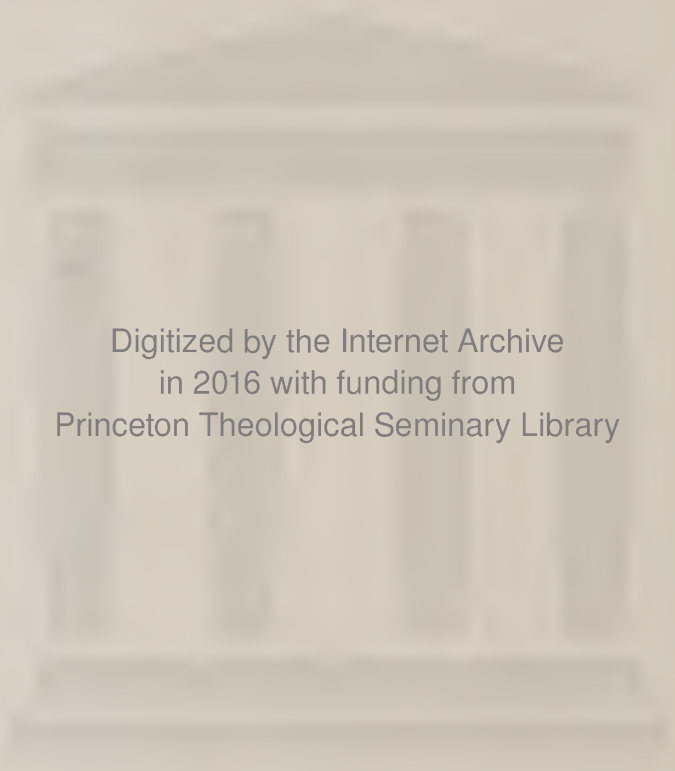

THE

PRINCETON REVIEW.

JULY, 1871.

No. III.

Art. I.—*Studies in the Gospels: Mark, the Gospel for the Roman.*

Some of the critics—chiefly of the class equally eminent for profundity and simpleness—would have us believe that the Gospel according to Mark is only a very awkward rehash of that according to Matthew, with the occasional addition, no less awkward, of some statements of Luke. The hasty and sometimes shabby treatment of the Second Gospel by many of the commentators, has done not a little to foster in the minds of common readers a view too closely allied to that of these critics. A careful study of the Gospel itself, with a wise reference to its origin, will reveal the fact that it has a distinct aim and independent unity of its own, and will scarcely fail to convince the candid mind that Matthew is quite as likely to be a rehash of Mark as Mark is of Matthew. Much more accordant with a due reverence for the Four Gospels, as produced by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost and forming together one part of a great plan of that God who never really wastes material, is the theory that each one of the Evangelists, in writing what he wrote, was directed to perform an essential and distinct service for the world.

We have already stated in this REVIEW (October, 1868) our hypothesis of the Four Gospels, and we here recall that hypothesis in its rough outlines, that it may be before the reader's mind in this discussion.

The Four Gospels were designed to commend Jesus of Nazareth to the whole world as the expected Deliverer, so as to secure the submission of the world to him. *Matthew* wrote for the Jew, the man of Divine revelation or of prophecy; *Mark*, for the Roman, the man of power; *Luke*, for the Greek, the man of broad humanity; and *John*, for the Christian, the man of faith: from the *first* we have the Gospel of prophetic fulfilment; from the *second*, the Gospel of Divine power; from the *third*, the Gospel of universal humanity; and from the *fourth*, the Gospel of the Christian life: in the *first* Jesus appears as the Messiah of the prophets; in the *second*, as the Almighty Worker and Conqueror; in the *third*, as the Friend of suffering man; and in the *fourth*, as the Son of God, the light and life of men. The *three Synoptics* thus prepared the Gospel for the world of unspiritual men, made up of Jew, Roman, and Greek; while *John* prepared it for the Church, composed of men lifted up out of these races and made spiritual by the grace of God manifested in the new religion.

But these classes for which the Gospels were originally prepared were *representative classes*. Human nature is essentially made up of these same four tendencies or temperaments in all ages. Since the Gospels appeal respectively to the instincts which lead men to bow to authority, power, reason, and spirituality, their points of view may be looked upon as exhausting the sides of man's nature from which he may best be reached and led to submission to the Saviour. The Four Gospels, in their contrasts, are therefore still suited to meet the fourfold need of the individual and of the race, and so to be a Gospel for the whole world.

In the former article the attempt was made to show that the structure and peculiarities of Matthew's Gospel were most satisfactorily explained and accounted for by this hypothesis; in the present, it is proposed to attempt a like work for Mark's Gospel.

So far as regards the Second Gospel, our supposition is as yet

mere hypothesis; and we therefore begin with the fundamental question, *For whom was the Gospel according to Mark originally written?*

It is clearly an historical fact that *Mark wrote his Gospel for the Roman race*—one of the three great representative races of which in his day the civilized world was made up.

Clement of Alexandria, who flourished in the second century, is our first witness to this fact.* He records it as an undoubted fact that "Mark was requested by the Romans to commit to writing the Gospel which Peter had preached to them," and that thus the Second Gospel had its origin. His scholarly character, his wide acquaintance with the Church, and his nearness to apostolic times, all fitted him for a witness in this matter;—his *scholarly attainments*, for having studied, first with various philosophers, and afterwards with the distinguished Christian teachers in Syria, Palestine, Greece, Italy, and Egypt, and having profited in all, he had scarcely an equal in his century, and so had readiest access to all the written opinions of the age;—his *wide acquaintance with the Church*, for his travels and his studies brought him into contact with well-nigh its whole extent from east to west, and gave him opportunity to learn the traditions on all such points;—his *nearness to apostolic times*, for his life reached back so far as to need but a single link to connect it with the passing away of the last of the Apostles. With these facilities for arriving at the truth on that point, he makes his statement touching the aim of Mark's Gospel as an undisputed fact, and does it at a time when, if contrary to fact, it would have been the easiest thing conceivable to expose its falsehood.

Jerome confirms the statement of Clement.† Still later *Eusebius, the Historian*, sums up all the unvarying testimony of those who have gone before him when he declares that Mark wrote his Gospel under the direction of Peter, at the request of the brethren at Rome, and *with a special view to circulation in Italy and among the Romans generally.*

Since no one has ever succeeded in impeaching the veracity of these witnesses on this point, or even attempted such a

* Clem. Alex., *Ap. Euseb. H. E.*, vi. 25.

† *Hieronymus de Viris Illustribus*, c. 8.

thing; and since no reasonable motive can be assigned for their making the statement except its foundation in fact, we are justified in assuming it to be *an undoubted fact of history that Mark wrote his Gospel for the Roman race.*

If written for the Roman, *the key* to the Second Gospel must be found *in the Roman;* for the Holy Ghost in all revelation always adapts the means used to the end to be attained. The end to be attained in the present case is to commend Jesus of Nazareth as the great Deliverer to the Roman; the means used, this second of the Gospels. Herein is found, in its most general statement, *the organic idea* which ruled in the production of this Gospel.

It is necessary, accordingly, as a preliminary, to inquire *what manner of man the Roman was.* His quality and his place among the great historic and representative races of the time of Jesus the Nazarene must first be ascertained before it will be possible to understand his wants and to appreciate the adaptation of the Gospel according to Mark to those wants.

We take the liberty of assuming here that, under Providence, the history of each nation is, either consciously or unconsciously, the embodiment and working out of some grand idea. That idea once seized upon furnishes the key to the nation's character, conduct, and mission, and shows what is needed, humanly speaking, in order to commend Jesus to that nation as the Divine Deliverer of men.

This key to the character, career, and wants of the Roman is found in *the idea of Power.* In writing to the Christians at Rome, Paul is "not ashamed of the Gospel of Christ," because "it is the *power* of God unto salvation to every one that believeth."

What, then, was the Roman idea of power in its essence, its modifications and developments?

The Roman horizon, broad as it was, was yet limited to this world. He was not, like the Jew, the representative of supernatural and Divine power, but of *power natural and human.* Even this lower and narrower domain he did not wholly appropriate, but leaving human power as power of reason expressing itself in thought, to the Greek, seized upon *power of will expressing itself in action*, as his peculiar property.

The Roman, as such, cared little for the logical and æsthetic power of the Greek; his was the logic of deeds. He became, accordingly, the *mighty worker* of the world, casting up the highways across empires, and leaving behind him public improvements in every form and of a grandeur fitted to astonish the world.

To advance a step, the Roman idea was *power embodied in the State.* The will of the individual was lost in the will of the State, the Roman in Rome. Rome regarded the race, so to speak, as in a condition of anarchy, out of which it was her mission to bring it. Her power was power ordered and organized—taking the form of law and government—directing and controlling. Law and duty, or obedience, the consequent of law, were common to both Jew and Roman. But the *Jew* gave the world law in its *statical*, divine, and eternal relations. With him it was *a divine precept* revealed from heaven, pointing out the only way of blessedness for man here and hereafter, waiting patiently for man to come up to its requirements, and depending for its enforcement not so much upon a present hand of power as upon Divine sanctions drawn from prophecy and all the workings of providence and from the distant future. The *Roman*, on the contrary, gave the world law in its *dynamic*, governmental, and temporal aspects. With him it was not a precept waiting for man to fall in with it, but *the expression of a present force*, the organized and martial might of Rome, demanding submission, and remorselessly crushing men and nations into its own iron moulds. His career was therefore one of conflict; war was a necessary result of his nature. We are accustomed to say he had a genius for government and war.

In the carrying out of his mission the man of power was *the representative of natural justice* in the world. It is true that in the early history of the republic he was narrow and unpractical; but his ideas broadened through contact with many nations and by long experience, and his entire system of laws came to be controlled by those principles of natural justice, without which his conquests could never have been consolidated.

Doubtless any one will agree that it was some alleviation

that the moulds into which the Roman power so remorselessly crushed men and nations were moulds of justice, yet in proportion as the world was a wicked world was the justice a terrible justice. Rome is aptly described by the prophet Daniel as the *iron kingdom:* "the fourth kingdom shall be strong as iron, forasmuch as iron breaketh in pieces and subdueth all things, and as iron that breaketh all these shall it break in pieces and bruise;" and again, as the *ferocious beast*, "dreadful and terrible, and strong exceedingly, with great iron teeth, which devoured and brake in pieces, and stamped the residue with the feet of it." It was justice practically omnipotent and omnipresent, and so neither to be resisted nor escaped—justice which never dreamed of mercy until the work of conquest and consolidation was done. It was justice which made men long for mercy.

The Roman idea rose still higher—*to power in the State deified*, or assuming to be *Divine*. The Jew had only the one God of revelation, Jehovah; the Greek had as many gods as there were qualities good and bad in human nature, and forces productive and destructive in physical nature; the Roman, at the first, accepted the gods of the Greek, but re-made them. With the growth of his power he outgrew them. Jupiter, Apollo, Bacchus, *et id omne genus*, became either insignificant or dead to him. The day came when an active, mighty embodiment of force, working triumphantly in the world's great changes, alone could claim his submission; and then *Janus*, the god of war, was exalted to the high place: and as the last phase of the worship of Olympus, ROME *herself became the god of the world in virtue of being the mightiest thing in it, and* VICTORY the embodied symbol of national power and success.

Under the special protection of these national divinities the Roman inevitably pushed his idea of power to *universal empire*. Yet his rule was essentially a rule of *caste*, for it was only *the Roman* who was in compact with heaven, only the Roman to whom the gods of Rome vouchsafed special protection. It is true that the broader and more human doctrines of Plato, and the marked providences which prepared for the Advent, had modified and somewhat mollified his views, yet it must still be admitted that, at the time of the Advent, with something of

the same tenacity with which the Jew clung to the notion that he had exclusive claim to the blessings of the covenant with Jehovah, the Roman clung to the opinion that he alone was privileged and ordained of heaven to rule mankind.

We are thus prepared to comprehend more fully *the organic idea* which, as we have seen historically, ruled in the production of Mark's Gospel. Setting apart from all others *this man of Power* whose character we have sketched, the Holy Ghost proposes to commend to his acceptance Jesus of Nazareth as his Saviour and Sovereign, the expected Deliverer of the world, and to do it in the way best suited to his character and antecedents. It is an admitted principle that in all literature the organic idea will give shaping to the "characters, incidents, metaphors, diction, and phraseology" of a production,—a principle that holds not less clearly in Mark's Gospel than in Shakespeare's Hamlet. We have already a right to expect, therefore, that the Gospel for the Roman will be shaped by this Roman idea,—that it will present the character and career of Jesus *from the Roman side*, as answering to the idea of Divine power in work, law, conquest, and universal sway, and will thus exhibit Jesus as adapted in his power and mercy, his work and mission, to the wants of the Roman world. To the Roman these are credentials of Jesus no less essential than prophecy to the Jew. Without them there could not even be reasonable hope of arresting his attention. At the same time we should expect this Gospel, while making the most of everything correct in the Roman idea, to aim at correcting the errors in it.

Whether such an adaptation to the Roman character and wants *actually exists* in the Gospel according to Mark we now propose to submit to the appropriate tests, first, of a General Survey, and, secondly, of an Analysis.

1. To begin with the General Survey of Mark's Gospel, in its author, its point of view, and in its choice and presentation of materials.

The Divine adaptation of this Gospel to the Roman race is first of all seen *in the selection of its author and in his preparation for his task. John Mark*, whose first name shows his Jewish and his second his Roman connection, was the chosen

instrument. The son of an influential Christian matron of Jerusalem (Acts xii. 12), we may perhaps infer from the predominant use of his Roman name, *Mark*, that he was pre-eminently Roman in nature.

However this may be, it is certain that his training was eminently adapted to prepare him to exert an influence on the man of power. Three men had to do chiefly with shaping his character after the Roman ideal. He received the impress of the tremendous sustained energy of *Paul*, whose companion he was in his earlier ministry, and again at Rome during his captivity (Col. iv. 10; Phil. 24); was moulded by the restless activity of *Peter*, whose convert he probably was (1 Pet. v. 13), whom he accompanied in his mission to Babylon (1 Pet. v. 13), and whose interpreter he was (according to the Fathers) in the mission to Rome in which the apostle suffered martyrdom; and was made to feel the influence of the tender and merciful heart of his uncle *Barnabas*, whose fellow-worker for Christ he was in his early life.

While being thus fashioned in character by these great apostles and preachers, he was providentially brought into the widest and most varied contact with the Empire, in its customs and language, in its law and legions, from the centre of authority at Rome to its remotest limits.

But the instrument so fitted in character and in culture for the work of commending Jesus to the man of power needed still to be supplemented; for Mark was not personally cognizant of the facts of the Gospel. Peter, the man of deeds rather than words, was therefore appointed to supply, in his preaching, out of his vivid memory, and after his striking manner, the materials for the Gospel; while Mark was appointed under the influence of the Holy Spirit, and in accordance with his character and training, to give it final shaping; the two together thus constituting the one complete medium for introducing Jesus to the favorable consideration of the Roman.

The Gospel prepared by these chosen instruments is eminently adapted to the Roman *in its point of view.*

It is the "*Gospel of Jesus Christ* THE SON OF GOD (Mark i. 1). It accordingly presents Jesus, not as the fulfilment of the past divine revelation, as does Matthew, nor as the foundation

of the future Church, as does John, nor as the satisfaction of human yearning, as does Luke, but as *the personal embodiment of the Son of God*, in the fulness of his present, living energy, demonstrating himself the Son of God by his Divine working. Everything, from the opening with the mission of the Baptist to the closing vision of Jesus exalted to the throne of God, is so shaped as to deepen the impression of his *almighty power.*

It represents him as *proclaiming and establishing a Kingdom;* but it is a kingdom of *power* and not of propheey. While therefore Mark has so much in eommon with Matthew that many insist that he is a mere copyist or abridger of him, there is yet this wide differenee, that whereas Matthew rests wholly on propheey, Mark is so entirely independent of prophecy that, after the opening verses, he never even records the words of a prophet, except as he quotes from the mouth of Jesus.

This distinction is at once marked and fixed in the two phrases by whieh the kingdom is expressed by the Evangelist, —*the Kingdom of the heavens* and *the Kingdom of God*—the former, to guard against the error of the Jew who expected Messiah's throne to be set up in Jerusalem, places the King, his throne and the higher glories of his kingdom *in the heavens* where God dwells; the latter, the better to meet the case of those who did not hold this Jewish error, but who erred rather in following other gods, or in deifying Rome or the emperor, seats upon the throne of the kingdom *God himself*, the Almighty Creator and moral Governor of the world, *in the person of Jesus the Son of God.*

For the Roman, the mighty worker and conqueror of the world, Jesus is held up as "*the Divine, Almighty Worker and Victor.*" Matthew furnishes us with the ancient types of Christianity and John with its deeper spiritual mysteries, Luke gives us its inmost connection with the unchanging heart of man, but Mark holds up to us "the pieture of the sovereign power of Jesus battling with evil among men swayed to and fro with tumultuous passions." Lange, in the Introduction to his Commentary on this Gospel, has attempted to show—we think with very complete sueeess—that the Gospel may be divided into "a progressive series of victorious eonflicts,"

beginning with the conquest of the four chosen apostles and ending with the final subjection and possession of the whole world. Through perpetual victory—victory even in seeming defeat—the King, the incarnation of Almighty power, advances to the Roman ideal of universal sway. It is the almighty conqueror and not the servant* (symbolized by the *ox* of prophecy) that appears in Mark's delineation of Jesus.

For the Roman, who had felt the crushing power of the *Iron Kingdom* and the remorseless cruelty of the *ferocious beast* of prophecy, Mark presents the Kingdom of God in its *spirituality* and *mercy* no less than in its power and righteousness. This great world-conflict and conquest, so realizing and yet so surpassing the Roman idea, is everywhere represented as carried on with spiritual power and weapons, and for spiritual ends. In retirement from men and communion with the heavenly world the King is girded for the battle. No noise of spear or battle-axe is heard, for the contest is waged against the devil, his demons, and his human agents in the world, and the removal of the miseries of the world is sought through forgiveness and eradication of sin. The Divine Conqueror crushes into fragments the old social world, as the Roman has done before him, but he crushes it in mercy; and he reconstructs it—not as the Roman has done in the moulds of resistless and savage justice—but by the law of righteousness and charity. The false Roman idea of power, weapons, conflict, victory, and kingdom are discarded, and the spiritual made more and more prominent to the close.

* We cannot but feel that there has been much of "darkening counsel" in the arbitrary application of the creatures of the cherubim of Ezekiel and John to the Gospels as symbolizing their respective characters. The differing views of different writers confirm this. The Romish Church follows Jerome in adopting Ezekiel's order in attaching them to the four Gospels, viz.: the man, the lion, the ox, the eagle. Jukes, in his "Differences of the Four Gospels," adopts John's order, viz.: the lion, the ox, the man, the eagle. Lange finds them somewhat unmanageable, and departing from both John's and Ezekiel's order adopts one of his own, viz.: the ox, the lion, the man, the eagle. Different writers are thus led to assign to Jesus, as presented by Mark, the very different characters of the *strong conqueror* (lion), the *patient worker* or the *servant* (ox), and the man (man). This confusion and contradiction is the necessary result of theories of the design of the Gospels so purely arbitrary and without historical basis

There is *suffering* in the Kingdom, as in the earthly kingdom, but not, as in that, suffering inflicted upon the vanquished, but *suffering endured by the victor* for the sake of the victory of mercy and blessing. The wrong Roman idea is reversed. There is *death* in it, too; but it is only the foundation and the beginning of a higher life of blessedness for all the King's subjects. To the Roman, with his deepening sense of misery under the stern reign of natural justice imperfectly embodied in Rome, Mark makes his exhibition of the Kingdom of God a *Gospel*, by portraying the career of the King and his conquering hosts as subordinately a career of humble service, of kindly ministrations, of boundless sacrifices, of cheerful suffering, and even of voluntary death, in order to save the race from its heavy woes. The complete triumph comes in the final conquest of death and the world.

It must therefore be evident to even the most superficial reader, that what has been considered *the organic idea* of the Second Gospel, makes itself clearly manifest in the point of view from which the character and career of Jesus is presented. In the great outlines of both character and career he eclipses all that is mightiest and best in the Roman ideal.

Descending from these more general considerations connected with the Evangelist's point of view to his *choice and mode of presenting his material*, the presence of the same organic idea can be everywhere traced.

It is a well-known fact that there are but twenty-three verses in Mark which are not found either in Matthew or Luke; yet these verses are so marked in character, and everything common to the other Gospels is so varied by minute touches and accessory circumstances, by now a word or phrase and then an expressive turn of language, so arranged in new and peculiar relations, that in reality this Gospel, in its whole complexion, differs even from that of Matthew, which it most resembles. The Evangelist makes use of just the method—whether consciously selected or adopted spontaneously—by which the spiritual power and mercy of Jesus Christ the Son of God shall best appeal to the senses and the soul of the man of mighty deeds. We can only indicate in a brief and general way a few of the more marked of its peculiarities.

Mark has furnished us *the Gospel of action.* He omits all the long discourses of the other three Gospels. Although so much the shortest of the Gospels, his has nearly as many miracles as any of the others, but has only four parables. It deals with little logic except the logic of facts. Mr. Westcott has called it "a series of perfect pictures;" and again, "the living portraiture of Christ in the clearness of his present energy." The teaching of mighty fact everywhere outruns that of plain statement. Mark nowhere represents Jesus as being addressed as *Lord*—as the other Evangelists so often do—but *the authority* of *Lord* and *God* is exhibited in all his career as it is not by any other Evangelist.

Mark has given us *the God speaking out most clearly through the man* in all the relations of life. Tangible forms, material symbols, were a necessity in a Gospel to the matter-of-fact Roman. To him an abstract God were no God at all. Luke, writing for the so-human Greek, dwells upon the perfect humanity of Jesus as it appears exalted into union with the Divinity; Mark, for the Roman, strives to make the invisible God visible through the manhood of Jesus. So marked is the prominence of the manhood that some have been induced to call Mark's the *Gospel of the Son of man.* We admit the correctness of the designation if by it be understood the *Gospel of the Son of God incarnate.**

So Mark's is *the Gospel of minute and vivid details.* Through Peter, whose amanuensis or interpreter he is, in a sense, to be regarded, the Evangelist takes the position of an eye-witness and ear-witness, and makes everything life-like, by the thousand varied and delicate touches which are fitted to make past events present realities again. In recording ordinary occurrences, while omitting much of didactic matter preserved by Matthew and Luke, he adds some circumstance of

* The sharp contrast so often drawn between John as the Gospel of the *Son of God* and the other Gospels has only very slight foundation in fact. All the Gospels present Jesus as the Son of God, and are unintelligible except upon the admission of his Divinity. Matthew presents Jesus as the Son of God incarnate as the Messiah; Mark, as the Son of God working and conquering in and through the man—the Divine-man; Luke, as the suffering man exalted into union with the Son of God—the man-Divine; John, as the incarnate Son of God, the light and life of the world.

condition, or of place. In picturing the extraordinary events, he alone of the Evangelists dwells upon the looks and gestures, and in general upon the outward expressions of feeling on the part of Jesus. In describing the miracles, he dwells upon the instrumental or accompanying acts. By these processes the plain narratives of the other Evangelists are transformed into living facts. In truth, Mark must be acknowledged as being among the four Gospel authors the "exclusive master of the pictorial and the scenic in describing what took place."

