceeded upon the idea which, since Reuss, has been the prevailing one in Germany, of regarding introduction under the aspect of the literary history of the Bible. This gives to the subject a unity and scientific precision which it did not possess before, though it still leaves the true position of some important topics in doubt. With some minor diversities of arrangement, however, the plan pursued by both is the same. One of the most striking and obvious results of this method is the inversion of the order pursued in all the old introductions, by placing the special before the general portion of the subject. The questions of the canon and the text, the manuscripts, versions, etc., are postponed until the origin and character of each individual book has first been investigated. This may accord better with the historical order, but it is, in our judgment, of doubtful advantage in a text-book for theological classes.

In regard to some of the books of the New Testament, Bleek arrives at conclusions differing from the belief now currently entertained, though he does not, except in a single instance, pass beyond the limit of the doubts allowed in the early church, and mentioned, if not entertained, by some of the ablest and soundest of the fathers. He is disposed, with Eusebius, to discriminate among the books of the canon, and, while not venturing to exclude any from it that are now received, and still less inclined to admit any that are now excluded, he is of opinion that those books regarding whose canonicity no doubt has ever been expressed, and which have from the beginning been received without a discord-

ant voice, as the undoubted production of the Apostles, or inspired apostolic helpers, should be assigned the first rank. To others, regarding which a portion of the early church was in doubt, he concedes only an inferior and limited authority. They are to a certain extent authentic testimonials of primitive Christianity, and yet they are at a partial remove from the purity of our Lord's teaching and that of his immediate Apostles.

The Epistle to the Hebrews he supposes not to have been written by Paul, but by one of his companions and fellow-laborers, a few years after his death, probably by Apollos. The Epistles of James and Jude, and the Revelation of John, were written by the persons whose names they severally bear. These, however, were not apostles, but other persons of note in the church, whose position entitled them to speak and write with the authority they here assume. James and Jude were the brothers of our Lord, the sons of Mary, and are to be distinguished from James, the son of Alpheus, or James the Less, and Jude his brother. John, who wrote the Revelation, was not the son of Zebedee, the Evangelist, or the author of the Epistles, but another John, of whom mention is made in the apostolic period, and who was an auditor of the immediate disciples of our Lord. First Timothy and Second Peter were written in the names of the Apostles Paul and Peter, but they belong to the second century of the Christian era, and are entitled to less consideration than any of these deutero-canonical writings, as he esteems them, though they tally essentially with the apostolic doctrines.

Much as we may regret these conclusions, and untenable as we regard them, we cannot but admit that the discussions are conducted with great apparent candor and a seemingly sincere love of truth. The arguments are frankly and fairly stated, and thus the materials for an independent judgment are afforded to the student even when the balance is struck the wrong way, and a weight conceded to objections to which they are not in reality entitled.

The Early Years of Christianity. By E. De Pressensé, D. D. Translated by Annie Harwood. "The Apostolic Era." New York: Charles Scribner & Co.

No other religion has been subjected, through all its history, to such tests as Christianity has stood. Taking its rise among an educated people, in an age of uncommon intelligence, and preached, in the first instance, by men of no superior education, it vindicated itself, from the first, to the conviction of many of the best informed as superior to all previous teaching. It has been encountered by enemies of great ability, in every age, and has always come off with the victory, when reliance has been put on spiritual arms. Platonic philosophers met it with their subtile inquiry, and found its teachings worthy of the gravest attention, and some of them became its converts; Stoics resisted it with all the force of their stubborn argument and inflexible moral system, and melted away before it. All the hostility of ancient learning failed to arrest its progress. Local authorities and the imperial government put forth their efforts to extinguish it by violence; and the issue was their own overthrow, and the establishment of Christianity on the throne. Greek dialectics and Roman legislation alike failed in the conflict with it. All succeeding philosophers have, at one time or another, tried their strength against it, and every new science has tested

its weapons in the strife, and all, when the smoke and dust of battle have cleared away, are found to have been driven from the field. The combatants, with whom it has had to contend, have always been the master-minds of the world, and its champions have been of the same calibre. Its believers have risen to the rank of the highest civilization, by force of the teaching and training it has given. It is the religion which prospers best the more thoroughly it is tested, and where intellect is strongest, most active and clear.

Inquiry into the origin of such a religion, and the character and labors of its first teachers cannot fail to be of intense interest at a time of profound and earnest thinking, when some of its effects are pervading the world to an unprecedented extent, while its enemies were never more insidious or better armed. Re-examination of the facts of early Christian history, and the sources of its power, is at present the great subject of serious thought. The Life of Christ and the lives of his Apostles are discussed from the separate points of view of all the different parties, as divided in relation to the subject.