To illustrate by a *single narrative*, that of *The Widow's Mite*, found in Mark xii. 41–44, and also in Luke xxi. 1–4. Mark adds to the parallel account of Luke that Jesus *sat over against the treasury;* that he saw *the people* cast in their gifts; that *many that were rich cast in much;* that the widow's two mites *make a farthing;* that *he called unto him his disciples* and told them that the poor widow had cast more in *than all they which have cast into the treasury.* Add to this the constant repetition of the leading words—*cast in.* These additions are just the material which make all the difference between *reading the sober statement* of Luke and *seeing the event itself* in Mark's picture.

The same peculiarity will be found throughout Mark's narratives as compared with the parallel passages of Matthew and Luke. Every such examination will confirm the principle, "that if any one desire to know an evangelical fact, not only in its main features and grand results, but also in its most minute, and, so to speak, its most graphic delineation, he must betake himself to Mark."

Or, to illustrate by the use of *single words* added or varied or strengthened so as to transform plain statements into living realities:

Mark usually gives the *names* and *surnames*, and mentions the *relations* of the persons whom the other Evangelists mention more generally. The blind man restored near Jericho is *Bartimeus the son of Timeus* (x. 46); the high-priest from whom David received the shew-bread as food is *Abiathar* (ii. 26); the Jewish name of the publican Matthew is *Levi*, and he is *the son of Alpheus* (ii. 14); the sons of Zebedee are surnamed by Jesus *Boanerges, which is the sons of thunder* (iii.

17); Simon of Cyrene was *the father of Alexander and Rufus* (xv. 21), one of whom seems to have been a well-known person in the circle of Roman Christians (Rom. xvi. 13).

He takes peculiar pleasure in giving *the identical Aramæan words* used by Jesus. In the accounts of the young woman's restoration to life, Matthew mentions the bare fact, Luke gives our Lord's words in Greek, but Mark tells us (v. 41) that our Lord said to her, "TALITHA, CUMI, which is, being interpreted, Damsel, I say unto thee, arise." So in the account of the healing of the deaf and dumb man in the coasts of Decapolis (vii. 34), we have the word of Jesus, *Ephphatha;* and have it interpreted for the Gentile reader, "that is to say, Be opened." In Gethsemane we have the Syriac *Abba* (xiv. 36), and in the answer to the Jerusalem Scribes and Pharisees, the Hebrew *Corban*, caught from the lips of Jesus (vii. 11). The cry of agony on the cross is given by Mark in the precise *Aramæan* words in which it was doubtless uttered, "*Eloi! Eloi! lama sabachthani?*" By Matthew it is given in the original *Hebrew*—then already a dead language—"Eli! Eli!" etc.

But most worthy of note, perhaps, are the *word-changes*, illustrated in every paragraph of Mark's Gospel, by which the expressions of the other Evangelists are strengthened and intensified. Matthew and Luke tell us that at the baptism of Jesus the heavens were *opened* unto him; Mark tells us that *he saw* the heavens *rent open* (i. 10). Matthew and Luke tell us that after the baptism Jesus was *led up* or *led* into the wilderness for the temptation; Mark says, the Spirit *driveth him* (i. 12). These are only specimens of what occurs throughout the Gospel.

We have been able to give barely a hint of some of the manifold ways in which the Second Gospel is fitted in the details of style, expression, coloring, and thought itself, to commend Jesus as the expected Divine deliverer to *such a man as the Roman*, the man of deeds. It would take a volume to do justice to the subject. Yet even these glimpses may serve to lead any thoughtful reader into the larger regions of truth and fact and adaptation from which they come, and enable him to detect everywhere the presence and influence of the organic idea of this Gospel.

Rising above all these details to the general rhetoric of the Gospel of Mark, Da Costa, in "The Four Witnesses," has clearly pointed out certain peculiarly *Roman and soldierly* features which characterize it as a whole. By a deliberate comparison he finds its style bears a close resemblance to that of Cæsar's *Commentaries;* both exhibiting the same emphatic repetition combined with the same rapidity of movement, the same copiousness of description with the same dramatic effect; so that even the word *straightway* (εὐθέως), which is so characteristic of Mark—being employed in his Gospel about forty times—appears in the writings of the great Roman captain in the ever-recurring *celeriter*. No work of old Roman, in short, was ever more Roman in its rhetoric than the Gospel according to Mark. With an aim differing from ours, and yet in a form suited to our purpose, the same writer has called this Gospel "The brief and terse narrative of that *three years' campaign*, so to speak, of the *Supreme Captain of our Salvation*—whose name from of old was *Warrior* as well as *Prince of Peace*—carried on and completed, for the deliverance of our souls, the bruising of Satan, the glorifying of the Father, in his labors, his sufferings, his death, his resurrection and final triumphs."

But beyond all these features which must be admitted to fit the Second Gospel for *such a man as the Roman*, there are here and there some more marked and unmistakable indications that the writer had in view in his writing the *veritable Roman himself*.

One of these is found in the use of *the Roman division of the night into four watches*, evening, midnight, cock-crowing, (gallicinium) and morning. This is peculiar to Mark, the other Evangelists retaining the Jewish division into *three watches*. An examination of Mark xiii. 33–37, in connection with the parallel narratives in Matthew xxiv. 42–46 and Luke xii. 35–39, will bring out the contrast in clear light.

Another of the indications referred to consists in the use of Latin words (in Greek form), which occurs nowhere else in the New Testament. The paralytic when healed is commanded to take up his *bed*, κράβαττον (grabatum) (Mark ii. 12), instead of κλίνη (Matt. ix. 6), or κλινίδιον (Luke v. 19, 24).

The word σπεκουλάτωρ (Mark vi. 27) (translated *executioner* in our English version, but meaning *body-guard* rather) is a Greek form of the purely Latin word *speculator*. The word ξέστης (Mark vii. 4) (translated *pots*) is doubtless a corruption of the Latin *sextus* or *sextarius*, meaning the sixth part of some larger measure, and nearly corresponding to the English pint-measure, mug, or bowl. Mark—and he only—explains the *two mites* of the widow, λεπτὰ δύο (Mark xii. 42) by the Latin-Greek word κοδράντης (quadrans), being the fourth part of the well-known Roman *as*. The *centurion* who had charge of the crucifixion is called by Matthew and Luke, in pure Greek, ἑκατοντάρχης, but by Mark, in Latin-Greek, κεντυρίων (*centurio*) (Mark xv. 39, 44).

A third of these indications that Mark had in view the Roman as his reader is to be found in his treatment of themes connected with the geography of Palestine and with Jewish rites and customs. There is in general, as compared with the First Gospel, a paucity of references to all matters which would require either a Jewish reader or copious explanations for the Gentile reader in order to make clear the point and drift of the narrative; and, as compared with the Third Gospel, a paucity of the accurate geographic and historic statements so necessary to the reasoning Greek, whose character would lead him to the mental reconstruction of the history and topography, but so useless to the Roman intent only on the incidents themselves as exhibiting the power of the Almighty Conqueror. With Mark the full impression designed is not ordinarily dependent upon a minute and accurate acquaintance with Jewish peculiarities. We never find him venturing an explanation of such peculiarities whose main design is not to add to the vividness of the impression rather than to give information merely. But that he does not withhold such explanation—as some one has asserted—because of the familiarity, either partial or entire, of his readers with matters essentially Jewish—may be seen at once from the discourse about *unwashen hands* (Mark vii. 1–5) as compared with the parallel account of Matthew (xv. 1–3). Evidently the reader for whom that was written by Mark was not familiar with Jewish customs; and in it we have an unanswer-

able argument against the hypothesis which represents the absence of explanations as arising from such familiarity. Too elementary in its explanation for the Greek, and the custom not at all needing explanation for the Jew, it exactly meets the case of the Roman.

The other features to which attention has been called are *best explained* by the supposition that Mark wrote as a Roman for the Roman; these last features *can be explained satisfactorily by no other supposition.*

Even this hasty general survey will, we think, warrant the conclusion that the Gospel according to Mark could scarcely be better adapted in its method and complexion to commend the claims of Jesus of Nazareth to the Roman race. Everywhere is found evidence of the presence and moulding influence of what has been decided to be its organic idea.

2. To proceed to apply to the hypothesis under consideration the test of *an Analysis of the Gospel.*

The Gospel according to Mark may be looked upon as consisting of five principal Parts, with an Introduction and Conclusion. The entire outline analysis—necessarily abridged in all its Parts—is presented at this point that the reader may have before him, in the few remaining paragraphs of this article, the plan of the Evangelist in a single view.

INTRODUCTION.—The Almighty King in his Divine Person and Kingdom brought forward by the Evangelist. Chap. i.–ii. 12.

1st Section.—The King brought forward in the Divinity of his Person. Chap. i. 1–13. Divine name; forerunner's preaching; Divine recognition at Baptism; subjection of Satan, nature, and angels at Temptation.

2d Section.—The Kingdom brought forward in its Divine Power. Chap. i. 14—ii. 12.

A.—Opening Proclamation in Galilee and Call of Subjects. 14–20.

B.—Opening Works of Power, foreshadowing its future and rousing the people. Chap. i. 21—ii. 12. At Capernaum; in circuit in Galilee; at Capernaum again—Divine authority, power, and nature demonstrated, and *Divine place taken in forgiving sin.*

PART 1ST.—The Kingdom of Power in its Foundations. Chap. ii. 13—v. 43.

1st Section.—Subjects of the Kingdom. Chap. ii. 13—iii. 35. Sinners (13–17); not formalist Pharisees (18–iii. 12); the first subjects called out of all classes (13–30); summed up in those who do the will of his Father (31–35).

2d Section.—Law of Growth in the Kingdom. Chap. iv. 1–34. Quiet outgrowth of truth in the heart (the Sower); independent of will and effort of man (the seed-corn); destined to fill the earth (the mustard-seed).

3d Section.—Power of the King. Chap. iv. 35—v. 43. Power over Nature (storm stilled); over World of Spirits and Animals (Gadarene Demoniac healed and Swine destroyed); over Kingdom of Disease and Death (Woman with issue healed and Daughter of Jairus raised).

PART 2D.—The Kingdom of Power in the Activity of its Conflict. (The King in the progress of his work awakening opposition, and then peaceably withdrawing from it to extend his Divine Power in Works of Mercy.) Chap. vi. 1—viii. 26.

1st Section.—In Nazareth. Chap. vi. 1–6 (*a*). Mighty works acknowledged, but himself opposed, rejected, and withdrawing.

2d Section.—In Circuit through the Villages of Galilee. Chap. v. 6 (*b*)–52.

A.—The Work and Results. 6 (*b*)–30. The Twelve sent and the murderer Herod aroused.

B.—Withdrawal across the Sea of Galilee for rest. 32–52. The departure, the gathering and miracle of loaves and fishes at Bethsaida; the dismissal and return—walking the Sea and stilling the Storm.

3d Section.—In Galilee again; in Gennesaret. Return to the Conflict of Power and Mercy. Chap. vi. 53—viii. 9.

A.—The marvellous Works of Power and Mercy. 53–56.

B.—Opposition of Jerusalem Pharisees and Scribes. Chap. vi. 1–23.

C.—Withdrawal to Gentile borders. Chap. vi. 24—vii. 29.

a.—Borders of Tyre and Sidon. Daughter of a Syro-Phenician woman healed at a distance. 24–30.

b.—Beyond the Sea of Galilee. Deaf and dumb man healed by a touch; four thousand fed. Chap. viii. 1–9.

4th Section.—In Galilee again, in Dalmanutha. Return to the Conflict. Chap. viii. 10–26. Immediate attack of local Pharisees; the Withdrawal with its lesson, and the Blind Man gradually healed in Bethsaida.

PART 3D.—The Kingdom of Power to be Won by Triumph over Suffering and Death. Chap. viii. 27—x. 45.

The occasion of the Revelation of this new phase of the Kingdom of Power—Peter's Confession in Cesarea Philippi. 27–30.

1st Section.—First Revelation, and Consequent Teaching and Mighty Works. *The Rejection by the Sanhedrim foretold.* Chap. viii. 31—ix. 29. The Announcement; the Transfiguration, foreshadowing the Glory and demonstrating Jesus the Son of God; the Dumb Demoniac healed by the Almighty Son of God, and the Secret Source of Power revealed.

2d Section.—Second Revelation, and Consequent Teaching of New Duties. *The Treachery of his own Followers foretold.* Chap. ix. 30—x. 31. Period spent in teaching the new doctrine in crossing Galilee; in Capernaum; in Judea beyond Jordan on the way to Jerusalem.

3d Section.—Third Revelation, and Subsequent Teaching on the Way to Jerusalem. *The Death by the Roman Rulers foretold.* Chap. x. 32–45.

PART 4TH.—The Kingdom Claimed in the City of David. The Claim proved but rejected. Chap. x. 46—xiii. 37.

1st Section.—The Claim to the Kingdom publicly made. Chap. x. 46—xi. 26.

At Jericho—Appeal of Bartimeus to the Almighty Heir of David. *At Jerusalem*—Triumphal Entry; Nation cursed in Symbol (Fig-tree); Temple Cleansed; Nation perishing (withering Fig-tree), and Secret Source of Power revealed.

2d Section.—The Claim questioned and maintained. Chap. xi. 27—xii. 44. The Demand of the Sanhedrim (chap. xi. 27—xii. 12); Attacks of their Emissaries (chap. xii. 13–34 (*a*); Jesus attacking and judging his Enemies (34 (*b*)–44).

3d Section.—The Future prophetically unfolded. Chap. xiii.

PART 5TH.—The Setting-up of the Kingdom prepared for through the King's Death. Chaps. xiv.–xv.

1st Section.—Immediate Preparation for the Death. Chap. xiv. 1–41.

2d Section.—The King in the hands of his Enemies. Chap. xiv. 42—xv. 47. The Betrayal and Forsaking: the twofold Trial and Condemnation; the Cross and its accompaniments; the Burial and its Witnesses.

CONCLUSION.—The Triumph over Death, and the Establishment of the Universal Kingdom. Ch. xvi.

Beginning our cursory and only partial survey of this Analysis of the Gospel with the Introduction, we find whole chapters wanting in it that appear at the opening of the other Gospels.

There is nothing here concerning the Messianic origin and prophetic preparation of Jesus (Matthew), nothing of the philosophy of the beginning and continuation of the wondrously human development of Jesus into the perfect Divine man (Luke), nothing of the eternal origin of him who was to be the light and life of the world (John). Jesus the Messiah is brought forward at once as the *Son of God*, and by a few rapid and graphic strokes is exalted to the very throne of the *God of power*. To follow these rapid strokes in detail: A mighty prophet appears to herald the coming of one infinitely mightier, *the Lord;* at the baptism of that mightier one the heavens are opened in acknowledgment of his Divinity; and when the Spirit has driven him into the wilderness three worlds gather round him. John is cast into prison, and the *wonder-working activity* of this Son of God begins at once. He proclaims the kingdom of God at hand, he calls men and they *straightway* follow him. He enters the synagogue at Capernaum on the Sabbath, and *at once* begins to teach; the audience are astonished at the authority of his teaching; a demon recognizes his divinity and proclaims it, and is expelled by his power,—they are amazed at the omnipotence of

his command, and his fame *immediately* spreads through Galilee. And in this same life-like manner he is hurried from miracle to more notable miracle, from fame to more general fame, and from power to still greater power, until, in the space of forty-four verses, we find him exalted to the place of *God*, the righteous moral Governor of the universe, *forgiving the sins* of a poor paralytic, while the people, in their amazement, glorify *God*, who is revealed there as they had never seen before.

Although all the main facts of this introduction appear in the other Gospels, yet it is as different from them all as if every one of its facts were new. Everything in it is familiar as possible, and yet the delineation is as vivid as if everything were strange as possible. Throughout there is just the logic to attract the attention and arouse the interest of *the man of power*, who is too much given to making history to stop to interpret prophecy; too much engaged in rapid doing to pause for slow philosophizing; and too much absorbed in reorganizing and remoulding the present visible world to be disposed directly to give heed to the facts of an invisible and spiritual world,—just the logic for the Roman.

Part first, exhibiting the Foundations of the Kingdom of God, may be looked upon as corresponding in part to Matt. v.–ix. 35; to Luke vi.–vii.; and to John iii. Comparing it with these, there is nothing in it of that reference to Judaism as the basis of the Law of the Kingdom, in which Matthew abounds; nothing of the philosophic presentation of the world-embracing Law of Charity to which Luke—writing for the *universal man*—devotes his space; nothing of the Theology of the New Life in which John delights. In short, Mark drops entirely the form of connected discourse, in which the other Evangelists present the fundamental ideas of the kingdom, and gives the Character of the Subjects, the Law of Growth, and the Power of the King, by a rapid succession of *incidents*, *parables*, and *miracles*, in what, for ease of execution and vividness of effect, must be acknowledged an incomparable picture. The *incidents* appear in the other Evangelists, but in entirely different groupings,—in fact, without thought of connection with a controlling purpose to delineate the character of the citizens of the

kingdom. The *parables*—Mark's only group—have nothing to do with portraying that world-wide mercy to which Luke's, occurring later in his Gospel, are devoted; or with the spiritual truth and the blessed relations to Christ, which those of John exhibit; or with the inward, subjective influences, to the portraying of which part of those of Matthew's first great group are devoted. There are only *three* of them; *one*—that of the Seed-corn—peculiar to Mark, *two* common to Matthew and Mark, and all portraying the growth of the kingdom as an *outward, objective thing.* The first (the Sower) contradicts the false Roman idea by putting the invisible, spiritual power of truth in the place of the visible, material power of the Cæsars; the second (the Seed-corn) presents a development as independent of human will and as inevitable as that of Rome herself according to the most Roman conception; the third (the Mustard-seed) completes the sketch of the development of the kingdom by depicting its rapid growth into that universality which Rome alone of all the worldly empires had even imperfectly realized. Mark has only four *miracles* in place of the three series with which Matthew follows the Sermon on the Mount and establishes the right of Jesus as the Messiah to lay down the law of the kingdom,—but they are the four intrinsically most wonderful, exhibiting impressively the power of Jesus over the universe, and all made more impressive by the addition of touches which must have come from an eye-witness, and which are fitted to put the reader in the place of an eye-witness. It is a fact to be remarked, that none of the miracles in which Matthew presents the relation of Jesus as Messiah to the Jewish Ceremonial Law (Matt. viii.–ix. 8) are introduced here,—although, with the exception of the healing of the centurion's servant, they appear in this Gospel in other connections, and with other than Jewish aims.

A notable exception appears in this passage to the general freedom of Mark from Jewish references, in the record of the conflicts of Jesus with the disciples of John and the Pharisees about Fasting, and with the Pharisees about the Desecration of the Sabbath. We have seen already—in the portraiture of his character—that, on his religious side, the genuine *Roman born* was *the Pharisee of the Empire*, considering

himself—as did the Pharisee of Judea—the only favored child of heaven. It was true too that his religion was *a mere empty form and tradition*,—nay more, *an acknowledged hypocrisy*, for the priests of the Pantheon could not look each other in the face without outright laughter at the farce they were enacting. The Roman must therefore be taught, by Christ's treatment of Jewish *caste*, the true doctrine of equality and democracy in the kingdom of God, and by his treatment of Jewish *formality* and *hypocrisy*, the true doctrine of the spirituality and sincerity of the religion of the kingdom. Yet even these incidents are stripped of everything that a Jew only could understand, and the whole passage completed by the demonstration of Christ's Lordship of the Sabbath in the healing of the Withered Hand.

Even a glance at the Roman peculiarities and adaptations of each of the other divisions of the Gospel in detail is not possible in the space allotted to this paper. The work may be safely left to the interested reader of the Evangelist, who will readily detect throughout, both in the general features and in the specific details, the moulding presence of Mark's mission as the Evangelist for the Roman.

Before parting with our Analysis, we pause to call attention, in a single paragraph, to the fitness of the general outline of Mark's plan to make a correct and complete impression upon the Roman in favor of Jesus of Nazareth as the expected and longed-for Deliverer. In the Introduction and Part First Jesus Christ appears as *the Son of God* wielding almighty power *in its most tangible forms*, in the former exercising the prerogatives of God himself and in the latter demonstrating himself Lord of the universe. The Roman, the man of power, is thus irresistibly attracted toward him, as is the Jew, the man of prophecy, by the genealogy of Messiah and other opening features of Matthew, and as is the Greek, the world-man, by the philosophic development of the life of the marvellous Divine man by Luke, and as is the Christian, the man of faith, by the different opening of John. Part Second—in delineating the Kingdom of Power in the Activity of its Conflict—still holds the attention of the Roman by miracles second in grandeur to none of those which have preceded;

yet, in the fourfold withdrawal from enemies—from Nazareth, from Herod, from the Jerusalem Scribes and Pharisees, and from the local Pharisees of Dalmanutha—*gives rising prominence to the spiritual weapons and influences* by which the victory is to be gained, and which in the remainder of the Gospel are to hold the chief place. Part Third—with its lesson of Conquest by Suffering—records in its opening section, after the confession of the Twelve, the transcendent miracle of the Transfiguration with its Divine recognition of the *Son of God*, and also the healing of the dumb demoniac at the foot of the mountain, but *the spiritual element*, exalted in the consequent revelation of the secret source of power in the kingdom in prayer and fasting, *predominates from this point onward.* Part Fourth—in presenting the Public Claim of the King in Jerusalem—has at the outset the restoring of sight to Bartimeus and the symbolic cursing of the fig-tree; but from that point forward and through part Fifth *the miracles of power*—the healing in the temple, the healing of the ear of Malchus, and all the wonders that gathered about the cross except the rending of the temple vail—*disappear from Mark's record*, leaving only *the miracles of foresight.* The scenes of the last days are left to depend for their impressiveness *upon the power of the naked facts* of the final struggle with the Jewish authorities and the death upon the cross,—facts depicted with the life-like touch of an eye-witness and fitted to draw from every true Roman the exclamation of the centurion at the cross, "*Truly this man was the Son of God.*" The narrative thus makes manifest that this Son of God, who wields at pleasure *almighty force*, is not to establish his kingdom by that, but by the ministrations of love and suffering of death in the sinner's stead—thus *conquering by a new power infinitely mightier than that embodied in old Rome.* It only remains at this point to sketch the Victory over Death and the Doubts of the amazed disciples, and the Establishment of the Universal Kingdom by the new spiritual forces and weapons, and this Mark does in the final chapter, the appropriate Conclusion of his Gospel.

A few words, in summing up, touching the conclusion warranted by this whole discussion, and we have done. Equally

marked, in both the General Survey and the Analysis of the Second Gospel, have we found the moulding influence of what was historically ascertained to be the *organic idea* of the Gospel. Imperfect as the tracing has necessarily been, the minute details, the general scope and particular plan, unite with Clement and Jerome in deciding this to be—in distinction from Matthew, the Gospel for the Jew, Luke, the Gospel for the Greek, and John, the Gospel for the Christian—*the Gospel for the Roman.*

ART. II.—*The Reformation of the Church of England: Its History, Principles, and Results.* A. D. 1514–1517. By Rev. John Henry Blunt, M. A., F. S. A. London, 1868.

THERE were two stages in the great religious movement of the sixteenth century. In the one the aim was to reform the existing papal church: in the other, to restore that which was truly primitive and apostolic. The one was largely ecclesiastical, having reference to the external affairs of polity, ritual, and the removal of vast evils and oppressions. The other was more theological and spiritual, on the principle that true doctrine would secure right practice, living faith would assure sincere and godly worship, while the polity of the church should be settled by the Word of God, the sole authority in all matters of religion. The first was more fully under the direction of councils and civil legislatures, so that the scriptural views of the most advanced reformers were often compromised by the voice and vote of men who were anxious to conserve the system under which they had been born. We see this result in various English Convocations and Parliaments, in several German Diets, and in the Council of Trent. The advanced party was a minority; the most thorough measures were voted down. The second stage of the movement was due, in a greater degree, to personal influence, to the truth as discovered and set forth by such individuals as Luther, Zwingli,

Calvin, Knox, and Latimer, and to the direct power of the divine Word. The right of private judgment was exercised. The leaders disclaimed all personal, and, indeed, all merely human, authority in matters of faith and practice. They uttered no *dictum* of their own. They issued no decrees. It was not for them to create truth, but simply to discover and announce it, and be its witnesses. God was greater than men; Christ was infinitely superior to councils and parliaments. They were not a court to sit in judgment upon the faith of the Church; they were witnesses, and they stood forth boldly before the world, and testified to the truth as found in Holy Scripture. All who were convinced by the Word of God were invited, not forced by conventional decrees, to join with them in re-establishing the Church upon its ancient foundation of Christ and the Apostles. They cared less for the continuity of the Latin Church, or succession through it, than for union with Christ, and the truly spiritual communion of saints. They could drop the rusted link with the mediæval Church and restore the bonds which would bind them to the apostolic Church. The continuity of Christian faith and life were of most importance. They broke not only with the pope, but with the Roman communion, and declared themselves free in the liberty of Christ. Was it schism for them to restore the body of Christ? The real schismatics were those who had so perverted that body that it was virtually torn from its living Head. They saw only failure in the attempt to reform the Roman Church, so far as to eliminate all that was unscriptural. The one course left them was to bring in the principles and polity of the New Testament. If this was a revolution, it was also a restoration.

"To us," says Herman Grimm, the word "Reformation signifies a historical act; to the sixteenth century the word contained a multitude of ideal wishes and expectations." This latter statement is as true of the fifteenth century, for "the reformation of the Church was an old necessity, acknowledged by the popes themselves. At first, however, a remodelling in the outward life of the clergy was understood by it. The state of things was acknowledged to be intolerable. And, as when anything is sick and diseased, the most evident conse-

quences are generally regarded as the cause of the evil, so now the universal watchword was Reformation, the removal of this disorder." Or as Hase puts it, "Reformation was [in the fifteenth century] generally understood to mean, the establishment of Christian morals among all classes, and especially among the clergy, the abolition of Roman extortion, and the restoration of all ecclesiastical institutions to their original design. The canon law, however, was to remain untouched, and hence its meaning was indefinite. Nothing was to be said respecting doctrine." * In this was the weakness of the first attempts, for unless the Scripture doctrines were revived and granted their apostolic prominence, the fruits of erroneous belief would still appear, the feeble improvement in morals would be temporary, and the original design of ecclesiastical institutions would neither be comprehended nor fulfilled. Not only reform, but revival was needed. Until this was clearly perceived by a class of men who loved the truth for its own sake, no permanently good results were gained. It was necessary for them to proclaim the gospel doctrines, fearless of consequences, not timidly counting the effect upon the offices, rites, and ordinances which had accumulated, through the ages, in the Church. What if the preaching of justification by faith, regeneration by the Holy Spirit, sanctification by the truth, and assurance of eternal life, should take from the priest his office and cast out the confessional? What if it should banish the mass, and reduce the seven supposed sacraments to the two really instituted by Christ? What if it should make a nullity of papal infallibility, and lower the pope to a mere bishop of Rome? What if the work and very idea of the ministry should be so changed as to make it appear like the creation of a new office? What if the acts of worship should become so spiritual as no longer to require rite and ritual, altar and incense, sign and ceremony? What if priestly robes should be consigned to the moths, images to the bats, saint-worship to oblivion, and purgatory to the nullities? Let these be the consequences, for the truth of God could afford to abide by them. What if it should revolutionize the existing order of things? God would enact a better order of better

* Grimm's *Life of Michael Angelo*, II, 211; Hase's *Church History*, 343.

things. These men looked the inevitable results in the face, and had too much courage to be appalled by them. In this they were not unlike their Lord, who saw that one consequence of his teaching, life, and death, would be the abandonment of the Jewish Church as the spiritual fold of His people. But a far better Church would be educed. The evoking of the Christian Church from Judaism was not unlike the calling of the Protestant Church from Romanism. In each there was a restoration of what was ancient: in the one case, that of the principle in the ante-judaic promises that all nations should be blessed in Christ; in the other, that of Christ's undelegated headship over his people, He alone being their lawgiver and intercessor, the light and life of his Church.

Although the entire movement has passed into history as "the Reformation," yet the distinction between the reformation and the restoration is based upon fact. It is important to a right understanding of men, measures, and achievements. It lays the line between the principles, motives, and aims of those who were often engaged in controversy, while prosecuting in their degree the same general work. All were reformers, but some were intent upon carrying out their principles to their full results. Wolsey removed certain evils, but he would have quailed at the Diet of Worms, where Luther stood sublimely on the ground of the Holy Scriptures, saying, "I yield my faith neither to the pope, nor to the councils alone. Until convinced by God's word I can and will retract nothing. Here I stand. I can do nothing else. God help me. Amen." Yet this hero did not go so far as Zwingli, who retained less of the old system. Cranmer was not willing to take Calvin's position. The distinction was made, long ago, when those who went beyond the earlier reformers and their followers were called "the Reformed." It was made to mark the different position taken by each class, in reference to the authority of God's word in matters especially of rite and discipline. The maxim of such reformers as Luther, Melanchthon, and Cranmer was, not to condemn anything, which might be expedient, if it had not against it some indisputable text of the Bible, or a thoroughly clear and explicit Scripture. Their best defence is, perhaps, that of Archdeacon Hare: "Hereby it became pos-

sible for them to develope and diffuse their doctrine, without engaging in a direct contest with the existing state of things, and without awaking those destructive powers, the first stirrings of which had just been so dangerous, by hasty innovations." But the maxim of the Restorers was, not to admit anything for which there was no express warrant in Scripture. Hence the mode of worship introduced by Calvin and his followers has been criticised by some as informal and barren, and admired by others for its simplicity, purity, and apostolicity.

The distinction thus drawn is an aid to us in classifying, not only the reformers, but also the "Churches" which have since existed. In some countries and communions the powerful movement was arrested at the point of re-formation, or at most that of revival. To revivify the old system was regarded as sufficient. Nothing would seem to be thrown out of joint. The disordered clock might be cleaned and repaired without the loss of any of its machinery. The Roman Church, long agitated and sorely pressed to do something, consummated her reformatory measures in the Council of Trent. Certain Protestant churches restored the primitive doctrines in a great degree, and still retained the prelatic system, with some forms and ceremonies which have no scriptural warrant. Writers of a certain class maintain that the English Church did not become Protestant, and while breaking with the pope did not sever herself from that communion, part of which was termed the Roman. They build their theory upon a supposed ecclesiastical substratum, which they call constitutional Anglo-catholicism; or that broad stratum lying below the surface of the entire Latin and Greek, the European and Oriental churches. Beneath all the errors, the superstitions, the human inventions, the *débris* of the mediæval system of worship, the rites borrowed from pagans and added by papal authority, and the legendary customs, there was thought to be an essential catholicism. Even if it were dead, a petrifaction of once living forms and purer creeds, yet Christ might call it into life again. At any rate the types of necessary things were there. It must be acknowledged and preserved, as essential to the English Church. Much wood, hay, stubble, had been piled upon it, in that country as elsewhere throughout

Christendom. The ecclesiastical structure there had become very considerably Romanized. But still it was not the Roman Church in England; it was the Anglican, or Anglo-catholic Church. It needed to have the rubbish removed, and to be freed from "foreign elements," especially the papal, and to be shielded from the Protestant influences, after which it would continue to be the Anglo-catholic Church, as original and unique as if Christianity had made its first appearance on earth at Canterbury, or Oxford.

This we take to be the view of a certain class of writers who attempt history. Their peculiar idea of the Church must affect their minds in the selection of facts. They may sacredly revere that which appears to be patristic and primitive, and piously cling to the traditions of the fathers. They love the Church as it has come down through the past ages. They think they see in it a certain order, organic arrangement, and government, quite essential to its existence. This order is the centre of all clerical grace and authority. They regard the formal, structural continuity of this organic arrangement as essential to the very fact of a Church. Without it there is no Church; there is schism, sectarianism, or merely social combination. They shrink from any historical view of the great reformation which involves them in schism. Catholicism is sacred in their eyes, and it is preserved, they hold, only when the succession of the visible Church is preserved. Catholicity in doctrine, faith, and life, is not sufficient. The continuity of truth, piety, and spiritual worship is not enough. There must be something more formal, visible, tangible; something organic and constitutional. On the theory that this is essential, they assume that it has always existed in their Church. It is a part of their faith. They believe in the Holy Catholic Church in the sense that this succession of divine order and rights has never been broken; this normal continuity has never been lost. Now this theory may make them very zealous, devout, sincere churchmen, and they may think that they love catholicism and hate Romanism; but we respectfully submit whether their doctrine of continuity does not disqualify them for writing history?

In this class we reckon Mr. Blunt, whose views are so

pronounced, that we think it fair to regard the elegant volume before us (he incidentally promises something more) as the exponent of his idea of ecclesiastical reform. He says: "The English Reformation must be properly defined, indeed, as a readjustment of the Constitutional, Doctrinal, and Ritual system of the Church of England. The idea that it was the foundation of a new Church, or that it was intended to be so by the Reformers, is wholly unjustified by history." He calls this notion "an absurd error." Most writers and readers of history have reasoned in this way: It was once a Romish Church; it became a Protestant Church—quite thoroughly so in Edward's time—and hence was so changed as to be virtually a new Church. The very constitution was changed, as well as the administration. The Word of God and the preaching of it, the two sacraments, and the sole object of worship with faith and Christian life were restored. This result has usually been termed the English Reformation. Its first full expression was in the liturgy and doctrinal symbols put forth under Edward the Sixth. Bishop Burnet's statement has generally been accepted, that "the true beginnings of it are to be reckoned from the reign of King Edward the Sixth, in which the articles of our Church, and the forms of our worship, were first compiled and set forth by authority. Indeed, in King Henry's time the Reformation was rather conceived than brought forth."

But Mr. Blunt evidently holds that the true idea and plan of reform were quite well developed in the preceding reign, when Wolsey directed the movement. The vast plans of the cardinal were almost successful. Anglo-catholicism was almost purged of objectionable Romanism. But after that time certain innovators, with their foreign ideas, spoiled the work, and the Anglican Church went staggering on until Archbishop Laud rescued it, and introduced, for a limited period, what the present Tractarians are laboring to establish.

Mr. Blunt lays great stress upon the continuity of the Church of England. This is its especial glory. He imagines "all the more solid, learned, and thoughtful of the Reformers" saying to themselves, "If we break off from the old Church of England, we cut away the ground from under our feet.

We must continue the line of the episcopate, and hand it on unbroken to our descendants; we must provide a priesthood the same in every respect as has been hitherto provided; we must guard the ancient sacraments of the Church, and take care that no essentials shall be wanting to their due administration, *recté* and *rité* as to principles and ritual; we must see that whatever changes may be expedient in our Liturgy and other services, nothing is taken away, nothing added, which shall cut them off from the fellowship of primitive offices; we must maintain the creeds intact; and whatever special formularies may be needed for our special position, we must in all things be sure that the Catholic faith is still held by the Church of England" (pp. 5, 523). Now Wolsey and Warham may have talked in that way, but the genuine reformers, such as Frith and Tyndale, Latimer, Bradford, and Jewell, were too intent upon restoring Christ and a vigorous Christianity to the Church to waste breath in such sentimental speeches. Other writers indulge in the same glorying. "We have never cut ourselves off from the past: we still recite the same creeds and many of the same prayers, that our forefathers did from the very beginning of the English Church." (Hardly, if the said Church began before the Nicene age, or was founded by an apostle or his contemporary!) "Bishops and deans and canons occupy the same thrones and stalls in the same cathedrals as of old; the clergy throughout the land are instituted to the old benefices," and we suspect that Tractarian monks and Puseyite nuns would like it if they could snugly retire into those same old convents which Wolsey and his King so rashly turned to practical account! Thus the monastic continuity would add to the glory. "We may almost say that, in strictness of speech, in England alone was there a true 'Reform' of existing institutions; the continental Evangelizers were compelled, either, as in Luther's case, by force of circumstances, or, as in Calvin's, by deliberate preference, to destroy and re-constitute: there was a break of continuity: consistories and presbyteries came in place of the time-honored church organization, and the societies so constituted have never gained the prestige of the old churches. It has been, in some respects, a blessing for England that there was

found among the Reformers no one man of preponderant force, no Luther or Calvin: we might have been Cranmerites or Parkerists; we are the Church of England as our fathers were."* One must be hard-hearted to deprive such boasters of their exquisite satisfaction.

Unity with the catholicism, which is imagined to live in the Roman Church, is more fondly cherished than union with Protestantism. The latter meets with the aversion of Mr. Blunt, who roundly asserts that "Protestantism has, in fact, been the great hindrance to reformation from the sixteenth century downwards, just as Romanism was the great hindrance to reformation in preceding centuries. It has dealt ostentatiously with mere surface evils, but left untouched those which were deeply rooted; it has diverted men's minds from essential principles and fixed them upon comparative trifles; and it has tended as Romanism itself to the substitution of foreign for native elements in the Church of England" (p. 41). Verily this is vigorous talk. Think of Bullinger and Calvin, and their English sympathizers and correspondents dealing with mere surface evils, and diverting men's minds from essential principles! They might have laughed at the charge, and then turned afresh to the study and proclamation of those deep things which angels desire to look into. If the writer, in dealing with the abuses and errors that needed to be corrected, does not limit himself mainly to surface evils, our notion of depth has not been sufficiently profound.

The organic or constitutional abuses named by Mr. Blunt are these: the non-residence of the clergy, "perhaps the real foundation of most evils in the Church of England:" pluralities, many clergymen holding as many as twenty benefices by means of papal provisions, with license to hold as many more as they could get; appropriations of tythes to colleges and monasteries: the consequent poverty of the lower clergy, and of the people; and the alienation of a large portion of the laity from the clergy, Church, and religion. The Church had a weak hold upon the world of people, while the world of mammon held the Church by the throat.

The doctrinal abuses mentioned are ranged under the words

* "The Church and the Age:" *London Quarterly*, July, 1870, p. 24.

purgatory, chantries, private masses bought and sold, communion in one kind, and want of balance in mediæval theology about the eucharist. "It grasped," says Mr. Blunt, "with a tenacious hold the primitive and patristic theory that it [the eucharist] is an offering for the living and the dead;" a gross view which he seems to endorse, while saying that "it loosened its hold upon the equally primitive and patristic theory that it is the spiritual food of the Christian soul." One result was that "few of the laity ever communicated except at Easter, when the law of the Church positively required them to do so."

The superstitious customs named were involved in indulgences, image-worship, relics, pilgrimages, holy-days, invocation of saints, Mariolatry, and foolish legends. All these were the special evils that needed reformation. We should say that deeper than all of them were ignorance, false teaching, the lack of scriptural truth, with the want of faith, and no knowledge of justification by faith. The shortest way to cure the outward evils was to restore truth and piety to men. Make the tree good, and not simply lop off the blighted branches. Impart the Word of God to the clergy, and let them be filled with love to it and to its author, as well as sanctified by it, and they would reside in their parishes, with only the necessary benefice. Let them teach a sound theology, with all the doctrines of salvation, and every error, from the mass to Mariolatry, would give way to truth. This was the effective method employed and commended by reformers who were not ashamed of their Protestantism.

But this was not the method of Wolsey, who is supposed to have been "consciously following in the steps of Ximenes [Cardinal, of Spain] when he undertook the work of reforming the Church of England," and is declared to have been "the greatest statesman that England had as yet ever seen, and the real leader of the Reformation." We may admire certain measures of Wolsey to promote classical and sacred learning, and his toleration of those "heretics" to whom God was giving the light of life. But our admiration pales before that of Mr. Blunt, who constructs for him, by the free use of imagination, "a noble programme." It sets forth his plans as these:

To provide a better educated clergy by founding professorships at the universities, by building new colleges, and by establishing schools as feeders for them; to have a general visitation of the clergy and the monks by a central, supreme, and resistless authority, and thus enforce discipline and duty; to found new bishoprics; to oppose "the importation of foreign elements, such as Lutheranism;" to tolerate, as far as possible, all "hot-headed reformers;" to promote theological learning by encouraging the study of Greek; and, crowning all, "to obtain the fullest authority possible from the Pope and the King for carrying out these reforms, and to seek the popedom itself, that they might be extended to the Church at large." Wolsey, in the papal chair, would have reformed all Christendom, to the delight of his eulogist! "We must still acknowledge," continues his admirer, "that it was the most comprehensive view of Church reform that was ever contemplated, and one before which the actual Reformation shrinks into a confused mass of half-accomplished good and unobstructed evil." A Wolseian papacy must have been a magnificent reform! No matter about his ambition; it "is of very little consequence," and "no crime." The design justified it all, for "he sought power with great ends in view." It somewhat modifies our notion of the extent of his ambition to be assured that he was quite content with one high office. We are informed by Mr. Blunt that "there is not, indeed, on record, a single line of the cardinal's to show that he would willingly have left England for Rome, or that he felt any regret at his non-election" to the papacy, for which he was twice a candidate. He once said that he would rather continue in the King's service as prime minister, "than be ten popes." Nevertheless, he did wish to be as much as one pope. There is many a line of the cardinal's to show that he was always a devoted servant of the Roman Church. Mr. Froude describes him as "a man who loved England well, but who loved Rome better." Only two years before his death, while exulting over his apparent success in his work of reform, and when he was hopeful that he could arrange the divorce business to suit all parties, he wrote: "At length I have found means to bind my most excellent sovereign and this

glorious realm to the holy Roman See in faith and obedience forever. . . . Henceforth, in recompense for that enduring felicity which he has secured to it, our most Holy Lord [the pope] has all England at his devotion." A few months later he foresaw that the King would not only divorce Catherine, but renounce the pope's jurisdiction, and he urged all the Roman powers to "have respect to the weal of the See Apostolic," lest England should repudiate its authority. Such was the man ecclesiastically, to say nothing of his moral blemishes, who is represented as the fittest reformer of the Anglican Church! "Why," Mr. Blunt inquires, "if Wolsey had such excellent objects in view, why was it that he failed? . . Wolsey's failure—so far as it was a failure—is to be partly explained by the fact that he tried to work out his good ends by means of an external [foreign] authority, which essentially invaded the rights of the Church, instead of by the inherent authority which the Church of England, and every other national Church, possessed for reforming itself. There is some reason to believe that he saw the better way, but chose the worse." He erred in becoming the pope's vicar, contrary to the law of *præmunire;* "consequently his plans broke down, a great opportunity was lost, and the Reformation never became in the hands of others what it had given fair promise of becoming in those of the most honest, the noblest, and the wisest of our church reformers." These are the adjectives piled upon Wolsey! No sort of assertion should hereafter astound us. We are quite ready for any inversion of history.

Wolsey's plans did not end with him, the papal allegiance excepted. He left behind him a "Church-party" of men who excelled in conserving very much of popery without the name, and in tribulating "heresies" not so conservative. Their doctrinal efforts culminated in the Ten Articles and The Institution of a Christian Man. The limited extent of their reform appears in certain articles which savor of the Middle Ages. The sacrament of baptism is declared to be necessary to the attainment of everlasting life; only baptized infants could be saved. "The Sacrament of Penance" is declared to be "a thing so necessary for man's salvation, that no man which after his baptism is fallen again, and hath committed

deadly sin, can without the same be saved." Priestly absolution and auricular confession are required. The sacrament of the altar is made to involve transubstantiation. Images were to be used with caution, as "kindlers and stirrers of men's minds." It was held to be "very laudable to pray to saints in heaven; all holy angels and saints in heaven pray for us and with us unto the Father." Holy-days were to be observed, as well as many rites and ceremonies. Prayers were to be offered for the dead in "masses and exequies," although their pains might not be those of the Roman purgatory. Mr. Blunt alleges that "there is not one word of these articles which is inconsistent with the principles of the Church of England as interpreted in modern times by her most learned divines;" of course, "high-church divines." We cannot think so hard of the rest.