In this controversy none have attained a more honorable distinction than Dr. Pressensé. His work on the religions before Christ, on the Life of Christ, and now on the Apostolic Era, cover the whole of that period of history. His treatment of the subject is animated and rapid, but packs much information and cogent argument into small space, and in a style clear and attractive. This volume, though not large, will be an important addition to the literature of the controversy.

Light-Houses and Light-Ships, a Descriptive and Historical Account of their Construction and Organization. By W. H. Davenport Adams. New York: Charles Scribner & Co.

Mr. Scribner's Illustrated Library of Wonders has already established for itself a standing of high scientific importance. It has already presented some of the most valuable discoveries in nature, in antiquities, in the structure of the human frame, and many of the achievements of art, in forms not only accessible, but highly attractive to the common reader. In the style of effort, now so generally made by scientific men themselves, to bring truth and recondite facts before the general public, this series of books is a happy success. Guided by the practical sagacity and Christian spirit of the publisher, whose conception it is, it will no doubt continue to be, as it has so far been, a means of making useful knowledge exceedingly entertaining.

A Manual of the Ancient History of the East to the Commencement of the Median Wars. By Francois Lenormant, Sub-Librarian of the Imperial Institute of France; and E. Chevalier, member of the Royal Asiatic Society, London. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. London: Asher & Co.

In continuation of their history of the pre-Hellenic world, Lenormant and Chevalier have presented, in this volume, the first great Aryan empire, and the latest of the Semitic; following the latter down to the extinction of their independence, and the former up to the summit of Persian success. Under the head of Aryan it may be thought that the Greeks and Hindoos should have been included; but the Greeks, inasmuch as they created a new style of culture, which had not yet been generally recognized, belong, not to the earlier, but to the later

antiquity; and India, for the present, has been omitted on account of the utter lack of definite information touching all that part of her existence prior to the Greek invasion.

Over the whole of the ancient Oriental period, where not included in the Hebrew narrative, there is a very generally extended veil of doubt. The testimony of monuments is positive as to isolated facts: but in many cases hopelessly disconnected, leaving the very foundations of history matter of conjecture. In their former volume these authors granted too much credence to such conjectures; in the present there is not so large a proportion of that tantalizing material, and a great part of its field comes within the orbit of Herodotus, where the results of antiquarian research give and receive confirmation from connected history.

The subjects of the volume are the Medes and Persians; the construction of the Medo-Persian empire, until the reign of Darius Hystaspis, the Phœnicians until their subjugation to Persia; Carthage until after the first treaty with Rome, and the opening of the first Sicilian war; and the Arabians under the three heads of Yemen, Hejaz, and Arabia Petræa.

The narrative is compact, and yet spirited; the arrangement well designed for instruction; and the style concise but easy and clear. For the purpose of giving a connected view of ancient Oriental history, according to the utmost of the resources which scholarship and the work of the antiquarian have amassed, and giving it unburdened by discussions, there is nothing else equal to this work of Lenormant and Chevalier.

Thoughts on Religious Experience. By the Rev. Archibald Alexander, D. D. Presbyterian Board of Publication.

Dr. Alexander was eminent for his learning, sagacity, and wisdom; for his theological insight, and more still for his devoutness and experimental piety. But the gift in which he was most unrivalled was that of guiding and quickening the religious experience of others; of awakening devout feeling, probing the heart, and exposing morbid and pseudo-religious exercises. This, not less than his great abilities and acquirements, gave him an influence for many years scarcely equalled by any divine in the American church. This volume contains the aroma of his spiritual wisdom and experience. We recollect the great benefit we derived from its heavenly instructions when they first appeared. And among all recent issues of the press we hardly know of any more precious reading for Christians whether young or old.

The True Unity of Christ's Church; being a Renewed Appeal to the Friends of the Redeemer, on Primitive Christian Union and the History of its Corruption. To which is now added a Modified Plan for the Reunion of all Evangelical Christians; Embracing as Integral Parts the World's Evangelical Alliance, with all its National Branches. By S. S. Schmucker, D. D. New York: Anson D. T. Randolph & Co. 1870.

The substance of this volume was published more than thirty years ago. It now appears with modifications in its third edition. The plan of union advocated by the venerable author is a sort of federative union among the various Evangelical churches, having a creed substantially like that of the Evangelical Alliance, but without any regular or formal ecclesiastical jurisdiction, this being left to the several bodies composing the federation and represented in it by

their delegates. This scheme has been indorsed by many names eminent in various communions. It seems the only practicable way of bringing Evangelical Christians to show a united front against Romanism and Rationalism,—a consummation for which so many long and pray. It escapes the difficulties involved in any attempt at formal ecclesiastical union of all Protestants in their present condition, while it insures most of the advantages to be hoped for from such a union.