The Institution of a Christian Man contains some of the noblest specimens of pure English and of devotional language anywhere to be found. The errors may not be so tersely expressed, and may be so thinly scattered through the book as to be less evident, but the work seems to have been a happy advance upon the Ten Articles. And yet, after revisions and conferences, and an increased sympathy with European Protestants, the Anglicans were not prepared to accept the Confession of Augsburg, nor were the Lutherans willing to admit the English summaries of doctrine; and hence the scheme of a union between them came to naught. Soon came from Parliament the Six Articles, in the popular sarcasm called the "whip with six strings." The act was drafted by the king, and a papist could have desired little more, for transubstantiation, celibacy, and the mass were distinctively announced and required. A reaction had come in the leading minds. The result was persecution, and almost a wreck of the partial reform.

But there was an element of power in the Church, to save it from a relapse, and even to bring it upon firmer ground. Certain men had an idea of a restoration of the Gospel and its principles. They are named by Mr. Blunt "the anti-church party," "innovators," who had strong hankerings after novelties. They are accused of the "wild follies of Wickliffe,

Huss, and Jerome of Prague," but the precise follies of these proto-reformers are not stated. They had annoyed Wolsey, although Warham and Longland could not prevail upon him to burn them as Lutheran heretics. He burned their books in order to spare the authors. "These men laid the foundation of that sectarian spirit which has been known for three centuries by the names of Protestantism, Puritanism, Non-conformity, and Dissent, and which is, in reality, as strongly antagonistic to the fundamental principles of the Church of England as to those of the Church of Rome." After all, we suspect that from among them came the men who did most for the real reform of the English Church.

Mr. Blunt employs no delicate phrases to set them forth before our eyes, as men whom we should no longer honor as most historians have cheerfully done. "Barnes was a mere fanatic," with a good deal of "stupid unpracticableness"—that last word is rather a heavy stone to hurl at a man whose faults did not prevent him from being appointed on the important commission to treat with the Lutherans. Bilney, ever penitent after his recantation in 1527, under Wolsey's guidance, is presented as "an eccentric, melancholy man," with "an unconquerable aversion to music," whose despondency is supposed to have resulted from allowing his ill-balanced mind "to dwell too much upon the points of Calvinistic controversy now (then) getting into popular notice." Bilney brought "about his condemnation and death by a kind of recklessness in sowing discontent and sedition, which came within the then current definition of heresy." That is, he was zealous in preaching the gospel against popular errors and vices! Latimer was not loth to say, "I knew a man myself, Bilney, little Bilney, that blessed martyr of God." That martyr had been the agent in leading Latimer to the gospel and to Christ. John Frith violated certain laws of persecutors, and denied the necessity of believing that "the very corporeal presence of Christ within the host and sacrament of the altar," holding on that point the opinion of Œcolampadius. Of course his martyrdom was merited. Bayfield was burned for heresy, for "he had been a very busy disseminator of such ribald books as Tyndale's—works which deserved to be forbidden in the

then state of religious opinion, leading as much to sedition as to novelties in religion." Will Mr. Blunt apply this rule of compliance with mere policy to our Lord and his Apostles? They were charged with uttering words which led to sedition and novelties!

The martyrs, only "so-called," of Henry's time are represented as "harsh, ungentle persons," disloyal, contentious, strong partisans in religion, "not lovable nor venerable." Probably some of them were rude and provoking. But granting that they were all unworthy of "the respect or sympathy of posterity," it is putting many true reformers very low to affirm that "All that can be said in their favor is that they (the so-called martyrs) were among the best of their party, and that, wrong-headed as they were, nothing which we should now call criminal was alleged against them. They were representatives of the anti-church party, and circumstances brought forward some of the least odious of that party to represent it." They were, then, better men, less odious, than Tyndale, Shaxton, and even Latimer! for these men were of the same party. But we have another estimate given of its worth, by the typical method. We are told that the "leading spirit of this anti-church party was William Tyndale, and he may be very fairly taken as a type of the class." This Tyndale has been, and still is, highly esteemed by all historians whose prejudices do not bewilder them, and by such eminent scholars as Tregelles, Westcott, and Ellicott, who award to him the chief glory of our English version of the Bible—"of being the master-builder of a grand edifice which others have only improved and adorned." But Mr. Blunt, in a special treatise,* which is an enlargement of a chapter of the work before us, assigns this glory to the almost forgotten associates of Wickliffe and Purvey, because they translated the Latin Vulgate; they made an Anglo-Catholic version; they did not bother their heads about Greek and Hebrew originals, but adhered to such a Bible as the Roman Catholic Church had sanctioned. And this version is imagined to be the real basis of our English Bible! Thus Tyndale is robbed of the

* *A Plain Account of the English Bible.* London, 1870.

honor long since freely accorded. The animus of the man is seen in his theory. Since the laborious attempts to produce an authorized version under Wolsey and Henry the Eighth came to nothing, except as Tyndale really secured the basis of one which was sanctioned, we must be taught that our debt is to be paid to those Anglo-Catholics who translated the Vulgate. But this fancy will not bear the test. Tyndale's version of the New Testament must have been made from that which it most closely follows and resembles. We are assured that his first complete edition of 1526 never follows the peculiar readings of the Latin Vulgate, never forsakes those of Erasmus' Greek Testament; even rendering the typographical errors which had crept into the Greek, but which were not in the Latin. Let one compare the version printed as Wickliffe's in Bagster's Hexapla, with the versions of Tyndale and those which were based upon it, and Mr. Blunt's theory will vanish like a dream. We are prepared for his regret that "the venerable Pusey, our greatest Hebrew scholar and theologian, declined to accept the invitation sent to him" to engage in the present work of revision. Nor do we hold Dr. Pusey's biblical scholarship in light esteem. The attempt to asperse Tyndale's work will hardly affect the judgment of the present revisers. Westcott says of his work, "He contributed directly the substantial basis of half the Old Testament, and of the whole of the New. By far the greater part of his translation remains intact in our present Bibles; his spirit animates the whole."

No doubt Tyndale was "odious," in his day, to the Church-party. His real work was not allowed to bear his name. Why? Evidently because he was too thorough a reformer. Yet he is now charged with thrusting himself forward as a translator for party purposes! He attacked the doctrines and the spiritual rulers of the Church which he had forsaken! He wrote the "Practice of Prelates," the "Obedience of a Christian Man," the "Parable of the Wicked Mammon," and various prefaces to books of Scripture translated by him. Some of his notes were not the most appropriate, as when he scourges popery in comments upon Genesis. He exposed errors with scathing language. He commended an apostolic

order of things. Hence he was offensive, and in exile he became a martyr. His character must not be respected. "Tyndale's character is heroic," says Westcott. Froude calls him "a man whose history is lost in his work, and whose epitaph is the Reformation." But Blunt portrays him as "keen and clever, but extremely self-sufficient, without any real depth of learning," borrowing his noble diction from the manuscripts of some half-mythical writers. "He was a man of unamiable character, and could not keep on good terms with his acquaintances, and was so soured by his disappointments that he spent [the last] ten years of his life chiefly in very bitter attacks upon the Church of England [the *unreformed* Church, as Mr. Blunt might as well have told us] and all who represented it. His intellect was keen, and he had some knowledge of languages, of which he was said to speak seven. But his manner of writing about sacred subjects is often inexpressibly shocking." This language is convincing, not as to Tyndale's character, but as to the spirit of his dissector who mistakes gall for blood, and who makes no allowance for the restiveness of an earnest, persecuted man, toiling on to give the Bible to the people so that every plowboy might have it in hand, and impatient of the slow progress of the reform because it was arrested and restrained by a party which would not restore the doctrinal and ecclesiastical system that he found in the New Testament.

The term "ribald" seems to be a choice one with Mr. Blunt, who carefully applies it to the books which were circulated, often secretly, by the so-called anti-church party. Among them were those of Tyndale, Fish's "Supplication of the Beggars," and such invectives, satires, and exposures of grievances as were called forth by the heat of the times. They were not written with studied elegance, nor cautious policy; they may not have been well adapted to promote the highest piety. But when we find Tyndale's New Testament among them, and probably some of Luther's writings, we must infer that Mr. Blunt is not sufficiently discriminating. With a like injustice he associates the wildest Anabaptists with the anti-church party. He leaves but a dim line between those whose gospel was "at the best a cloudy, ill-

defined budget of negations," and those who clearly asserted positive doctrines. He admits that "Luther's writings had some influence upon the least extreme and least ignorant of the schismatics; the Augsburg Confession of 1530 offered the more learned some stand-points of a system, and Calvin's Institutes, published in 1536, still more formalized their ideas towards the establishment of the anti-church theology." As this theology did more than any other to carry the reform beyond the limits which Wolsey and his king had assigned to it; as Calvinism was prominent in the advanced system of doctrine, if not polity, which glorifies the reign of Edward the Sixth; as it gave vigor and an increasing degree of purity to the English Church in the time of Elizabeth, and onward to the days of Laud, we infer that the advocates of it were the most efficient reformers of England.

Now, what if these "innovators" had the claim to precedence? Their party rose before the Wolsean scheme was authoritatively in operation. It is not necessary to prove their descent from the Wickliffites in order to establish their priority. The study of the Bible, especially in the universities, called them forth. In 1523 the "White Horse divines," so named from the house in which they held their meetings, were forming a theological party at Cambridge. "They conversed much in the books of the divines of Germany," says Strype, who describes them as flocking together in open streets, in the schools, at sermons and disputations. Barnes, Bilney, Latimer, and Coverdale were among them. Wolsey, even as papal legate, refused to fall upon them and rout the brotherhood. At Oxford there was a similar band of young men, of whom Garrett and Delaber were not the best representatives. Frith, Taverner, Robert Farrar, and Richard Cox, afterwards labored with a wiser purpose. This company was dispersed through the zeal of Bishop Longland. Most of these Cambridge and Oxford men did not, for a time, strongly oppose the church-party, but they were always willing to take the advance, and secure a more thorough reform. Hence they were not in royal favor. Several of them were martyrs under King Henry's laws. Latimer became obnoxious to Henry and his favorite bishops. He encouraged those who,

like Barnes, contended for such great truths as justification by faith, against Bishop Gardiner and other high-churchmen. He wrote to Lord Cromwell, in 1537, "I pray God continue with him [Barnes], for I then know no one man shall do more good." Other names might be added, of lesser lights in the reform, but who represented a large class of fair scholars, thoughtful merchants, students, and travellers on the continent, and men who saw in the churches at home an offensive amount of popery retained. If John Foxe is treated as a mere old gossiper by Mr. Blunt, there is a rich store of evidence in the very letters of these men, now rendered accessible by the Parker Society. Any one who will read the letters of Eliot, Butler, Traheron, Hilles, and Burcher, written to Bullinger, Calvin, and other leading reformers on the continent, will gather history enough to convince him of such facts as these: that the church-party was decreasing in numbers and power because of its zeal for unscriptural doctrines and popish rites; that the writings of "foreigners" who sought not mere reform, but revival and restoration, were read with increasing conviction, despite the laws against heresy; that this so-called "anti-church party" was gaining in numbers and influence; that in it were reckoned all the preachers, writers, scholars, gentlemen, nobles, and bishops, who best knew and most closely adhered to the Holy Scriptures, *e. g.*, Latimer, Shaxton, Hilsey, Sirs Edward Wotton and Nicholas Carew—and even Archbishop Cranmer and Lord Cromwell are claimed to be on its side; also that this part of the English Church was only waiting its opportunity, when the crown should pass to Edward, to make a bold forward movement, cleanse the temple, and restore Christianity more fully, according to the New Testament. Few if any of these men thought of radical changes in the polity of the Church; but they were intent upon purer doctrine and ritual.

In the last paragraph of his book, Mr. Blunt concedes that during the latter part of Henry's reign "the anti-church party went on gaining strength in spite of the aversion which the king bore to them. They had the secret support of Cromwell until his death, and no small encouragement from the Erastianism of Cranmer; while the profligate Duke of Suffolk,

the king's brother-in-law, was altogether on their side." But in this he sees only evil. It was a foretokening of a great change, an overthrow of the Anglo-Catholicism which he so much admires. We regard it as an evidence that this progressive party really won the English reformation.

Edward the Sixth, wise child as he was, did not frame an original system, nor, of his own accord, order the adoption of one more nearly in accordance with that of the leading reformers of the continent. The Anglo-Catholics still lament that he was under tutors, governors, counsellors, and prompters, who "were tempted to innovate and give way to innovators." In fact, they were freed from the former yoke, and disposed to use their liberty. At once they bounded an age beyond Wolsey and the framers of the Ten Articles. They scarcely regarded the work of the preceding reign as a reform worthy of the name. They must conduct the Church to a higher level. They were not afraid of foreign influences, nor Protestant elements. Many of them corresponded with the theologians of Geneva and Zurich. As early as July, 1548, Cranmer wrote to John à Lasko: "We are desirous of setting forth in our Churches the true doctrine of God, and have no wish to adapt it to all tastes, or to deal in ambiguities; but laying aside all carnal considerations, to transmit to posterity a true and explicit form of doctrine agreeable to the rule of the sacred writings." For this purpose he invited many learned men of the continent, such as Calvin, Melanchthon, and Bullinger, to meet the reformers of England and other countries, and hold a great council that would offset that of Trent. A vast union of Protestants was contemplated. Although the plan was not carried into effect, it still evinces the spirit of the English reformers.

Opposed to these progressive reformers was a "Church-party"—the remnant of the Wolseian—headed by Gardiner, Bonner, and their allies, who were exasperated by the rapid development of restored principles, and by the deprivation of many of their number. They were intensely devoted to the mediæval rites and doctrines. After six years of unsuccessful controversy, they hailed with joy the accession of Mary, and hoped for triumph. She effected the reunion with the See of

Rome, and they had no scruples in becoming papists. Cardinal Pole compared England to the prodigal son returning to his father. Doubtless the pope could easily forgive all those who had never gone farther astray than to adopt the system of Henry the Eighth. A later pope has not found it very hard to absolve the Tractarians who bow at his feet. He exalts them, and they would again place England there if they had sufficient persuasive power to convince it that the reformation, first really begun under Edward, so far as any great change in the Church was concerned, was a sad mistake demanding repentance.

One of the ways to lead people of our day into Romanism and infidelity is, to pervert church history, to misrepresent and stigmatize the actual reformers, to laud ambitious, insincere men who were induced by policy rather than principle to correct a few of the grosser evils, to destroy confidence in Protestantism, to depreciate the theology of salvation, to make a virtue of the dress and outward manners of the Church rather than of its life and spirituality, and to spin theories of the continuity and succession of ecclesiastical offices, rites, and constitutions. The volume under review is a fair specimen of theoretic history quite well, though we do not say intentionally, adapted to this end. Most of the startling assumptions in it will be disproved by the writings of the men whom the writer exalts, and of those whom he defames; writings which also make it clear that his theory of the English reformation has no truly historical basis. It is a practically dangerous theory. Its tendency is to produce a more sacred regard for that which is patristic and mediæval, than for what is really primitive and apostolic. When men perceive that much of the former, on which stress is laid, is erroneous or barren, they may reject the latter as of little more value.

The distinction, with which we began, bears upon the present state of ecclesiastical affairs. Churches merely reformed, have been and must be perpetually repairing their machinery. Whenever spirituality revives they wish to get rid of some of it, or reduce the amount of formality and ceremony. As soon as genuine piety declines, the tendency is to increase external

rites, for if men depend on them they want an abundance and variety of them, and they are likely to resort to those of an older, unreformed Church. When truth is almost lost in sacramentarianism they will seek in Church services what can be found only in Christ, and by direct access to him. Hence the ritualism of the present day.

A restored Church has its standard in the apostolic age and the inspired Scriptures. If piety decline, the remedy is found not in the revision of rituals, nor in the reconstruction of polity, but in a return to the faith, life, and worship enjoined in the Word of God. The predominating idea is not service, but spirituality; not liturgy, but life. The Church is not regarded as the medium of approach to Christ, nor the vehicle to bear us to him, but he is the door of the spiritual fold, the way into the kingdom of heaven. The Church is important, while Christ alone is absolutely essential. To despise the one, is to despise the other; yet to unduly exalt the one, is to treat the other with a dishonor which amounts to a rejection of living Christianity.

Art. III.—*Sunday-School Libraries.*

The religious history of the last ten years has been marked by a striking degree of interest in the cause of Sunday-Schools. The activity displayed, the ingenuity brought into exercise, the new methods adopted, the creation of an almost independent interest by which the Sunday-School is often practically separated from the Church, the wide-spread organizations under the conventional system, and many other things connected with this history, furnish us many objects both for praise and censure. Out of this agitation of the great cause and its general activity, there have sprung many questions of a practical nature and of serious moment, to which the mind of the Church has been turned, and still must be, and that in larger measure.

Among these questions, that indicated by the title to this article is certainly not the least important.

This question of Libraries is indeed demanding an increasing attention on the part of earnest Sunday-School workers, and is one which should engage the concern of the Church, and especially all those laden with the responsibilities of parentage or instruction. There is a deep conviction of many evils attendant upon the present most general use and character of the Sunday-School Library. No little perplexity is caused by the attempt to remove these evils, and to answer satisfactorily the inquiry which asks, "How shall a Library be so constituted that it shall be at once attractive and beneficial?" To point out existing evils is not a very difficult task; nor is it less easy to perceive the effects upon the minds of the young people of to-day, of that kind of books which form the larger part of our Sunday-School literature. We shall find it far more difficult to devise a plan adequate to meet and counteract the pernicious influences of which complaint is made; one that shall retain all the useful qualities of the Library, and remove all the causes of complaint, and, at the same time, be attractive to those for whom it is designed. While we are in a position to speak with some decision as to baneful effects, and are able to trace some of these to their causes, we have to feel our way with much hesitation, and surrounded with many difficulties, towards a fitting remedy.

I. As a general remark, it may be said that the Sunday-School Library, as now most frequently composed, seems to have been selected on the principle of one who would administer to the same person both a poison and its antidote, with the idea that the two together would do no harm. Supposing that a case should arise where such a physico-chemical treatment would be proper: it by no means follows that a moral equilibrium can be sustained in the same way. The experiment might prove harmless in the case of one whose moral nature was untainted; but as it is, the one scale is already too heavily weighted with sinful tendencies to admit the thought that a certain amount of good literature will counterbalance an equal amount of evil. The evil possesses far more attractions for the general mind than that which might counteract

it, so that it is used greatly in excess of the other. It is hardly necessary to say that such a method of selection is wrong. It is not desirable that the poison should be given at all, even if its antidote is measured out and administered in well-balanced quantities. The minds of children are in no such state as could render this treatment other than injurious. Their habit is, not so much to judge and divide, as to receive. Unable to discern between the false and true, the hurtful and beneficial, they should have put into their hands only that which is true, and should be subjected only to those influences which are improving. It is not a matter of indifference what they read, or that they should be invited to wander at will in the world of books, picking up what they please. It is of the utmost importance that good reading should be in the hands of a child, such as can but rarely be the case, if the matter of his reading is left to fortuitous circumstances, or to the ignorant tastes of the uninstructed and unregenerate mind. The character of Sunday-School literature becomes thus a matter of great moment. The children gather on the Sabbath to be instructed in that lore which is higher than all else—the teachings of the Spirit, the truths of religion and salvation. They do not come to be amused, but to be taught of God and led to Jesus. They, then, who have such a charge of instruction and reading, can hardly be justified, if the books which they put into the children's hands are of such a character as to dissipate all the serious impressions of the teacher's words. But that such is the character of many of the books found on the library shelves, drawn out Sunday after Sunday, greedily devoured by the scholars, and fairly worn to pieces with constant handling, cannot be denied. They are not consistent with the teachings of Scripture, are untrue to nature, and are not conducive, but rather opposed, to the growth of a genuine piety. We can hardly look into a library without finding an abundance of this material, while in some it composes by far the larger part of the collection.

(1.) Many books are positively *false in their religious teaching.* This we may note as the first and most serious evil. A multitude of errors creep into the books which are written for the young, from the fact that the dominant desire to

please renders writers less watchful against the possible seeds of evil. The same may be said as to the collector of the library. He is not on the alert for indications of doctrinal errors, and cannot be expected to search for doctrinal treatises. The controlling requirement is generally to obtain that which in style and interest will please the youthful reader. In this way statements very greatly at variance with Bible truth, and lessons very different from the religion of Jesus, find ready admission to the Sunday-School and easy influence on the minds of scholars. Many of the books, also, are written by persons who seem to have very crude notions in regard to religious truth, and who go very far astray in attempting to write about it. By reading, and re-reading, as children are apt to do, such books, the pupils are led to imbibe views directly contrary to the teaching of the class-lesson. It is evident that such a result goes far to neutralize the benefits of Sunday-School instruction.

(2.) A far worse, because more directly influential, form of the evil is found in what pretends to be a *practical application of religious truth to the guidance of life.* We ought not to look for formulated doctrinal teaching in the Sunday-School library, and perhaps some things that would logically result in error if reasoned out may be allowed to pass, simply because the minds of children will not be likely to follow out the teaching to its legitimate inferences; but we have a right to demand that the teachings of these books in regard to the duties of life shall be consistent with scriptural truth, that their examples and illustrations and characteristic teaching shall tend to the enforcing of really pious principles and genuine religion. But this is just the requirement in regard to which a large number of these books do most signally fail. With a little "cant," a little talk about prayer or other matter of a religious character, the whole course of the story, and the whole influence of the teaching, are such as to produce effects quite opposite to the principles of a life-giving piety. For example, the tendency of large numbers of these stories is to teach that the proper *aim* in life is that which, in a worldly sense, is called *success.* The rewards specially emphasized are of a merely temporal kind. The good children

are perpetually getting rich, are loaded with honors, are saved out of all sorts of troubles, and made generally comfortable in all outward circumstances; while their moral opposites are the victims of a correspondingly opposite fortune. The theory of poetical justice is the controlling idea throughout. It cannot be denied that there is a certain fitness of things in such sequences, humanly speaking; or that such, perhaps, would be the rule, were there no heaven or hell. Neither will it be denied that virtue tendeth to happiness, and God's service results in joy. But this happiness is not the creature or dependent of the world's smiles, and this joy is not coined in the mint. We know that the realities of life give the lie to such teachings, that outward prosperity does not invariably follow upon religious character. And besides this, when we call to mind the principle of a true religious life as God-service, without regard to worldly emolument, we can but remark the exceedingly pernicious tendency of that teaching which so exalts the successes of the present life as to practically make them the end of a religious calling. We might better put into the hands of children books like the Moral Tales of Miss Edgeworth, which teach, and profess to teach, only a mere morality, than such as, while professing a higher aim, yet give no higher lesson, and call it by the name of religion. Practically, the conclusion from many of these books is, that one ought to be good, because that is the way to be rich, and honored, and happy. The Bible tells us that we ought to serve God because He bids us, and because Christ died for us, and because to serve God and to enjoy Him constitute the end of man's existence without any reference to worldly condition. It is well enough to teach that "Honesty is the best policy," but the teaching of this is not the peculiar province of Sunday Schools. They should teach that a genuine religion is the only true life. From this all minor lessons of moral truth will issue as naturally as branches from the healthy tree.

(3.) Another and frequent fault to be found in these books is seen in the *unnatural* character of the religious life which many of them portray. Here we find that class of books called oftentimes "goody books," and deservedly made the objects of ridicule. The most of them are biographical, in

which are displayed little monsters of moral goodness who have

> "piled their goodness up so high,
> That it topples down on the other side
> And makes a kind of badness."

They have been strangely free from the sins of childhood, strangely actuated at all times by the most holy motives, and present portraitures of character unlike anything really found in this world of sin. As a consequence their religion is very unnatural; too often but a pompous spiritual pride; a sickly sentimentalism; a puling, silly childishness, destitute alike of all true spiritual vigor or joyousness, and not by any means fitted for the brave struggles of a life beset with temptations. They are too good to live, and must die young.

Now upon the mind of a thinking, healthy child, such a book can have only an injurious and repulsive influence. There is no attractiveness in such portraits. They do not show us the image of a hearty love to Christ, or the pattern of an early piety moulded after the "holy child Jesus;" such as God's grace allows us to see at times, and which we cannot see without finding our hearts touched and our appreciation of religious power exalted. We doubt not that there are many children whom Jesus has sanctified, as his word shows, from the womb. We have seen them, as we think; but not in these books. The mind of a child, so sharply critical in many ways, is quick to feel the difference, though he could hardly tell you where it lies. If religion is like *that*, he wants none; at least not until the hour of death makes it a supreme necessity. If the good child is to go to heaven right away, he will defer the effort to be good.

What a parody of the life-giving and joy-instilling gospel is such teaching as this! Children should have set before them a healthful example of religious truth, and not injurious illustrations of a morbid moral sense. They should be brought to see the child Jesus, to know Him as a child, to know His love for all children, and so to feel His presence giving zest to their childish plays, and strength for their childish duties. It never is the intent of religion to de-humanize a child or man. It is meant to be *enjoyed* in this world, as well as in the next.

(4.) Finally, we mark a sore evil in the fact that Sunday-School books are *largely assimilated to the novel.* We have neither space nor inclination to enter here into the much-vexed questions of the novel and its use. So far as its appropriateness to children is concerned, it is about decided by the character of the books furnished in the Sunday School, which they are allowed to read without stint or direction. Many a parent too strict in principle to approve of "novel-reading," looks on with complacency while his child reads the library-book, which is creating, or fostering, in that child's mind a love and habit of novel-reading that shall, some day, astonish and bewilder that conscientious parent. We are not condemning the novel. A wholesale condemnation would deprive us of much that is highly beneficial. We do say, however, that a Christian parent might with greater propriety read for himself novels of the most glaring French type, such as he would regard as soiling even his fingers, than suffer his children to read many of the books that are distributed in Sunday Schools. These books are constantly coming from the press; some of them issued by societies under a professedly religious supervision—a supervision which does not always ensure a commendable book; others published by private houses which desire in the main to print only that which is praiseworthy; and yet others by houses whose chief care is to publish that which will sell. All this activity results in quantities of books almost innumerable, spawned forth unceasingly under this unresting demand for something new, pleasing, and exciting. These are bought from every side, after more or less of critical examination, and ranged on the library shelves. These are the books which children now-a-days think are alone attractive. They will have them, if possible, to the utter exclusion of a more substantial and instructive literature.

We may draw on our own experience for examples, which there is reason to believe are by no means unparalleled. We have found it almost impossible to get scholars to take books of a solid, instructive, and, to a mind at all thoughtful, interesting class. We remember having our respect for a pupil very considerably increased by her putting aside a long list of amusing and exciting stories, and selecting Flavel's "Christ

Knocking at the Door," and keeping it until read through. It was an instance almost entirely unique in the experience of the last ten years. We have essayed in vain to induce pupils, of fifteen years of age and upwards, to read Bunyan's "Pilgrim's Progress" and "Holy War," and Richmond's "Annals of the Poor." Even the Schonberg-Cotta books were regarded as too dull. They preferred the fashionable and frivolous novelette. We are acquainted with a Sunday School on whose library shelves there have been for twenty-five years a number of books, of the class of which Baxter and Pike are the best known examples, which show to-day no sign of use, but only the stains of dust and the yellowness of age; while hundreds of other books, weak, silly, false, have been worn out by the hands of frequent readers, and replaced by others of the same stamp a dozen times. It cannot, of course, be expected that works of the more solid cast mentioned above would be read by the younger readers, but the minds of the older ones and of the teachers are certainly able to appreciate them. At all events it causes grave doubts as to the correctness of our more modern methods of training, when books of the most useful class remain in a large school almost entirely untouched for a quarter of a century. And we may say further, that no properly instructed mind, however young, if able to read and think, can fail of being interested in the story of the Pilgrim, of watching with keen pleasure the marchings, strategy, and conflicts of the Holy War, or learning something sweet and lovely from the lips of the Dairyman's Daughter. Such books as these are Christian classics, the possession of the Church forever, and it is a dreadful injury done to the Church herself, that the minds of her children are becoming so beguiled as to be unable to see beauty in them. They are books which none can afford not to know. But how many children to-day read them?

Indeed, how many children, or young people, to-day read anything that is useful, or anything that taxes thought at all? That is becoming a serious question which is presented to the minds of parents and instructors by the reading tastes of young people of the present day. They are devoted to fiction, and generally the more highly seasoned, the more to their

fancy. It is a taste which is strong, which for years has had its way, and which the press groans to satisfy but can never satiate. Novels abound on every side, from the artistic and high-toned volumes of Scott and Dickens, down through a multiform variety of grades to the wretched Dime Novels; from the chaste pages of our excellent monthlies, through the ample succession of weeklies, to the vile sheets which can hardly be looked on without the contraction of a moral taint. It is a crying shame that this department of literature should be the only one with which the most of our young people are acqnainted, and that those who should guide them into sonnder habits suffer them to pursue unchecked their own pleasure in the matter. It will be found a hard task to make the ordinary youthful mind turn to a more instructive kind of reading. Even history, that study at once so useful and entertaining, is voted tedious by the generality. It will not be disputed that fiction, in its purer forms, has a beneficial mission to the mind and heart. Its influence, properly guided, is certainly to be fostered, just as the careful housewife cultivates, in a corner of her garden, gay flowers to beautify her rooms withal. But to constitute works of fiction the chief mental pabulum of our youth, is to do as she who should serve her flowers on the table as food for her household. But just this exclusive feeding upon the novel is what appears in the present reading habits of our youth. What the result is, we can see, in a startling and inexcusable ignorance of history and science, in the prevalence of foppish mannerisms, in the silly affectations of girlhood, in a lack of the elements of vigorous manly development and womanly culture, in a want of sturdy mental force, and in amazing distortions of the moral sense.

Now to the formation of this taste, which makes its demands so imperious, and is followed by such consequences, our fashionable Sunday School literature has largely contributed. It is a grave charge to bring against the prevailing management of Sabbath Schools, but we are persuaded that it is more than justified. The demand for sentimental fiction is made, and our Sunday School men set themselves to the supply. Though teaching in many cases holy truths, and professing the highest

motives, these books, as a class, have a similar mental tendency to the thousand novels of the secular world. The childish mind asks that which amuses, careless whether any instruction is to be obtained; and as though this ignorant asking were reason enough for the giving, as though an unintelligent judgment were a proper criterion to direct those charged with the education of youth, our libraries are filled with books that will "please the children," hundreds of which are worse than useless. Dr. Holland, in the February number of *Scribner's Monthly*, makes some criticisms upon "Children's Books," very much to the point. He speaks of some as having "so much of the modern novel mingled with so much of fascinating cant, that the children cannot well fail to be both interested and injured by their perusal. There is little in the volumes to commend, and much to censure." He describes others as "of a different and more wantonly bad sort, which are simply dime novels and sensational newspaper reports done over again, and seasoned with pious maxims for the benefit of the children." Whether these criticisms are just in the case of the books mentioned by the critic, we know not; but we are certain that large numbers of our Sunday-School books would fall under their condemnation, as written from an entirely wrong view of the nature of proper reading for children, as imparting a positively hurtful mental stimulus, as of doubtful moral tone, as full of sensational and unnatural incidents, as presenting human nature in false colors, and distorting religion from the pure teaching of its Divine Founder. Every bookstore has quantities of pernicious reading; every news-vendor carries plenty of it under his arm; the mails are full of it; and only a careful watchfulness keeps it out of our homes; and then, to crown all, our Sunday Schools, which are instituted for the godly instruction of our boys and girls, and the cultivation in them of a true Christian mind and character, as though fearful lest these little ones should lose any advantage in this direction, begin in their earliest years to instil into their minds the love of the unreal, the morbid, and the exciting. There are rarely attractions enough in that line without the special efforts of those whose office is the sacred one of religious instruction. It is a hard thing that our chil-

dren should, from the same hands, receive gospel teaching and the world's folly. It is too often the case, that in the Sabbath School literature the child first acquires that passion, which, at last, becoming like a strong man, *will* be satisfied, if in no other way, then by the filthy pruriency of many a vile sheet or the criminal details of police-reports.

II. Now it may well be asked, and it is the object of this discussion to ask, "What shall be done about this grave matter?" And we confess it to be a truly difficult question to answer. The evils of the present system are naked and open, but how to remove them is a thing not so easily discerned.

(1.) As a matter of theory, we note a mistaken principle on which many of the libraries are collected. It is found in the common idea that what is pleasing to the present tastes of the children, should be the controlling influence in selection. The main idea of the Sabbath School is instruction, and the object of instruction is improvement; and what does not tend to these purposes is altogether aside from the legitimate sphere of the Sunday School. It is no proper thing for a teacher to leave the matter of teaching to the ignorant wishes of his pupils. If a taste is low it should be elevated, and if a mind is ignorant it should be educated. Such should be the aim of all true teaching; but, instead of this, we too often are found pandering to tastes which we ought to be ashamed to tolerate, and, in place of correcting, confirming habits which are deserving only of reprehension.

(2.) There should, then, be a more careful principle of selection. It is thus not a matter of little moment what the library contains. A large number of volumes, to have which is a common ambition, is no compensation for deleterious qualities in the books themselves. Better a hundred carefully selected, than a thousand gotten together without oversight, and simply to supply a craving. Children will read many things which their eyes should never light on, and Sunday Schools, the Church, should put into their hands only that which is good. They will find quite enough of the opposite quality outside of the school. But we are here met with a practical difficulty. "The children will not read that which is best," say some. It

is true that, under the influence of a taste already depraved, many will refuse at first everything but the sensational. But it is not yet demonstrated that this taste cannot be reformed. The plastic mind of childhood may be remoulded to a purer and more intelligent judgment. It never can be demonstrated that because one generation of children have been brought up on the vapid, silly, irreligious fiction which fills so many of these books, therefore all generations are to be subjected to the same influences, and deprived of a better and more instructive course.

And besides this, there are other books which come up to the highest standard of requirement. Our criticism is not sweeping, in the sense that it objects to all fiction, simply as fiction. There are multitudes of books, containing stories for children, in which we see the influence of correct thought and taste, a pure imagination, and the heart full of divine love; books equally entertaining and improving to a mind not already harmed by an injudicious reading. Here are exquisite bits of nature—beautiful illustrations of God's love and truth, told in simple form—fresh from the heart. Here are stories of earnest practical life, in which a true religious principle finds exhibition. Here, also, are historical monograms, and choice pieces of biography. Such books in plenty may be found for the seeking; but amid the swarms of applicants for favor it will take time, and patience, and ripe judgment, and sharp criticism to find these out—the "grains of wheat in the bushel of chaff."

(3.) In the choice of books, the *childish mind should be guided* by a better judgment than its own. This is true both in the school and out of it. And here is evident a sad lack. We conceive that the teacher's duty does not end with the mere traversing of the day's lesson in the class. In the use of the library, as well as in the teaching from the Bible, a needed office may be performed. Supposing a teacher to be himself well informed—a supposition, it must be confessed, rather violent in many instances—he should exercise a judicious supervision over the pupils in their choice of reading. If he regards this as outside of his province, he need not be surprised at the discovery that the hour's reading after school exercises are

done has been such as to obliterate all trace of the truth he labored to teach. Under a pupilage of this sort, kind and wise, the child might ere long be brought to peruse with pleasure the very books which seemed dull and heavy.

It cannot be forgotten, however, that in this respect the teacher, with even the best devotion, is apt to find his labor counteracted by home influences. Every district-school teacher knows that the best scholars in the grammar-class will converse ungrammatically if the home associates are accustomed to murder the queen's English. In this matter of books, the home influence must be the greater. It is mournful that so many parents, large numbers of whom are members of churches, do, to a great extent, neglect matters connected with the mental and spiritual culture of their children. The little people are hastened to the day-school, and dressed for the Sabbath School, and with their departure to those convenient institutions all concern is taken from the minds of the parents. The proper school instruction should be enforced at home. Especially is this the case in the matter of religious teaching. Family religion is the natural fountain of individual spiritual life.

The application of these thoughts to the subject in hand is in this: that the formation of popular reading habits should be a careful home consideration. Parents cannot wisely be indifferent as to what their children read. While they carelessly look on, the quick, inquiring mind of childhood is marking out courses for itself, by which much evil is produced. Watchfulness at home; a careful substitution of the good books for the bad; a kindly supplying with home reading of an improving character, will make the task of the Sunday School in this matter a light one, and will predispose the mind of the child to enjoy the best books which an intelligent Christian selection has gathered in the library. We cannot stop the publication of a pernicious literature. So long as the demand is made, so long will the supply be given. We may, however, by a wise training, strive that the youth under our influence shall form such reading tastes and mental habits as will conduce to their improvement. If this end is not reached or aided by the Sunday School library; if the library

is administered with indifferenee as to its eharaeter and effects; then the library is worse than useless.

(4.) All that precedes has been written on the assumption that the library is an essential thing in the Sunday School. But we are by no means eonvineed of the truth of that assumption. The library is generally regarded as a necessity. It is undoubtedly a great attraction. Yet, if the evils specified eannot be otherwise eorrected, we are disposed to reeommend the Spartan remedy of abolishing the library altogether.

To-day the neeessity for this element in the school is not the same that it was a seore of years ago. The wants of youth are ministered to in other ways. A suffieieney of good reading eomes to them in other ehannels. Children's books are now numbered by the thousands, and are easily aeeessible. A school with efficient offieers, with earnest and prayerful teachers, can be made as attraetive and useful without a library as with one. It will be *more* useful without one constituted as are half the libraries in the land. And it is a question, in view of all eonnected matters, whether the having a library does not make the school assume a responsibility whieh, under present eireumstanees, it has no call to take upon itself. It is eertain that the library is in the working of the school a frequent and great annoyanee; that it often serves to eompletely eancel all lessons for good learned in class instruetion; that it is a frequent source of positive evil to mind and heart; and for these and other reasons is a eonstant eause of perplexity. There are, indeed, strong arguments to support the institution, but are they of a nature to outweigh these serious objeetions? This may be laid down as fundamental, that the usefulness of a library, as helping in the *religious* edueation of our youth, is the only valid plea for its existenee, even for an hour.

We are glad to notiee that the Presbyterian Board of Publication has undertaken the work of selecting Sunday-School libraries, and keeping assortments of juvenile religious books purged of the worthless volumes whieh now poison the minds of our youth. We bid them God-speed, and hope thus to find some deliverance from the evils under which we labor.

Art. IV.—*Presbyterianism.*

Presbyter, with all its derivatives—Presbytery, Presbyterian, Presbyterianism—is the translation of a Greek word often used in the New Testament, which signifies *an elder*. Presbyterianism is a term which refers primarily to a form of church government, and describes that form in which the authority is vested in a body called *elders*—the teaching elders and the ruling elders. Wherever this form of government prevails, by whatever name it is called, there is genuine Presbyterianism.

In this article we shall use the term in a more comprehensive sense, embracing not only the form of government, but the doctrine with which Presbyterianism has always been identified.

Presbyterianism embraces a large proportion of the Christian world, much larger than a casual observer would suppose. A majority of the Protestant churches in the world are Presbyterian, at least in form if not uniformly so in doctrine. In the United States the various families of the Presbyterian body occupy a position as to numbers and influence unsurpassed by any other Christian church. The recently united Presbyterian churches, New and Old, together with the different Associate and Reformed churches, such as United Presbyterian, Southern Presbyterian, Cumberland Presbyterian, Covenanters, Reformed Dutch, and German Reformed, but recently casting off their peculiar cognomen, and the Welch Calvinistic Methodist, so unfortunately surnamed, comprise a body whose influence is more felt for good, and whose loss would be a deeper calamity than that of any other sect, if not of all combined. Expanding our view, we find the largest and most salutary element in Protestant Ireland to be Presbyterian. Scotland is notorious as the country where its legitimate workings are developed. It has made its home on the jutting promontories and on the cliffs that overlook her estuaries; has consecrated her sea-girt shores; unfurled its banner on the crags of its mountains, and commanded the

tribute of her fruitful vales. The literature, the science, the art, the learning and oratory of Scotland, are all a Presbyterian heritage.

The Reformed churches of Holland, France, Switzerland, and Germany are Presbyterian, and contain the flower of their population. This brief summary is given because the general intelligence on such subjects is not only limited, but what exists is often moulded more by the disparaging statements of ignorant and prejudiced speakers and writers than by the simple truth of recorded history.

I. We claim a *Divine origin* for Presbyterianism. We do not adopt this system as a matter of policy, merely from the fact that it supplies a felt want; or because of its adaptation to promote the best interests of mankind, though this adaptation would of itself be presumptive proof of its heavenly descent, but because we believe that its outlines are eminently scriptural and stamped with the express approbation of God. Many suppose that Calvin laid the foundation of the Presbyterian church. On the contrary, we date back the type of Presbyterianism to the prominent features of the Jewish church, as these were traced by the finger of God. Even antedating Moses and Horeb, the Jews had their elders in Egypt, who were representatives of the tribes, and whom they were bound to obey. Thus it continued until they clamored for a bishop, and God in his anger gave them "Saul, the son of Kish."

The synagogues furnished a more distinct model. They had their bench of elders and their presiding officer, these all subject to the grand council at Jerusalem. The apostolic church had its bishops, elders, and deacons—bishop and elder including one and the same office, only that some merely governed, others labored "in word and doctrine." Timothy was ordained not by a bishop, but "by the laying on of the hands of the Presbytery," 1 Tim. iv. 14. With such authority and such models as these, Calvin of Geneva, and Knox of Scotland, only rescued the church from the overgrown abuses and remorseless fetters of a long and undisputed intolerance; and for the work which they achieved immortality will crown them with its unfading honors. But the form of government

is only the comely and fair proportioned body; the soul, the life, the healthy, vigorous springs of vitality, are the doctrines that link her indissolubly to the throne of God. Resting upon the authority of divine inspiration, these doctrines are "quick and powerful" to reach the conscience, to abase the pride of human nature, and to prompt to powerful, active energy and earnestness all the salutary impulses of a soul formed for a high and holy destiny.

These doctrines have ever been connected with all that is sound in philosophy; all that is useful in science; all that is pure in morals, and all that is comforting and encouraging in the hopes of an eternal future. Boldly enunciated in their distinct outlines by Paul in his preaching and Epistles—transmitted to the Paulicians, who, in the seventh century, separated themselves from the corruptions of the age: embodied in the life and devoted piety of their successors, the Waldenses and Albigenses—as a sacred treasure they were guarded and transmitted as a hallowed trust from one generation to another till the day of their new birth dawned upon a slumbering world with imposing freshness and lustre. These were baptized afresh by the hands of Calvin and Luther, and have contributed all that is distinctive; all that is precious; all that is worthy of the name in the civil and religious privileges the world has ever known.

II. *Presbyterianism* is adapted to foster a *living, active, working piety.*

The doctrines embodied in the Calvinistic faith were the vital principles that gave power and success to the Reformation of the sixteenth century. Luther made this his starting-point and the central principle to which all others must be attracted, and around which all others must revolve, viz.: that justification by faith was the "article of a standing or falling church"—"*Articulus stantis vel cadentis ecclesiæ.*" This swept away at once all that was meritorious in human device, and casting the sinner alone upon the imputed righteousness of Christ for his hope of salvation, made the spring of all his obedience the love of Christ, who, bearing the penalty of sin, should bear also the glory of the sinner's redemption. The most powerful and constraining motives were

thus brought to bear on human impulse, and the most animating encouragements to diligence set forth in the enlarged success which should attend the operation of that power which was not of man but of God. Zwingle, Melanchthon, Calvin, Bucer, Farel, Lefevre, Ecolampadius—all recognized, and acted in concert with, the vital principle that alone could give their work efficiency and success. The moral force and working power of the Reformation were weakened first when the captious Synergists introduced the semi-Pelagian element of man's co-operation with God in the work of the soul's conversion. The seed thus sown, sprang to full maturity when at the Synod of Dort the final separation occurred, and the pretended followers of Luther went off under the lead of Arminius, the famous Professor in the University of Leyden—the impress of whose name still distinguishes the Arminian theology. When we say "the pretended followers of Luther," we mean that they bore the *name* while they modified the theology of the great Reformer, for none of the theologians of that Reformation era were more strongly Augustinians than Luther himself. The Reformed Churches of the Continent and their congeners in Great Britain and the United States are the true exponents and lineal representatives of the Reformation. From the separation produced by the acts of the Synod of Dort, the Lutherans sympathized with the semi-Pelagianism of Arminius, although they retained the form of government adopted by the Reformers, which was essentially Presbyterian, while the other branch of the Reformation called the Reformed, retained not only the Presbyterian form of government, but also the identical doctrines of grace with which the names of both Calvin and Luther were identified.