God Sovereign and Man free; or, the Doctrine of Divine Foreordination and Man's Free Agency stated, illustrated, and proved from the Scriptures. By N. L. Rice, D. D. Presbyterian Board of Publication.

This compact and lucid treatise proves beyond a peradventure man's freedom and God's sovereignty, even in respect to man's free acts, and that such sovereignty and freedom are mutually consistent, whether men are able to see how and why they are so or not. A feather will rise and a stone fall whether men can comprehend these facts or not. These truths, in their nature, proofs, grounds, and consequences are ably unfolded and vindicated by Dr. Rice; and such explanation and vindication were never more important than now.

The Lord's Inquiries answered in the words of Scripture; a Year-Book of Scripture Texts. Arranged by G. Washington Moon, Member of the Council of the Royal Society of Literature. London: Hatchards, 187 Piccadilly. New York: Pott & Amery, 5 Cooper Union. 1870.

A very neat little volume, in which the aim indicated in the title-page is well executed.

The Juno Stories. Volume I. "Juno and Georgie," By Jacob Abbott, author of the "Franconia Stories," "The Rollo Books," "The Young Christian Series," etc., etc. New York: Dodd & Mead.

The Wise Men: who they were; and how they came to Jerusalem. By Francis W. Upham, LL. D., Professor of Mental Philosophy in Rutgers Female College, City of New York. New York: Sheldon & Co.

White as Snow. By Edward Garrett, author of "Occupation of a Retired Life," "Crust and Cake," and "Ruth Garrett." New York: Anson D. F. Randolph & Co.

Summer Drift-wood for the Winter Fire. By Rose Porter. New York: Anson D. F. Randolph & Co.

The following books have been received from the Presbyterian Board of Publication:—

Tales of the Family, or Home Life. Illustrated.

The Two Voyages, or Midnight and Daylight.

Aspenridge. By Julia Carrie Thompson.

Tales of the Persecuted.

Chronicles of an Old Manor-House. By G. E. Sargent.

Ivan and Vasilesa, or Modern Life in Russia.

Sweet Herbs.

San-Poh, or North of the Hills. A Narrative of Missionary Work in an Out-Station in China. By Rev. John L. Nevius.

PAMPHLETS AND PERIODICALS.

The United States Internal Revenue and Tariff Law (Passed July 13, 1870), *together with the Act Imposing Taxes on Distilled Spirits and Tobacco, and for other purposes (approved July* 20, 1868), *and such other Acts or Parts of Acts relating to Internal Revenue as are now in effect; with Tables of Taxes, a copious Analytical Index, and full Sectional Notes.* Compiled by Horace E. Dresser. New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers.

It is only necessary to say that this pamphlet is true to its title, to evince its great value to vast multitudes of people.

Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of the United States of America, with an Appendix. By the Stated Clerk. New Series. Vol. I., A. D. 1870. New York: Presbyterian Board of Publication. 1870.

This first volume of the Minutes of the Re-united Church is of special importance. It evinces the magnitude of the Presbyterian body by its own size, extending as it does, to nearly 500 closely printed octavo pages. None who wish to be conversant with the condition of the Presbyterian Church can do without it. So far as we can judge, the prodigious labor required to edit it has been well performed, and the result is creditable to the stated clerk of the Assembly.

Religion in the State and in the School. A Refutation of certain Reasoning and Statements. By Rufus W. Clark, D. D. New York: American and Foreign Christian Union, 47 Bible House. 1870.

A vigorous refutation of the articles of Dr. Spear in the *Independent*, which aim to prove the godless or non-religious character of our government in its relations to education.

The Disciples of our Lord during the Personal Ministry. A Lecture Delivered in Queen Street Hall, Edinburgh, on the 24th August, 1869, *before the Students' Theological Society of the United Presbyterian Church.* By William Lee, D. D., Minister of Roxburgh. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons. 1869.

A well-considered tract, developing important truths on a subject quite worthy of attention.

Christianity the Ultimate and Universal Religion of Man. A Sermon preached in the Brick Church, New York, May 1, 1870, *for the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church.* By the Rev. Leroy J. Halsey, D. D., Chicago, Ill. Published at the request of the Executive Committee. New York: Board of Foreign Missions, 23 Centre Street. 1870.