Not only have we this second proposition illustrated in the history of the Reformation, but also in the spirit that still gives the Calvinistic churches a forward rank in all evangelical enterprises that contemplate the salvation of the world. It is illustrated in the fact that every good cause has found in the advocates of a Calvinistic theology its champions and leaders, as well as ardent, energetic co-operators. The evangelization of the world has received hence some of its strongest

impulses, and in the bosom of a Presbyterian faith has been nurtured, warmed into life, and developed into its present gigantic proportions—the spirit of evangelical effort that promises, at no distant day, to insure a world's redemption. We have not heard with reluctant ears nor unsympathizing heart, the cry—"Come over and help us," with which Macedonian feebleness pleads for aid. Our missions in India, China, Turkey, Africa, and the Isles of the Sea—the supply of the destitute at home—the impulse given to all enterprises that propose the moral and spiritual welfare of our fellow-men, rouses the spirit of active, working, positive life fostered in the distinctive principles of the Presbyterian name. A recent remarkable article in the *Catholic World*, by Father Hecker, the ablest dialectician of that faith in this country, ascribes all that is vigorous and aggressive in Protestantism to the latent or patent Calvinism, which is the "power behind the throne" of evangelical Christendom.

III. Presbyterianism *embodies such principles and, from its peculiar structure, occupies such a position as to exert a potent influence upon the masses.* There are two extremes which distinguish other ecclesiastical organizations from us; yet our system reaches either way, so far as to accomplish almost all the good and avoid the evils pertaining to either extreme. The principles are so flexible as to adapt themselves to every want of humanity; yet so strong and uncompromising as to refuse to bend to the capricious clamors of a depraved and degenerate nature. With reference to many other systems, we find on the one hand the scale set to so high a key that the lower octave is never sounded; and on the other hand set so low that the higher notes are never sung. But in our own, the key-note is so happily adjusted that with full compass of voice we may sweep every chord. In other words, our system does not address itself to the dignity of human nature, and foster a spirit of exclusiveness that says, "Stand by thyself, for I am holier than thou." Nor on the other, does it pander to the grovelling, vitiated taste that, dragging down the truth from its proper elevation, would proportionally weaken its moral force. In the one case it abases the pride that would exalt itself to the place of exclusive

honors. In the other, it purges away the dross of our native impurity, and refines every element in the powerful alembic of truth, before receiving to the fellowship and heavenly communion of the "truth as it is in Jesus."

The truth is often supposed to lie between two extremes of error. May we not, in view of the previous statements, reasonably infer that Presbyterianism occupies the happy medium where lies the well-adjusted system of checks and balances that holds in salutary restraint all morbid excesses in faith and practice, and at the same time gives a healthy motion to all the impulses of life? with what enterprises that contemplate good to man, is she not identified, and into which she does not infuse her life—her spirit? When has she refused to take her part in whatever would ennoble, elevate, and dignify the human race? She is laced in by no forms—confined by no rubrics—invested in no canonicals that restrain her from throwing the weight of her influence into channels which convey uncovenanted benefits to any of the human family. Neither is she of such easy virtue as to be tempted with every flattering bait, to engage in schemes of doubtful propriety, or to embark on unknown and perhaps dangerous seas of which the word of God furnishes no chart. Yet whatever is freighted with substantial good to man is sure of her ardent prayers for propitious winds to swell the sails, and she herself often becomes the pilot over restless billows and raging seas.

In the redress of *social* evils our church is always found in her place. Go to any place where Presbyterianism has fair footing, and in all that makes for substantial good, and all that is designed to promote the best interests of society, we shall know precisely where to find her. Our doctrine, our principles, our order, are favorable to the development of a sense of individual responsibility, and of the manhood of our nature; and throwing their genial influence around the expanding faculties, ripen them, not to a precocious, stimulated, or stunted prematurity, but to the fulness of a mature and manly age.

IV. Presbyterianism *has always been the friend of progress.* In the advancement of science, learning, literature, commerce, mechanic arts, she has always shown a lively interest. Science

has found some of its brightest ornaments within her enclosures. Her principles are pledged to the diffusion of knowledge. Calvin laid in Geneva the foundation of a system to which Scotland is indebted for her superior intelligence. According to Bancroft, the historian—himself a Unitarian—at least, at the time when his testimony was penned—the leaven of Geneva, which in Scotland and in the North of Ireland diffused its power through the masses, and communicated its nature and healthful influence to every enterprise with which it was brought into contact, gave also to New England her common schools, from whence have gone forth streams of influence and power that are moulding and directing the popular mind in every village, and hamlet, and city, in this vast Republic. In his History of the United States, he says: "Again, we boast our common schools. Calvin was the father of popular education, and the inventor of the system of free schools. Again, we are proud of the free States which fringe the Atlantic. The Pilgrims of Plymouth were Calvinists; the best settlers in South Carolina came from the Calvinists of France; William Penn was the disciple of the Huguenots; the ships from Holland that first brought colonies to Manhattan were filled with Calvinists. He that will not honor the memory and respect the influence of Calvin, knows but little of American liberty." How exhaustless, deep and pure must the fountain be from whence flow in ever widening and deepened currents, such a profusion of refreshing and life-giving waters!

The time was when the Presbyterian ministry were reproached, satirized, ridiculed for their learning. Now, the once favorite song is rehearsed only in faltering cadences. The lips that repeated it have been touched with the hallowed fire, and our former revilers have so far caught our spirit as to become in a measure our rivals in the noble work of training up an educated ministry to meet the demands of an educated and progressive age. We rejoice in this, not only because the glory of God may be thereby the more abundantly promoted, but because no higher compliment can be paid to our cherished principles than this evidence of their living power.

But Presbyterianism is the friend and patron of learning in all its departments. It finds no prison, forges no chains for the restless activities of soaring genius. It binds no yoke of restraint upon the powers of the aspiring intellect. It has no anathemas for the developments of science, no curses to block up the paths of enlightened discovery. Under her patronage no Galileos need to fear the inquisitorial rack or dungeon with which ecclesiastical hierarchies have often sought to reward the unwary adventurer upon the paths of forbidden knowledge.

Our faith teaches us that there is nothing in the philosophy of matter or mind, nothing in the wonders of science or in the mysteries of sentient being, that may not be made to contribute more or less to enlarged and adoring views of the Infinite who is the Maker and builder of all. Let these avenues to knowledge but be guarded by the sanctions and restraints of a true spiritual philosophy, and every department of research will bring its trophies and lay them, as a tribute, upon the altar, when the gospel sacrifice and the Christian's offering send up in one, a perpetual memorial of precious incense to God.

Our faith has been associated, too, with high achievements in the mechanic arts. The persecution of the Reformed Church in France drove away from her, not only the flower of her population but also her best artisans; and to this day France has felt the loss. Multitudes upon multitudes emigrated to England, carrying with them the knowledge of arts, hitherto kept sacred among themselves, and thus were stimulated the manufactures of Great Britain. Every department received a new impulse, more especially in the production of the finer fabrics for which France had hitherto been peculiar. England owes much of her eminence and prosperity as a manufacturing nation to the Huguenots of France, who were Presbyterian.

The persecutions of the *Star Chamber* and *High Commission* drove a like population from England to our shores, and a century and a half has sufficed to show the vitality of principles that have left their impress upon, and given power to every department of human industry. The wholesome impulses thus given to the rational development of the mental endowments of the human race, together with the lofty motives to action

and freedom from irrational restraints thus vouched to the struggling activities of intelligent mind, demonstrate the excellencies of a system which effects such astonishing results.

V. We claim, still farther, for Presbyterianism, the *moulding* and *preservation* of our *civil* and *religious privileges.*

Forms of government and systems of religion are at once types and counterparts of each other, and from their intimate connexion, their influence is mutual and reciprocal; but the influence of religion infinitely the greater for good or evil. Nothing is more manifest than the unpropitious effects of a false system of faith and worship. Countries most highly favored by the natural advantages of soil and climate enjoy least of those things which constitute true prosperity. See where Moslem rule has cursed some of the fairest portions of the globe. See what desolations Popery has wrought in France, Spain, Italy, Mexico, or wherever she has planted the iron rule of her spiritual despotism. A sound and pure system of faith and morals will never fail to secure good laws and exert a favorable influence on the rights and interests of man. That can only be true rational liberty that recognizes the intelligent moral and voluntary character of its subjects. Upon these principles, which are necessarily interwoven with Presbyterianism, Calvin based the liberties and prerogatives of Geneva. Transferred to Scotland by Knox and infused into the popular mind, they became the controlling element of all her civil and religious organizations. Their incompatibility with aristocracy of class, with the oppressions and exactions of despotism, with the tyranny of ecclesiastical forms and the restrictions of free and voluntary worship, created an almost universal sentiment in favor of rational liberty in the minds of the Scottish people, which none of the blandishments of royal favor nor the power of kingly prerogative nor the force of persecution could ever move. It is a sentiment of positive aggression when once it takes root in a mind instinct with a sense of its independence. Conscious of her manhood, Scotland stood up in defence of her civil and religious rights, nor laid down the sword of defence till she snapped the iron fetters that had cramped her vital energies and well-nigh crushed

out her life. It is because of these triumphs that Scotland to-day occupies such a lofty eminence in science, literature, and morals.

Never were witnessed more heroic displays of natural and moral courage than when the Presbyterians of Scotland resisted the encroachments of James I. and Charles I. It is remarked of James I. that while on the Scottish throne, though a Calvinist and a Presbyterian, yet he loved arbitrary power so well that he considered the free courts of the Presbyterian Church more formidable to its attainment than even a Parliament. And so soon as he succeeded to the English throne, his kingly predilections converted him at once to all the principles of a high churchman, and then he sought to take away all the prerogatives of the Church of Scotland. Having no scruples for paid bribery or any false pretences whatsoever, he acted on the motto he had adopted for himself: "No bishop, no king." Thus it was onward, even through the interregnum of Cromwell and the reigns of Charles II. and James II. until William the Prince of Orange, himself a Dutch Presbyterian, gave them rest from the intolerance and inhuman oppressions and persecutions of his predecessors.

To show that Presbyterians were always loyal and conservative, we have it recorded that, notwithstanding the repeated invasions of their rights, they were always ready to fight for their king and their country until forbearance was no longer a virtue. Yet that they loved liberty is learned from the fact that when the "solemn league and covenant" was entered into by the three kingdoms for mutual defence, Scotland sent 20,000 soldiers to join the Parliamentary army that was then in fierce conflict with Charles I. and his spiritual Arminian adviser, Archbishop Laud. Lorimer, in his History of the Protestant Churches of France and Scotland, remarks: "Arminianism had been introduced from Holland into England, and was warmly encouraged by Archbishop Laud, who became the king's most trusted, though evil counsellor. Charles I. was married to a popish princess. Arminianism was allied to Popery—indeed it is its essential spirit—and so in these days it was allied to arbitrary power. It professed great zeal in support of the prerogative of the crown, however usurped.

Laud, knowing that the country was too Calvinistic to endure at once popish doctrines, endeavored to pave the way for it by popish ceremonies." Such is the testimony of a credible historian, and this is fully confirmed by the vivacious and sometimes not over-scrupulous pen of Macaulay.

Their conservatism was moreover shown by this, that when Charles I. fell into the hands of the Parliamentary army, and two years after was brought to the block, his Presbyterian subjects loudly protested against the unnatural crime of regicide. Though they were first, in defence of their religion, to draw the sword, yet they were almost the only parties who had the honesty and the courage to stand up in behalf of their unfortunate king.

While the Presbyterians largely sympathized with the comparative liberty afforded under what is sometimes termed Cromwell's military despotism, yet so loyal were they to the memory of their murdered king, that they threw all the weight of their influence for the restoration of Charles II. But their loyalty was their crime. The history of that and the succeeding reign of James II. is to the Presbyterians a memorial of blood. There were cases of martyrdom "surpassing in interest all that romance ever feigned." From hence multitudes sought tolerance and protection amid the forests and wildness of these Western shores. When the hand of oppression was stretched across the Atlantic, whither they had sought a home, it found the same quenchless spirit of independence, only rising to a higher temperature according as the restrictions upon conscience were less oppressive. The memory of Scottish martyrs and English non-conformists was devoutly and affectionately cherished by their descendants; and the undying love of liberty, which recoiling from oppression, sought refuge in the free air of a virgin continent, was perpetuated in the struggle which gave birth to the civil and religious privileges of this nation.

There can be no question, historically or logically, as to the principles which underlie all successful achievements of rational liberty. In order to complete our argument, it remains to inquire what part Presbyterians took in the memorable conflicts of the American Revolution, and what was the after-influence

of our principles in moulding and establishing our free institutions.

Presbyterians have never been wanting in fidelity to any of the true interests of man: here they were true to the instincts of their religious principles and convictions. They fought shoulder to shoulder with the patriots of '76. The ministers and pastors urged upon their people the importance of standing up manfully for their God-given rights. Many of them set their people the noble example of mustering them to the field, and sharing with them in the privations and sufferings of the camp, the fatigues of the march and the carnage and conflicts of the field of battle. They did not waver when the fearful issue was forced upon them, but cheerfully responded to the cry of the patriot, "Give me liberty, or give me death!" Whatever may be said of others, not one foul blot of toryism has stained the Presbyterian name during that long and fearful struggle of humanity for its rightful inheritance. The grave conceals the bodies of many of these immortal heroes; but their names and their deeds shall live in everlasting remembrance.

In that august convention of revered patriots who subscribed their names to the immortal "Declaration of Independence," was a Presbyterian minister, Dr. John Witherspoon, President of Nassau Hall, at Princeton, whose patriotism of heart, whose wisdom of counsel, whose power of eloquence gave him no mean place among the sages of that assembly, mingled in the deliberations of that memorable day.

It is, moreover, a well-authenticated fact that the "Declaration" which has made the name of Thomas Jefferson immortal, was not original with him, but was in all its essential features a transcript of the "Mecklenberg Declaration" issued just one year before, in Mecklenberg, North Carolina, and written by a Presbyterian minister, a graduate of Princeton College.

But what is the nature and form of our civil constitution? In all its main features it closely resembles the constitution of the Presbyterian church, viz.: the legislative departments carried on by the representatives of the people; the judicial, recognizing the right of appeal and reference; the executive,

by agencies of the Church's choice. This identity of organization gives the Presbyterian church no second place as a conservator of the varied interests of this widely-extended confederacy of States, because our principles underlie and extend through every part, and, supporting the superstructures, firmly bind all in one. While, therefore, a true affection is cherished for our order and the principles of our holy religion, the bonds of our nation will be strengthened, and the fervor of the patriot's devotion and of the Christian's piety will be kindled at the same altar, and our country and covenant will be consecrated to the highest good of man.

One or two parallels will close this article. 1. How comprehensive and efficient for good, is that system whose inner life is the Calvinistic theology; whose outward development is the Presbyterian form of government and order of worship. The uniform results of any system are its best interpreter, and the failure of any charges to be substantiated by fact, is their best refutation. The results here are an ample vindication against the foulest slander that malevolence may invent. Some look at the Calvinistic system merely as limited to a few arbitrary decrees of an absolute God, and with a magisterial air of self-complacency affect to consign to oblivion or infamy those living principles which the "roll of centuries" only makes more illustrious.

Taken in all its parts, there is no more consistent theory. Taken in its historical developments, none is more eminently practical and beneficial. The views it gives of God's sovereignty—his benevolence—his inflexible justice—are calculated to impress his intelligent creatures with the importance of these same characteristics as well in the administration of human governments as divine, in order to the protection and happiness of the governed. A proper idea of the righteous character of God, is essential to a just appreciation of justice and right among men. A recognition of man's free agency under the Divine administration, gives a just sense of man's responsibilities and rights. The motives for action drawn from these and kindred considerations are powerful, not only for salutary restraint of evil, but also for a due respect to the authority of God in all that he requires. Besides this, the

plan of redeeming grace exhibits not only what man is in the lowest condition of his fallen estate; but to what a glorious destiny he may be exalted—yet only on condition of a holy life personally, and of a proper, earnest seeking the welfare of his fellow-men. The loose views which some systems inculcate in all these matters, especially in the pardon of sin without a proper satisfaction to the Divine justice, thus simply dispensing with the authority of law originally binding, must necessarily be followed with lax views of justice between man and man, and beget the vilest despotisms on earth.

2. What a glorious future is in store for Calvinistic faith. If such is its record in the past, what a career is yet before it! If our conclusions are just, how absurd and unfounded are the declarations of those who sagely pronounce Calvinism extinct.

We are encouraged to look forward to the enlarged and speedy triumphs of the truth. In whatever department it operates, each succeeding triumph gives intensity to its moral force, and one by one the barriers to its success will be broken down, and the world will welcome its universal reign. With the dissemination of the Gospel in its purity, and the establishment of Gospel systems, will follow, not only the enlightenment of barbarism, but the subversion of despotisms, and the civil and religious disenthralment of oppressed millions of our race. This generation may yet hail the dawn, not only of a religious, but a political millennium, when the whole world shall be refreshed with the generous shade of the tree upon whose branches grow all manner of fruits, and whose leaves are for the healing of the nations. It will be a day of glory to the church and to the world. Let us labor and pray for the auspicious period.

ART. V.—*Der Prophet Daniel, theologisch-homiletisch bearbeitet.* Von Dr. O. ZOECKLER, Professor der Theologie zu Greifswald. [J. P. Lange's Theologisch-homiletisch Bibelwerk, 17er Theil des Alten Testamentes.] 8vo. pp. 245. 1870.

Biblischer Commentar ueber den Propheten Daniel. Von CARL FRIEDRICH KEIL, Dr. u. Professor der Theologie. [Biblischer Commentar ueber das Alte Testament, herausgegeben von C. F. Keil und F. Delitzsch.] 8vo. pp. 419. 1869.

The Times of Daniel: an Argument. By HENRY W. TAYLOR, LL. D., late a Justice of the Supreme Court, and Judge of the Court of Appeals of New York. New York. 1871. 12mo. pp. 208.

THE book of Daniel has been the battle-ground of ages, and the strifes which it has occasioned are not terminated yet. Like the Pentateuch, Isaiah, and the Gospels, it has been a favorite field for critical disputation. The battle here has from the days of Celsus and Porphyry been substantially a conflict between supernaturalism and unbelief; and it may now be regarded as so far decided as to leave little ground for the latter to stand upon besides the assertion and reassertion of its own cardinal principles, that miracles and predictions are incredible and impossible. Zöckler, who was at one time disposed to refer the composition of the book of Daniel to the Maccabean period, confesses that that position was rendered quite untenable for him by the "thorough investigations of v. Niebuhr, Pusey, Zündel, Kranichfeld, Volck, Fuller, and others," though he still adheres to his former doubts in respect to the larger part of the eleventh chapter, particularly vs. 5–39. The grounds of his hesitation are, as he admits, entirely of an internal character. The remarkable specialty and minuteness of that detailed prediction leads him to suspect or rather to affirm that it cannot have been produced by the prophet Daniel as we now possess it; but that it has been wrought over and recast by "some pious seer of the Maccabean age," with the view of "establishing the most exact relation possible between its predictions and their historical fulfilment;" and that this is one reason why the book was

included in the hagiographa of the Hebrew Bible rather than among the prophets. To this view he is led not by "the preconceived opinion that the spirit of propheey was ineapable of produeing predietions so specific," bnt by "the analogy of prophecy" itself. And this he finds not merely in the faet that other prophetieal books of the Old Testament give no such detailed representations of the futnre as this chapter would exhibit, but that the Revelation of John, which is most nearly related in character and scope with the book of Daniel, exhibits "only ideal pictures" of what was yet to come to pass.

If it were, however, to be admitted that the ehapter in qnestion stood as entirely alone and without a parallel in the whole round of prophecy, as Zöekler imagines, it would surely be more becoming reverently to inquire for what reason this single exeception is made than to allege that no such exception is possible. It is as arrogant to prescribe a method for Divine revelation in one instance as to do so universally. And the analogy of propheey is to be ascertained not by a partial but by a complete survey of all that holy seers have been inspired to foretell or to record. No assumed "analogy" derived from a portion of the prophecies can be normative for the rest in form and method, so long as God spake not only at sundry times but "in divers manners" unto our fathers by the prophets.

Every one else must see, if Zöckler does not, that his hypothesis is tantamount to the assnmption of a pious fraud, and is itself more untenable than the extremes between which he proposes to mediate. The book of Daniel is a unit, and its eleventh chapter must share the fate of all the rest. If they are genuine, it is. If it is interpolated, there is no seeurity that the others are not interpolated too.

But more even than sehools of eriticism, different systems of prophetie interpretation have fought their battles over Daniel. Its apoealyptie character which belongs to it in eommon with the book of Revelation, the faet that it makes its disclosures upon the broad arena of the world, and that it stretches over such vast tracts of time, has fastened upon it the attention of all who coneern themselves with the adaptation of the

chart of prophecy to the region of history. The wide divergences which have prevailed and still exist among interpreters, may be illustrated by the volumes before us. Zöckler finds the fulfilment of almost all that the book contains, in or prior to the Maccabean era. Judge Taylor refers all the predictions of the last six chapters (except perhaps the first seven verses of the seventh chapter, which are necessarily introductory) to the times of the Christian dispensation. While, according to Keil, the development and progress of that dispensation form no part of its disclosures, which spring from events prior to the advent of Christ to the times of the end and the final consummation.

As a specimen of the method of Zöckler and Keil, we propose to present in this article their respective interpretations of the prophecy of the seventy weeks, Daniel ix. 24–27. This shall be followed by a statement of the prophetic scheme propounded by Judge Taylor on the basis of this book.

The prophecy of the seventy weeks has, by the great body of believing interpreters from the earliest times, been regarded as a prediction of the advent and death of Christ, and the consequent destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans. The naturalistic interpreters of modern times, who deny the genuineness of the entire book, imputing it to an unknown author in or near the Maccabean period, by whom the history of the past or present was set forth in the guise of a prophecy from the mouth of Daniel, mostly refer it to the profanation of the temple by Antiochus Epiphanes and his subsequent overthrow. Zöckler has attempted a compromise between these two views. He believes this to be a genuine prophecy communicated to Daniel by the angel Gabriel, and containing internal evidence that it could not have been produced during or after the persecutions of Antiochus Epiphanes; which, however, together with the fate of that ungodly monarch, he supposes to constitute its primary or immediate theme, while it has a secondary or remoter reference to the coming of Christ and the events which succeeded it.