An able presentation of a glorious theme.

Modern Spiritualism: What are we to think of it? By the Rev. Nathan L. Rice, D. D., President of Westminster College, Missouri. Presbyterian Board of Publication.

An exposure of that monstrosity which is as properly called spiritualism as a bastard is called a legitimate child, alike compact and clear, searching and anni-

hilating. We quite agree with his main conclusion: "1. That the communications of spiritualism, if they come from spirits at all, are attended with such uncertainties that they are utterly unreliable and worthless. 2. That if those revelations do come from spirits, they come not from truthful but deceiving spirits."

We have received Lloyd's "Topographical and Railway Map of the Seat of War in Europe," which is very clear and full—includes all Europe—about a yard square, and at the low price of fifty cents, free by mail.

ART. X.—LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

GREAT BRITAIN.

GREAT BRITAIN, it is said, has not for many years known a drought equal in duration and severity to that of the last summer. The drying up of the streams has, both there and on the Continent, interfered seriously with the work of the paper-mills. It is too early to measure the influence of these things on literature. The comparative meagreness of our present report is to be traced rather to the general disinclination of publishers to bring out their most solid and important works during the summer months.

There are a few books, however, among the recent publications which have attracted and will continue to attract not a little attention. Foremost among these we put a collection of "Essays, chiefly on Questions of Church and State from 1850–70," by A. P. Stanley, D. D., Dean of Westminster. In their theological and literary qualities these essays are eminently characteristic of their distinguished author, and are typical of one strong tendency in the Church of England. In their scientific and educational aspect, Huxley's "Lay Sermons, Addresses, and Reviews" are no less significant. Another representative work is Sir John Lubbock's "Origin of Civilization, and Primitive Condition of Man; Mental and Social Condition of Savages." Probably nothing has appeared with reference to Keble which more fairly brings him out in his personality as well as in that which makes him an exponent of a school, than his recently published "Letters of Spiritual Council and Guidance."

The Collins Commentary is completed by the publication of Volume VI., in which Acts and Romans are edited by Dr. David Brown, of the Free Church College in Aberdeen, and the remaining books of the New Testament by one of his associate editors, Rev. A. R. Fausset, of York. The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge is bringing out a commentary on the New Testament, of which Part I., recently published, contains the four Gospels, with notes by Rev. W. W. How. The Cambridge Paragraph Bible, edited by Rev. F. H Scrivener, is completed by the publication of Part II., which contains the Apocrypha and

the New Testament. Part II. of volume VI. of Bishop Wordsworth's Commentary contains the minor prophets. Part II. of Didham's New Translation of the Psalms contains Psalms xxvi–xxxvi. T. K. Cheyne's "Isaiah Chronologically Arranged" is highly commended. In the same general department we note Baynes' "Horæ Lucanæ, a Biography of St. Luke;" Desprez' "John, or the Apocalypse of the New Testament;" Gatty's "Testimony of David, drawn from the Psalms of David;" Graham's "Lectures on Ephesians;" Cox's "Quest of the Chief Good, a Translation and Exposition of Ecclesiastes;" and Blunt's "Plain Account of the English Bible," etc.

Among the contributions to theological and ecclesiastical literature are Dawson's "Scripture Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist;" Cosin's "Religion, Discipline, and Rites of the Church of England;" "Œcumenical Councils: a Course of Lectures" (mainly historical), by W. Urwick; "Letters from Rome on the Council," by Quirinus, first and second series (a translation of very able correspondence of the *Allgemeine Zeitung*);" a translation of Liano's "Church of God and the Bishops;" Reichel's "See of Rome in the Middle Ages;" Bungener's "Rome and the Council in the Nineteenth Century;" Part II. of Bottala's "Pope and the Church," treating (on the Catholic side) of the Infallibility of the Pope; A. O. Legge's "Growth of the Temporal Power of the Papacy;" Marriott's "Testimony of the Catacombs and other Monuments of Christian Art concerning Questions of Doctrine now disputed in the Church;" Rose's "Ignatius Loyola and the Early Jesuits;" "Religious Thought in Germany" (a collection of papers from the *Times*); W. Baur's "Religious Life in Germany during the Wars of Independence;" Feuerbach's "Essence of Christianity;" Ritchie's "Religious Life of London;" Moon's "Soul's Inquiries Answered from the Words of Scripture;" Dr. Vaughan's "Christ Satisfying the Instincts of Humanity;" "Journal of the General Convention of the Church of Ireland;" Junian's "Ancient Pagan and Modern Christian Symbolism;" Church's "Life of St. Anselm;" a new edition of Williams's "Fiji and the Fijians;" and "The Romance of Modern Missions" (published by the Religious Tract Society).