According to his conception of the matter, Daniel was in doubt as to the true interpretation of Jeremiah's prediction (Jeremiah xxv. 11, xxix. 10), that the captivity should last for

seventy years. He was uncertain whether these were to be reckoned from the fourth year of Jehoiakim, when the prediction was uttered, and the first deportation of exiles took place, or from the complete destruction of Jerusalem, which was nearly twenty years later. He, therefore, set himself by fervent supplication to seek a solution of this difficulty, and at the conclusion of his prayer the angel was sent to him to interpret the prophecy of Jeremiah. This he expounds by a "mystico-prophetic conversion" of the seventy years into as many weeks or periods of seven years, which must elapse before the theocracy is restored in its full meaning and power. The introduction of the Messianic period, with its fulness of blessings, is to be for that time delayed. The angel informs Daniel, ix. 24, that seventy weeks of years have been fixed as the appointed term for the bestowment of all that had been predicted and promised at the coming of the expected Saviour. Then transgression should be completed, *i. e.*, it should reach its climax and consummation, and the full measure of iniquity should be filled up. Then guilt should be adequately atoned for, and a righteousness should be brought in not of a temporary and provisional character like that which attached to the Mosaic covenant and its ancient ceremonial, but possessing everlasting efficacy and validity. Then prophecy should be sealed by the accomplishment of all that had been foretold from the beginning respecting the future salvation. And a most holy should be anointed; that is to say, the holy oil of consecration shall be poured upon a new altar of burnt-offering, the altar of the New Testament church. Comp. Ex. xxix. 37, xxx. 29, xl. 10; Lev. viii. 1. This is the sanctuary that is cleansed, viii. 14, and never to be defiled, and which is destined to replace the profaned and desecrated structure of the old economy.

The particulars here unfolded belong unquestionably to the region of Messianic anticipations. They are such as are by the prophets uniformly connected with the coming Redeemer, and the dispensation which he should introduce. Nevertheless this is not, as our author judges, in its strict and primary intent a prophecy of the advent and work of Christ. It is not directly but only typically Messianic. The 490 years here

announced do not (as Zöckler reckons them) bring us to the opening of the new dispensation, but only to a great crisis in the old, which heralds and foreshadows it, setting forth with marked distinctness some of its leading features and characteristics and forming a fresh stage of advancement toward it and preparation for it, the token and assured pledge of its actual coming hereafter. The blessings here foreshown to Daniel are Messianic, but they are exhibited in connection with events nearer at hand, which would simply constitute their preliminary and partial realization, while paving the way and pointing forward to a higher fulfilment in an ultimate and completed form in a yet more distant future. The period directly contemplated by this prophecy is not that of Christ, but that of the Maccabees, though ideas are brought in and expressions employed, which look beyond the latter and find their full and adequate embodiment only in the former.

It may be readily conceded that events widely separated in point of time are frequently blended in prophetic representation. There is no fact more familiar in the inspired disclosures of the future than the existence of what has been appropriately termed a prophetic horizon. The gaze of the holy seer ranges with comparative clearness over a certain tract of the future, which is brought within the scope of his vision, and then passes suddenly and abruptly to what is far more remote without taking note of the interval that lies between. He sees the dense dark clouds of judgment in contact with the objects of the plain as though they had settled down upon it, or his eye catches at one view the distant hills, and the bright rising of the glorious sun which seems to rest upon their glowing summits.

The unfolding of God's grand scheme of grace or judgment proceeds by successive steps or stages, each of which specially concerns the people of God so long as it is in progress, while those that lie beyond are of little present interest or concern. The two things of most immediate and practical moment to a traveler upon a distant journey are to know how to reach the next point of prominence upon his route and to be assured that this lies upon his way to the ultimate end of his course. When that first point is safely reached he will need to gather

information respecting the next, and so on till the last stage is reached. It is thus that God led his people along, stage by stage, during the entire period of his supernatural revelation, supplying at each point just that measure of instruction which was necessary in existing emergencies and for guidance in present duty, and careful moreover to keep ever before them the final issue to which all was tending. With the emergencies and wants belonging to future stages in the unfolding of the divine plan they had no present concern. These were accordingly reserved until the occasion for them had arisen. Each period was for the most part instructed simply in the two things which were then most necessary to be known, the issue of that particular stage of providential movement which was then transacting, coupled with the final issue of the whole scheme of which it formed an integral part. When that stage is ended, many more stages may yet remain before the universal plan is perfected; and the long interval previously unsuspected between that and the grand consummation will begin to appear. And thus what the prophets of one age have set in juxtaposition, will by the disclosures of subsequent prophets or by the evolutions of history be resolved into their separate constituents and arranged in their actual chronological succession.

In the blessing of the patriarch Jacob, Shiloh's coming is linked with the settlement of the tribes in Canaan, an event which formed the next important stage in the accomplishment of patriarchal hopes. The prophet Isaiah at successive conjunctures of his ministry couples the advent of the Messiah with the deliverance from the Syrian invasion, the Assyrian invasion and the Babylonish captivity, according as one or the other of these was for the time the most prominent object in the experience of the present, or the anticipations of the future. The fall of Babylon and the overthrow of Edom, are by Isaiah combined with the final judgment on an ungodly world, and by Habakkuk and Obadiah with its complement the triumphant establishment of the Lord's kingdom over all the earth. This feature of prophecy is of such constant recurrence that it is a recognized principle of interpretation that every prediction of temporal good contains, either

implicitly or explicitly, a prediction of the ultimate salvation; as on the other hand every prediction of the downfall of hostile powers either involves or expressly declares the final overthrow of all the enemies of God. Messiah's coming and kingdom form the background, more or less distinctly visible in every prophetic picture.

There is no antecedent presumption from analogy, therefore, prior to the examination of the terms of this particular prophecy, against the view maintained by Zöckler, that it has mingled reference to the times of the Maccabees, and to the times of the Messiah, and while typically predictive of the latter, it is directly predictive of the former. Such a combination would not only be entirely in accordance with prophetic usage in general, but in regard to these epochs in particular. That signal crisis in the affairs of Israel, when the Maccabees were raised up to be their champions and defenders, did form a prophetic horizon, and from the splendor of these foreseen successes, the people were instructed to anticipate the dawn of the brighter day beyond. As the Babylonish exile formed such a limit to the prophets living prior to that event, from which their inspiration taught them to glance forward to the coming Redeemer; and as the change of dispensations constituted another such horizon, the prophets of the Old Testament not distinguishing the protracted periods of waiting, and of struggle through which the Kingdom of the Messiah was to win its way to final victory, but springing at once from its establishment to its consummation; so to Daniel as to Zechariah, the next great crisis in Israel's history, and the most important prior to the advent, was that dark period of oppression and persecution by an offshoot of the Greek Empire, and the signal deliverance that was to follow. Zechariah ch. ix. connects God's protection of his people from the great Greek conqueror in the full tide of his early successes with the coming of Zion's king; and ch. x. the Maccabean triumphs with the regathering of Israel out of all his dispersions. And Daniel ch. xi.–xii. combines the persecutions and wretched end of Antiochus Epiphanes, with the general resurrection. It would not in itself, therefore, be at all surprising to find a

like combination in this passage of the overthrow of this furious oppressor, and the setting-up of the Kingdom of Christ.

Two insuperable objections to the application of this view to the present prophecy are, however, supplied by its opening verse. The first is that a definite period is here fixed for the ushering in of the blessings consequent upon Messiah's advent. Zöckler concedes that the particulars described in this verse are according to the uniform representation of prophecy Messianic. He further not only allows but urges that the weeks here spoken of are determinate measures of time, that they are weeks of years, and that the seventy weeks are, therefore, four hundred and ninety years. From these premises the conclusion is inevitable, that the lapse of this period must bring about the dawn of the Messianic era. The definite chronological statement here made clearly distinguishes this prophecy from those in which the future is merely spoken of in general terms, with nothing to indicate whether the fulfilment is to take place in the nearer or remoter future, or whether there are to be successive accomplishments at distinct and even widely sundered points of time. The time is exactly determined, and the thing to be looked for is precisely stated.

Of the six clauses of this verse (ver. 24), it is not intimated that the first five have any other than their proper Messianic application. Only the last, "anointing a most holy," it is suggested, was to have first an external literal fulfilment in the restoration of the temple service with its animal sacrifices after its temporary interruption by Antiochus Epiphanes; and subsequently to this it was to have a second, of which the former was a type, in the erection of the more perfect sanctuary and service of the New Testament, whose altar was the cross, anointed and consecrated by the blood of Christ, himself the victim and the priest. Reconciliation for iniquity and everlasting righteousness, are acknowledged to be the very center of the gracious benefits purchased for us by Christ. The sealing of vision and prophecy is understood, as it must be, of the accomplishment of that which has been the constant theme of all the prophets from the beginning.

It is true that the meaning put upon the first two clauses by Zöckler, might admit of their being applied in a lower sense to the criminality which culminated in the desecration of God's temple by Antiochus, as well as to that which found its acme in that more awful crime at which the earth quaked, and the sun was darkened. But the correct interpretation of those clauses makes them substantially equivalent to the third, and refers them in like manner to the putting away of sin by the only effectual offering, thus precluding the possibility of any other than a Messianic sense.

It is vain, therefore, to plead as parallel the language of our Lord appended to a prediction which had blended reference to the destruction of Jerusalem and to the end of the world: "This generation shall not pass till all these things be fulfilled;" or that other declaration, which rings through the Old Testament: "The day of the Lord is at hand," and is re-echoed in the New: "The coming of the Lord draweth nigh." Where, as in these cases, a predicted event finds its fulfilment in successive stadia or cycles, it may be said to come to pass on the completion of the first stadium, of which those that follow will be but the substantial reproduction in higher potency. But Daniel's seventy weeks were to effect a result which admits of no double or doubtful interpretation. The atonement for sin, which was to find place within this limit, allows of no degrees and no inferior application. It can be nothing less than the sacrificial death of the incarnate Son of God.

But a second objection equally fatal to the view under consideration is, that the seventy weeks, upon Zöckler's own showing, extend not to the overthrow of Antiochus and the Maccabean deliverance, but many years beyond it. This he does not affect to conceal or cover up, but plainly avows. He claims, p. 179, that the seventy weeks, or 490 years, should be reckoned from the same point of time with the seventy years predicted by Jeremiah, of which he conceives it to be an expansion or modification. Jeremiah's prophecy furnished the occasion of that of Daniel, suggested its form, supplied it with its number seventy, and, he contends, determines the date from which it was to be computed. About this date there

was, he thinks, a measure of uncertainty. It might be the fourth year of Jehoiakim, B. C. 605, when Jeremiah, ch. XXV., first announced that the subjection to Babylon should last for seventy years; or it might be B. C. 598, or thereabouts, when Jeremiah repeated this prediction in a letter to the captives in Babylon, ch. xxix.; or, which Zöckler for a reason that will appear hereafter, finds it convenient to make the basis of his estimate, B. C. 588, when Jerusalem was destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar. The appointed term will come to an end, therefore, as he makes it out, p. 194, about one hundred years before Christ, and seventy years or more after the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, B. C. 175. One would think that this would be accepted by himself as the demonstration of the falsity of his own conclusion. The prophecy fixes the time of its fulfilment; and this is by his estimate seventy years distant from the events in which he fancies that it found its accomplishment. It is plain that he has either miscalculated the time or misapplied the prediction. We believe that he has done both.

Zöckler seeks to extricate himself from the dilemma, in which his calculations have placed him, by alleging the limitations of prophecy. A prophecy is not exactly the same as history written beforehand. There is a distinction between them in the mode in which they respectively represent the same objects, which is never confused and should not be lost sight of. Every prophecy is written out of and for the time to which it belongs. This is reflected in its shape and coloring, in the turn of its expressions, the relative prominence it accords to different events, and the aspect under which it presents them. In many instances their prophetic character and the circumstances of their origin are so visibly impressed upon the productions of the prophets as to amount to a complete vindication of their genuineness. They could not have been written as they are at any later period; least of all after the events predicted had taken place.

But that which distinguishes prophecy from history is not the inaccuracy of the former and its want of correspondence with the facts as they really occur. We cannot accept Zöckler's defence of the genuineness of this prophecy of the seventy

weeks based on its alleged non-fulfilment, except as a valid *argumentum ad hominem* directed against the criticism of modern unbelief. "It is not a *vaticinium ex eventu* concocted in the Maccabean period," he says, p. 195, "for the points in which its statements do not agree with the events of the time are more numerous than those in which they do." And we consider it but a doubtful compliment to the prophet when his perspicacity is lauded, p. 194, at the expense of the truth of the revelation made to him. "While there could scarcely have been one of his contemporaries in the exile, who would have postponed the dawn of Messiah's days much beyond the close of the Babylonish captivity, it evidences a marvellous breadth of vision" in Daniel that he sees the great crisis by which it is typified and with which it is identified in his mind at a distance of 490 years; though this does not correspond in point of fact with the interval that separated him either from the type or the antitype.

The limitations which really belong to prophecy, are not imposed upon it by the narrow bounds of human vision, whether unassisted or but partially aided from on high. It is neither by an inborn nor an acquired faculty, neither by their native sagacity nor their spiritual penetration, that the prophets forecast the future, the result of which would be that, however they may surpass other men in prescience, the necessary weakness of the human understanding must unavoidably restrict it in its range, and render it liable to error. The limitation of prophecy arises solely out of the Divine intention. The prophet foresees just what God chooses to communicate and as he communicates it. And the Divine intention in the case is governed by the need to be supplied. All is not made known which God's omniscience might reveal. But just so much of the future is exhibited, and under just such aspects as are adapted to furnish the stimulus, or warning, or consolation, which is required.

In the present instance Daniel was stirred up to pray that God would revisit the desolations of Jerusalem, by the speedily approaching close of the predicted term of exile. It was not because he was unable to compute the seventy years of Jeremiah, but because he could compute and had computed

them, and he knew their end was at hand. The fulfilment had in fact already begun. Babylon had fallen—the signal and pledge of Israel's release. His prayer intimates no obscurity in the prophecy which he would have resolved, and implies no doubt of its accomplishment. The burden of the whole is confession of his own and his people's sins and supplication for God's forgiveness and the restoration of his favor. Israel might return to Jerusalem, but how could her desolations be rebuilt and she become the praise of the whole earth, unless God's anger and his fury should be turned away, and he made his face to shine upon his people and upon his sanctuary? Hereupon the angel Gabriel informs the prophet that seventy weeks shall suffice to provide a perfect expiation for sin, and seal the blessings which all former seers have promised. The mercy, for which he entreats, can only then be granted in its highest measure, and the covenant shall be confirmed with many; but the rejection of Messiah by the blinded mass shall cause the rebuilded city to be again fearfully and utterly destroyed.

The prediction takes its form from the supplication of Daniel, to which it is an answer, and the prophecy of Jeremiah which had encouraged him to make it. There is no full recital of the events consequent upon Messiah's advent or of those by which it was to be preceded. The prediction is restricted to just those events and aspects of the future, which gave the proper response to Daniel, and to the pious in Israel whom he represented. There is a limitation both in the amount communicated and in its enigmatical brevity, which clearly distinguishes it from historical statement. But there is no error and no room for any, unless this be charged upon the angel, or upon Him whose message he bore. If the distance in time were to be left in doubt, the chronological interval would not have been stated. Since this is announced, it must be held to be accurate; or at least no more latitude allowed than is always involved in the use of round numbers. But that this must here be restricted within very narrow limits, is shown by its exact division in what follows into three component parts, and the note taken, of not only a single week, but of half a week.

We must, however, proceed to examine the interpretation given of the subsequent verses, upon which it is chiefly that Zöckler bases his view of the entire passage. He reads ver. 25, "From the going forth of the word to restore and to build Jerusalem unto an anointed, a prince, are seven weeks; and during two and sixty weeks it shall be restored and built with street and moat (*i. e.* the process of its restoration and upbuilding shall be continued at intervals through these 434 years), but in troublous times." The anointed prince he takes to be Cyrus, whom God calls his anointed, Isa. xlv.; and who made his appearance 49 years after Jerusalem was destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar, B. C. 588. But would any man not sorely pressed by the exigencies of a theory ever dream of fixing upon the destruction of Jerusalem as the time of "the going forth of the word to restore and to build" it? If the 49 years intervening between Nebuchadnezzar and Cyrus are to be identified with the seven weeks of this prophecy, there would seem to be more reason in the preposterous method adopted by Eichhorn, who reckons them backward instead of forward, and starting with the decree of Cyrus permitting the Jews to return to their own land, finds the anointed prince in the king of Babylon!

The allegation that the 70 weeks of Daniel begin at the same time with the 70 years of Jeremiah, if it were well founded, would not lead us to fix upon the destruction of Jerusalem as their common point of departure. On the contrary, it is plain that the term of subjection to Babylon predicted Jer. xxv. 12, xxix. 10, begins from the fourth year of Jehoiakim (B. C. 606). For, 1, this is the year that the prediction was first uttered, Jer. xxv. 1. 2. In that year Jerusalem was captured by Nebuchadnezzar and the exile properly commenced; the first deportation of exiles then occurred, the king became a vassal of Nebuchadnezzar and Judea tributary to him, only the shadow of a kingdom remaining for a few years in Jerusalem, 2 Kgs. xxiv. 1, 2 Chron. xxxiv. 6, 7, Dan. i. 2. 3. The seventy years were completed in the first year of Cyrus (B. C. 536), 2 Chron. xxvi. 21, 22, Ezra i. 1, with which Zech. i. 12, is entirely consistent. 4. Daniel must have so reckoned them, for he was himself carried away by Nebuchadnezzar in that expedition which

began in the third and ended in the fourth year of Jehoiakim, Dan. i. 1, 6. And as he was taken to Babylon at the beginning of the exile, so he continued there until its close, Dan. i. 21. That the first year of Cyrus is particularly spoken of in the passage last cited, because it marked the end of the exile, appears from the fact that it was neither the limit of Daniel's life nor of the revelations made to him, Dan. x. 1. And the supplication in ch. ix. implies that the predicted term of captivity had almost reached its termination; and when it was offered, 69 years had elapsed since the fourth year of Jehoiakim.

If Cyrus were the anointed prince here referred to, and the commencement of Jeremiah's seventy years were the intended point of beginning, Daniel would have fixed the interval at ten weeks instead of seven. For even if it were to be allowed, that he might err in assigning the time of events yet future, he could not have been mistaken in his computation of what was already past, and particularly of a period so intimately associated with his own life and experience.

But the notion that the seventy weeks are to be reckoned from the same starting point with the seventy years of Jeremiah has no foundation in the text of the passage, nor in the nature of the case, and is just the offspring of the hypothesis that the book of Daniel is a spurious production, dating from the Maccabean age; a hypothesis which Zöckler no longer accepts, though he has only partially emancipated himself from its trammels. The representation made by those who adopt it is, that as the ancient prosperity of Jerusalem had not even yet returned, the prophecy of Jeremiah seemed to have failed. And the unknown author of this book undertook to save its credit by lengthening out the period and substituting for the seventy years, seven times seventy. No such wretched shift, however, was needed to bolster up the prophetic character of Jeremiah. His prophecy was fulfilled to the letter. Its fulfilment was recognized at the time, as is shown by the allusions to it in the books written at or after the close of the exile, and as is implied in the book of Daniel itself. Its truth and accuracy have been confessed ever since. And no such motive appears in this passage.

On the contrary it is expressly stated that these weeks are to be reckoned from "the going forth of the word to restore and to build Jerusalem." Jeremiah's prophecy of the exile and its duration cannot with any propriety be so regarded. The earliest period that could be imagined to answer to this description is the first year of Cyrus, when leave was granted to the exiles to return to their own land and "build the house of God which is in Jerusalem," Ezra i. 1–4. But no *restoration* of the city in any just sense of the term followed upon this edict; nor upon the renewed permission to prosecute the work upon the temple in the second year of Darius Hystaspes, Ezra, ch. vi.; nor upon the mission of Ezra in the seventh year of Artaxerxes, which was chiefly concerned with the service of the sanctuary, Ezra ch. vii. The city was still in ruins and its walls unbuilt, and nothing effectual had been done towards its restoration until in the twentieth year of Artaxerxes, when Nehemiah was authorized and empowered to rebuild "the city of his fathers' sepulchres," Neh. i. 3, ch. ii. According to the terms of the prophecy, therefore, this is the date from which its weeks are to be counted.

Zöckler's division of the 25th verse may at first sight appear to be the most natural distribution of the clauses. In so enigmatical a passage, however, this consideration is not of itself decisive; especially as the terms of the prophecy plainly point to, if they do not compel a different division. Seventy weeks (490 years) were to introduce Messianic blessings; after the sixty-two weeks, which followed the first seven in the partition of the seventy (*i. e.* after 483 years), Messiah was to be cut off; it is far more likely, therefore, that the prophet intends to say that 483 years extend to the time of his appearance than 49 years; unless his life on earth was to be out of all proportion to other human lives. Accordingly, although the Masoretic accents, which are often rhythmical rather than logical, assign the sixty-two weeks to the second clause of the verse, several of the ancient versions combine the "seven weeks and threescore and two weeks," and connect both with the first clause as is done by our English translators. And that this is the correct rendering is put beyond question by its correspondence with the fulfilment, which in any case of obscu-

rity or ambiguity is certainly entitled to guide our interpretation. There is some variance among chronologers as to the precise time when Artaxerxes succeeded to the throne of Persia. But upon any hypothesis that has ever been proposed, the interval between his twentieth year and the baptism of Christ, when his public ministry began and from which we are to date his appearance as the Messiah, is in the neighborhood of 483 years. Hengstenberg, in his Christology, enters into a detailed examination of all the data with the view of showing that the coincidence is exact.

The anointed one cut off after the sixty-two weeks Zöckler takes to be the high-priest Onias III., with regard to which identification he makes the following frank confession, p. 181: "Only in a chronological point of view this event does not harmonize with the statements of our prophecy. For whilst the sixty-two weeks of years, after the lapse of which the anointed is cut off, reckoned from the end of the first seven weeks, or from B. C. 539, extend to B. C. 105, that is to say, into the reign of the Hasmonean Aristobulus I., or his successor, Alexander Jannæus, the murder of Onias took place as early as 141 or 142 of the era of the Seleucidæ, *i. e.*, B. C. 172 or 171, which belongs to the fifty-third week after 539. It must be confessed, therefore, on the hypothesis of the correctness of all our other assumptions, that the prophecy is not in accord with itself in the matter of chronology, or that the prophet beheld together what belonged to different times; in other words, that he conceived of a very important catastrophe in the history of the future, as occurring quite a number of weeks later (about ten weeks, or almost seventy years) than it actually took place." To which it might be added, that this particular murder scarcely deserved to be thus singled out by specific prediction in those disorderly times, when the sacerdotal succession was so disturbed, and intrigue, riot, and bloodshed so abounded in Jerusalem; that the destruction of the city and the sanctuary consequent upon the cutting-off of the anointed, shows his transcendent pre-eminence, and that the fortunes of the chosen people were bound up in their treatment of him as cannot be conceded to have been the case in regard to Onias; that the "anointed" of this verse, in the absence of decisive

reasons to the contrary, must be held to be the same with the "anointed" of the preceding verse, and both are interpreted by the anointing, verse 24, which is coupled with unquestionably Messianic blessings; and that the crucifixion of Christ at the time here indicated, and the subsequent destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans, so signally corresponds with the language of the prediction, that even rationalistic interpreters confess the remarkable coincidence, and admit that this application of it was almost unavoidable on the part of the early Christians. The most that can be said of the application to Onias is, that it is less outrageous than the wild conjecture of Bertholdt, that the sudden death of Alexander the Great is referred to, or that of Bleek, Ewald, and others, who find the "anointed" in Seleucus IV. Philopator.