In philosophy, the most important book of the quarter is Professor J. Grote's "Examination of the Utilitarian Philosophy." Part III. of Macvicar's "Sketch of a Philosophy" is just issued; also an enlarged edition of Bosanquet's "Logic;" a translation of Cousin on the "Philosophy of Kant;" Coleman's "Notes on Logic;" Hodgson's "Theory of Practice;" Morris's edition of Chaucer's translation of "Boethius;" and Ruskins's new "Lectures on Art."

In history and its kindred subjects we record the recent publication of Bollaert's "Wars of Succession of Portugal and Spain;" Cusack's "Student's Manual of Irish History;" "Letters of the First Earl of Malmesbury;" O'Callaghan's "History of the Irish Brigades in the Service of France;" volumes V., VI., and VII. of Burton's "History of Scotland;" volume II. of Kayo's "History of the Sepoy War;" Richey's "Lectures on the History of Ireland;" Lewin's "Wild Races of Southeastern India;" Overall's "Dictionary of Chronology;" Lloyd's "Peasant Life in Sweden;" and volume II. of Lenormant's Oriental History (published here by J. B. Lippincott & Co.). Macrae's "Americans at Home;" Edwards' "Lives of the Founders of the British Museum;" Part I. of the "Correspondence of J. Cosin" (Surtees Society); Ellis's "Asiatic Affinities of the old Italians;" Lelièvre's "Life of Rostan, the Alpine Missionary;" Millingen's "Wild Life

among the Koords;" Adams' "Travels of a Naturalist in Japan and Manchuria;" Parkinson's "Ocean Telegraph to India;" Thornbury's "Tour round England;" a new edition of Abbott's "Shakspearian Grammar;" and O'Donnell's "Mixed Education in Ireland," make up our more miscellaneous list.

FRANCE.

The events of the last three months invest some of the publications of the preceding quarter with a peculiar interest; *e. g.*, Bavoux' "France under Napoleon III., the Empire, and Parliamentary Government;" Duc de Broglie's "Views on the Government of France;" Cherbuliez' "Political Germany since the Peace of Prague (1866–70);" Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne's "Waterloo—a Study of the Campaign of 1815;" Gouraud's "French Society and Democracy;" Guyho's "The Army: its History, its Future, its Organization, and its Legislation at Rome, in France, in Europe, and in the United States;" Lehr's "Noble Alsace, followed by the *Livre d'Or* of the Patriciate of Strasburg;" "Campaigns of the Army of Africa," by the late Duke of Orleans, with Preface and Introduction by the Count of Paris and the Duke of Chartres; vol. II. of Delord's "History of the Second Empire;" "The Battle-fields of the Valley of the Rhine," by the Duke of Chartres; Dauban's "Prisons of Paris in the Revolution;" Berriat's "Revolutionary Justice—August, 1792;" and Hamel's "Outline of the History of the French Revolution."

The theological and religious literature of the quarter presents little that is worthy of special note. The more important works are Abbé Bluteau's "Defence of Religion against Modern Rationalists," vols. I., II., and III.; Dardenne's "Theological Education in France" (2 vols.); Petitalot's "Prayer: its Necessity, its Power, its Different Forms;" Coulin's "Vocation of the Christian;" Langeron's "Gregory VII. and the Beginnings of Ultramontane Doctrine;" "The *Onomastica Sacra* of Jerome," edited by De Lagarde; Baguenault's "History of the Council of Trent;" Dupuy on "Free Will;" Abbé Feret's "God and the Human Spirit;" a work by Bishop Kernaeret in exposition of the first five chapters of Genesis, entitled "The Beginnings;" Kienlen's "Historical and Critical Commentary on the Apocalypse;" Bishop Landriot on "The Christian Spirit in the Teaching of the Sciences, Literature, the Arts, and in Intellectual and Moral Education;" Ramière's "Roman Doctrines concerning Liberalism;" Reville's "Teaching of Jesus Christ compared with that of his Disciples;" Sabatier's "Apostle Paul, an Outline of a History of his Thought;" Abbé Thiesson's "History of St. Cecilia;" Sémérie's "Positivists and Catholics;" Guéranger on "Pontifical Monarchy;" Cotel's "Principles of the Religious Life;" Strœhlin's "Essay on Montanism;" and Blanc's "Course of Ecclesiastical History."

☞ We are compelled, for want of space, to defer till our next number much literary intelligence, respecting France and Germany, which was prepared and in type.