The prince that shall come and destroy the city and the sanctuary is assumed to be Antiochus Epiphanes, who, though he desecrated the latter, did not destroy either; and it is his end that shall be with a flood, which either denotes the overflow of Divine wrath, or, as Zöckler prefers, is a figure for hostile invasion, in which case the prophecy would fail again, for Antiochus did not perish in battle. His confirming the covenant with many for one week, means his gaining over a recreant party among the Jews, whom he succeeded in rendering subservient to his ends. His causing the sacrifice and the oblation to cease for half of the week, with which Zöckler compares viii. 11, and vii. 25, denotes the suppression of the temple-worship in Jerusalem for three years and a half; which is the only really plausible point in the interpretation of the entire passage. In the next clause Zöckler alters the words of the text, and reads, "On the temple" (a figurative designation of the roof being applied to the entire structure) "are the abominations of desolation," or the abominations that make desolate, viz., the symbols and appliances of idolatry, heathen statues, altars, etc., "until destruction and judgment shall be poured on the desolater" (where a transitive sense is given to an intransitive form), *i. e.*, on the impious tyrant and his host.

Keil rejects the application of this prophecy to Antiochus Epiphanes, his persecutions and overthrow. At the same

time he does not accept the current interpretation of it which has prevailed among believing expositors from the beginning, and which finds here predicted the advent of Christ, his crucifixion, and the consequent destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans. The chief difficulty which he alleges, in fact the only one of any moment, concerns the chronological exactness of the fulfilment. He impugns this, but without good reason, as appears from the following estimate quoted by himself from Hengstenberg. The twentieth year of Artaxerxes, when the first effectual measures were taken for the rebuilding and restoration of Jerusalem, corresponds with 455 B. C., or the year of Rome 299. Christ's entrance upon his public ministry and his anointing by the Holy Ghost took place, according to Luke iii. 1, in the year of Rome 782. The interval is precisely 483 years, or in the language of the prophecy "seven weeks and threescore and two weeks," each week representing a period of seven years. In the midst of the following week, or three years and a half after his baptism, our Lord suffered death on Calvary, thus making an all-sufficient atonement for the sins of men, and causing the typical sacrifices and oblations of the old economy to cease.

To this demonstration of the precise accuracy of the prophetic announcement, Keil first mentions an objection, p. 317, upon which, however, he very properly does not insist. "We shall not urge," he says, "against the exactness of the fulfilment arrived at by this calculation that the *terminus a quo* adopted by Hengstenberg, viz.: the twentieth year of Artaxerxes, coincides with 455 B. C., only upon the assumption that Xerxes reigned but eleven years, and Artaxerxes came to the throne ten years earlier than in the common chronology, according to which Xerxes reigned twenty-one years; because the arguments for and against this view are *evenly balanced.* In the uncertainty which attaches to many points of ancient chronology, we shall attach no weight to the figuring out to a year, but shall regard the approximate coincidence of the predicted time with that which has actually elapsed as a sufficient proof that there may possibly have been an exact correspondence in the number of years, and that no one can at any rate prove the contrary."

That which to his mind renders the common view of this prophecy untenable, is that the destruction of the city by the Romans, supposed to be predicted at the close of verse 26, and again at the close of verse 27, did not take place till A. D. 70, which would be 525 years, or seventy-five prophetic weeks from the twentieth year of Artaxerxes, allowing that to be the proper starting-point. But "the going forth of the commandment to restore and to build Jerusalem," points rather, as he claims, to the first year of Cyrus, B. C. 536, which will extend the time to 606 years, or upwards of eighty-six septenaries.

But however plausible this latter suggestion may appear on its first presentation, and though the edict of Cyrus permitting the Jews to return from captivity and rebuild their temple, marked an epoch in the fortunes of the chosen race, and was the limit of the seventy years of exile predicted by Jeremiah, a moment's reflection will suffice to show that this is not necessarily the starting-point of the period here revealed to Daniel. No mention is made of rebuilding or restoring the city in the edict of Cyrus, Ezra i. 1–4.; and at any rate the city was not in point of fact restored under its operation. It is beyond question that no effectual measures were taken to that end until the mission of Nehemiah in the twentieth year of Artaxerxes. And it is also indisputable that from this first effectual going forth of the commandment to restore and build Jerusalem, to the appearance of Messiah in the exercise of his public ministry, is exactly the predicted term according to a chronology, which Keil himself confesses to be equal in its claims to any other, and varies but slightly from it according to any chronology which has ever been adopted.

And the allegation that the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans does not fall within the seventy weeks, is nothing to the purpose. The terms of the prediction do not require that it should. The destruction of the city and the sanctuary follows upon the cutting-off of the Messiah as its righteous retribution; but whether immediately or after an interval, the prophecy does not declare. It is not intimated in any way that this was to occur before the seventy weeks had expired. The prophecy is throughout vindicated to the letter, and the

interpretation in which the church has rested for ages, finds the amplest verification in the facts of history.

Abandoning this ancient and well-established view, Keil finds in this passage the Antichrist of the future and the end of the world. There are some faint traces of such an interpretation in Hippolytus and Apollinaris of Laodicea. And a few of those who have referred it in the first instance to the times of Antiochus Epiphanes, or to the advent of Christ, have likewise supposed a further typical application to the last times, and the personal Antichrist. Keil follows Kliefoth in supposing this to be its immediate and proper intent.

According to this conception of the prophecy, the seventy weeks extend to the termination of the present order of things. "Seventy weeks are determined upon thy people and upon thy holy city"—not, as Keil understands it, upon Israel after the flesh or the geographical Jerusalem, but embracing likewise the New Testament church and the whole of God's earthly kingdom. This is the period fixed for the complete working out of God's grand scheme on earth. Within this term it is his purpose "to shut up transgression" (comp. Eng. Vers., margin), to confine it as in a prison (comp. Rev. xx. 3), to suffer it no longer to have free range and exert itself at will, but put it under a constraint from which it cannot emancipate itself. This shall be accomplished so far as the ungodly and finally impenitent are concerned, by "sealing up sins," not bringing them to an end as a letter is sealed when it is finished, nor simply removing them from sight as things are sealed up to put them out of reach, but in connection with incarceration, making fast and securing under lock and seal, so that there can be no escape from the final prison-house of despair. So far as the righteous are concerned, transgression shall be shut up by "making reconciliation for iniquity;" sin shall be effaced by pardon and the application of the atonement of Christ.

To this negative side of the ultimate salvation is further added its positive side, and this too in three particulars; first, the bringing in an everlasting righteousness, a righteousness which shall endure throughout the endless ages of Messiah's kingdom; secondly, "sealing up vision and prophet," by which he understands not precisely confirming them by their

full accomplishment as a legal instrument is sealed to give it validity, but as in the parallel clause "sealing sin" rendered it thenceforth inoperative, so prophecy is sealed and set aside, its visions are all realized, its work all performed, and it is thenceforth to cease, 1 Cor. xiii. 8. The struggle with sin and imperfection, in which it bore its part, is at length over, and its aid is no longer required; it must accordingly pass away with the other helps, and appliances belonging to this transitory state. And to crown all, "a most holy shall be anointed;" all that the temple foreshadowed shall be brought to pass. God shall inaugurate a fresh abode amongst men, and dwell with them, Rev. xxi. 3. Thus interpreted, verse 24 points, not as it is commonly and as we believe properly, understood, to the achieving of man's redemption by Christ's work on earth; but to the final issue of that redemption as it shall be perfected, when Christ shall come the second time to judge the world and set up his kingdom in glory.

This protracted term, extending to the end of the world, is then subdivided into three minor periods. There shall be first seven weeks from the going forth of the decree to restore and to build Jerusalem; *i. e.*, as he expounds it, from the edict of Cyrus to the advent of Christ in the flesh. Then during a second period of threescore and two weeks after the advent, this work of restoring and building shall still go forward, not, however, in application any longer to the literal Jerusalem, but to the spiritual city of God, his kingdom amongst men. This has its fulfilment in the continued existence and progress of the Christian Church, amid troubles and conflicts, until the last great struggle shall come. The cutting-off of Messiah after these threescore and two weeks have expired, or in the last week of this world's history, is then understood in conformity with the general view taken of the prophecy, not of his violent death, but of the subversion of his authority. He shall be cut off from being recognized or regarded as the anointed of God. The next words, inaccurately rendered in our version, "but not for himself," are properly translated; "and there shall not be to him" or "he shall not have," viz.: what as Messiah he is entitled to possess, that consideration and homage which are his due. The prince that shall come

and destroy the city and the sanctuary, is, in Keil's view, the personal Antichrist; and it is his end that shall be in the flood, *i. e.*, the outpouring of the Divine vengeance. Antichrist is still further supposed to be the subject in the following verse. It is he that shall make a strong covenant with the many, the great mass of the people, who are thus spoken of in implied contrast with the few who remain faithful to their God and Saviour. Throughout this week he shall constrain the vast majority to follow and submit to him. And for half the week he shall cause the sacrifice and oblation to cease, interdict and abolish the public exercise of divine worship; this being regarded as identical with the statement in Dan. viii. 25, respecting the little horn on the fourth beast, who "shall wear out the saints of the Most High, and think to change times and laws; and they shall be given into his hand until a time and times and the dividing of time." "And on the wing of abominations," *i. e.*, upheld and borne along on the pinions of idolatry and false religion, he shall execute his work of desolation, until God's own inexorable decree of destruction shall be poured upon himself, and the destroyer shall be himself destroyed.

Remote as all this is from the genuine and proper intent of the prophecy, it is remarkable with what facility most of its expressions lend themselves to this view of the case. The language employed to describe the salvation wrought out by the incarnate Saviour, who put away sin by the sacrifice of himself, may be readily accommodated to its finished fruits in the complete deliverance of his ransomed people. And the enigmatical brevity of the passage renders it possible in some of its clauses to confuse the subject and the object, and to apply indifferently to Antichrist what is said of the desolating armies of the Romans, of the rapid spread of the doctrine of Christ, of his setting aside the sacrificial services of the old economy, and of the destruction visited upon the guilty city that rejected and crucified him. Some of these adroit interpretations may however be set aside by a rigorous grammatical exegesis. But without insisting on minute and subtle points, this interpretation, ingenious as it is, is wrecked by three palpable considerations.

1. The statement that "Messiah shall be cut off," in the absolute manner in which it is here made, can mean nothing else than that he shall be put to a violent death. These terms cannot by possibility denote merely the extirpation of his worship, the abolition of a genuine and vital Christianity.

2. Our Lord plainly declares that Daniel had predicted the overthrow of Jerusalem by the Romans, Mat. xxiv. 15, Mark xiii. 14, comp. Luke xxi. 20. It also appears from Josephus that the belief was current in his day of the existence of such a prediction. Keil tries very hard to evade this difficulty, and particularly to parry the force of our Lord's words by alleging that he alludes, not to ix. 27, but to Dan. xi. 31, or xii. 11. But after all his argumentation the stubborn fact remains that these latter passages relate to an entirely different event; and if the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans is predicted by Daniel at all, it can only be in the prophecy now under consideration.

3. The notation of time, which forms so marked a feature of this prophecy, loses all its significance and value upon the interpretation adopted by Keil. The weeks cease to be fixed or determinate measures of time and are converted into periods of uncertain duration. The intervals which are successively described as seventy, seven, or sixty-two weeks or a half week, do not bear the proportion to each other in their respective extent which these numbers appear to indicate. According to this theory the seven weeks extend from B. C. 536 to the advent. But why that period should be denominated seven weeks does not appear. And this is not supposed to afford any basis for estimating the length of the other periods, which are also stated in weeks. It is difficult to understand why the appearance of strict chronological statement should have been given to the prophecy, if the time of fulfilment was after all to be left vague and uncertain.

Keil undertakes to explain the matter, p. 283, by calling these weeks "a purposely indefinite designation of a period measured by the number seven, but whose chronological duration is to be ascertained from other sources." We must confess that this leaves us as much in the dark as we were before. In fact, it does not convey any clear idea to our mind.

What is meant by the statement that these undefined periods of uncertain duration are measured by the number seven? We do not see why, on this hypothesis, they should be called "weeks" at all, nor why the numbers should be attached to them which we here find. If there might be thought to be a symbolical fitness in connecting the numbers seventy and seven with periods which are fraught with such sacred issues as the advent of the Messiah or the final consummation, what symbolical or sacred meaning can be imagined to be associated with sixty-two? This disregard of the numbers and chronological measures of this prophecy is the more unwarrantable because the seventy years of Jeremiah, which was the theme of Daniel's meditation and suggested the form of the response made to him, had their literal and exact fulfilment. This naturally creates the expectation that the seventy weeks are also to be strictly computed; and so, as we have seen, they are according to the common view of the prophecy, which makes them weeks of years, and finds them to correspond with precision to the historical intervals which they represent.

While Keil denies the chronological value of the seventy weeks, and fails to find any revelation of the time of Messiah's advent in the flesh, Judge Taylor goes to the opposite extreme of subjecting to computation times which we are expressly told it is not for us to know, Acts i. 7, and which are declared to be not only unknown to men, but to the angels in heaven, and even to the Son of God himself, Mark xiv. 32. Calculations are given to show that "the antichristian despotism of the Roman hierarchy" was to come to its end A. D. 1867; that "the Mahometan delusion shall die away and disappear, so far at least as the Holy Land is concerned," in A. D. 1897; that "the restoration of the Jews to Palestine shall be accomplished" in the forty-five years next ensuing; that the second coming of our Lord shall take place in A. D. 1942, when the millennium shall begin.

There are several weak points in the attempted demonstration, which it is not necessary here to specify in detail. It is sufficient to explode this and all similar endeavors to fix definite dates for events still future, that they are all based on the unproved and fallacious assumption that in prophetic language

in general, and in that of Daniel in particular, a day stands for a year. For this hypothesis, widely as it has been adopted, there is absolutely no support. It has no confirmation from the fact that "week" is in Dan. ix. 24ff. used to denote a week of years; for the Hebrew term here employed means properly a "heptad" or a "septenary," and, though commonly used of seven days as the most familiar hebdomadal period, is quite as applicable, according to its derivation, to a period of seven years, or, in fact, to any other whole made up of seven parts. That the weeks are weeks of years, is intimated by events being assigned to them which must necessarily require more than seventy ordinary weeks for their accomplishment. And the Mosaic law, with its sabbatical system and its cycles of sevens extended to years as well as days, habituated the Jews to regularly recurring periods of seven years; and these were brought to mind with special prominence at this very time by the seventy years of exile being declared to be in lieu of these neglected sabbaths of years, 2 Chron. xxxvi. 21.

But that a term properly denoting a heptad or cycle of seven should be used in application to years, does not warrant the conclusion that a day in the language of prophecy may be taken to signify a year, much less that this can be accepted as a fixed canon of interpretation.

Two other passages are adduced to prove the canon, but they are quite as little to the purpose. The rebellion of the children of Israel in consequence of the evil report of the spies was punished by their being condemned to wander in the wilderness forty years, a year for every day that the spies had been searching the land, Num. xiv. 34. But this is not a prediction stated in days and fulfilled in years. They are not told that they must remain forty days in the desert, and then required to remain forty years, as they ought to have been in order to support the hypothesis in question. The term in the sentence is unambiguously declared to be forty years, and coincides exactly with the period of the infliction, only the sentence itself was designed to be a perpetual reminder of the offence which had induced it, and was made so to be by connecting the forty years' wandering with the forty days' searching.

In Ezekiel iv. 4–6 the prophet was directed to lie a certain

number of days first upon one side and then upon the other, to bear the iniquity of the two houses of Israel, in which a day was appointed for a year. Here an action performed by the prophet in view of the people, represented in miniature the penalty to be inflicted on the entire body. But the penalty itself is expressly stated at the time, not in days, but in years. While, however, this passage does not serve the purpose for which the advocates of the year-for-a-day system of interpretation commonly adduce it, it affords an admirable illustration of what may be called the typical employment of numbers in prophecy. The rigor with which the prophet was bound so that he could not turn from side to side, represents the hardships to which the people would be subjected in the threatened exile. But the 390 years allotted to Israel and the forty to Judah do not correspond with the actual periods that their respective captivities were to last. The numbers in both instances belong to periods in the past, and represent the future as a reproduction of what had already taken place. The 390 years is the period which had elapsed since the schism of Jeroboam; this is taken as the measure of their guilt, and the penalty is graduated accordingly. They must continue to bear it until all these years of transgression are expiated. The forty years of Judah are in like manner borrowed from the forty years' wandering in the wilderness. The exile was not to last forty, but seventy years, as Jeremiah explicitly predicted. But it was to be to them what the abode in the desert had been to their fathers, a period of purgation and trial, to issue when the ends of discipline were answered, in their being brought again to Canaan. The employment of the familiar number recalls the event of the past with which it was associated. The very same parallel here suggested by the number forty is by the same prophet, Ezek. xx. 35–38, unambiguously expressed. The usage of the prophets to set forth the future as the iteration of a typical event in the past, and to describe what is hereafter to take place not so much in its own actual forms as in forms or under emblems borrowed from what had previously occurred, is too frequent and well known to require extended exemplification. Comp. Isa. xi. 15; Hos. viii. 13; Mic. v. 5; Zech. xiv. 16.

The fact is that in Daniel, as in other prophets, the periods of the future are never represented in the enigmatical method, which this school of interpreters alleges to have been their invariable practice. They are either given in their actual value, the prophetical statement squaring precisely with the historical fulfillment, which is commonly the case, or they are used in a typical and symbolical sense. The most frequent instance of the latter is that which is variously stated as a time, times and a half, forty-two months, or 1260 days, and which figures so largely in all attempts to compute the dates of the future by the numbers of prophecy. This is a purely typical or ideal period, and is not designed for calculation at all. The three years and a half during which the oppressions of Antiochus Epiphanes were to last, Dan. xii. 7, and actually did continue, is made a type of the period during which other foes shall oppress the people of God, not that the actual duration shall be the same, but that they shall be of like character and issue, a similar term of suffering followed by a similar triumph. The one is substantially repeated in the other, but no computation of historic times based on the one can have any validity in respect to the other.

Judge Taylor rigorously applies this false canon to all the prophecies of Daniel, and, as a consequence, he understands them all to refer to events posterior to the time of Christ. Thus, in express contravention of the interpretation given to the prophet himself, the ram of ch. viii. (the kings of Media and Persia) is made to be the Roman Empire or the Pope of Rome, and the he goat (the king of Grecia) to be the kingdom of Chosroes of Persia, and the little horn, ver. 9, the Mohammedan delusion; though once, pp. 92, 93, he appears to forget himself, and the Persia of the prophecy is no longer treated as Rome but as Persia proper. This, of course, substitutes mere guess-work for interpretation, and leads to the most extraordinary identifications, as, on p. 141, "the taking away of the daily sacrifice" with the conferring of the title of universal bishop upon Boniface. 2 Peter iii. 10 is paraphrased as follows, p. 175: "The day of the Lord will come as a thief in the night, in the which, in the midst of terrific convulsions, the governments of the world shall all be subverted and pass

away; legal ordinances and ritualistic ceremonies shall be abrogated, ecclesiastical tyranny abolished, and all the enemies of God shall be consumed." A number of minor slips betray the fact that this volume, though evidently the fruit of much reflection and of an earnest spirit, has led its author into a department with which he is not professionally familiar—as where he unintentionally plays into the hands of modern unbelieving criticism by speaking of the book of Daniel as the work not of the prophet but of a compiler, p. 13, and prepared after the prophet's death, p. 44, or makes our Lord's ministry to have lasted seven years, p. 26, or explains "host," Dan. viii. 13, by the Latin "*hostia*," or substitutes a Septuagint reading for that of the Hebrew, and makes it the basis of his computations, p. 39, or founds an interpretation on expressions in the Septuagint which are wholly out of relation to the original, p. 77ff.

ARTICLE VI.—*The General Assembly.*

The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States met in the First Presbyterian Church of Chicago on the 18th day of June, 1871, and was opened with a sermon by Rev. J. Trumbull Backus, D.D., the moderator of the last Assembly. The Rev. Z. M. Humphrey, D.D., was chosen Moderator.

REDUCTION OF THE RATIO OF REPRESENTATION.

The body was very large, numbering some 500 members, or more. This number was greatly augmented by a very large attendance of others who, in various capacities, and for various reasons, always crowd around such gatherings. The size of the body, which must constantly increase on the present basis of representation, with the growth of our church, has already become too onerous to Christian hospitality to be endured in any but the largest cities, and in them only on special occasions, nor more than once in a generation; and it has become

so large and unwieldy as to be in danger of contracting more the characteristics of a great mass meeting, than of a solemn deliberative and judicial body, such as the supreme judicatory of the Church of Christ should be. This whole subject of maturing a plan for reducing the membership of the body was referred to a large and competent Committee with instructions to report to the next Assembly. We trust they will do their work wisely and well. Every plan yet suggested, whether by presbyterial, synodical, or district representation, has its own peculiar difficulties, which it is unnecessary to repeat here. Be these difficulties greater or less, they must be boldly met and surmounted. We trust no half-way measures will be proposed, which mollify without curing the evil—leaving it soon to become as formidable as ever. We hope they will boldly propose a plan which will shrink the body to less than half its present size, and which will improve its quality more than diminish its quantity; which will make it no longer a crowd appalling to Christian hospitality, or a huge gathering of ministers and elders, largely chosen because they covet such an opportunity of travel and recreation, but a select assembly of the leading and representative minds of the church, and through which its minorities not less than its majorities can make themselves felt.

The session was on the whole harmonious and successful in bringing to a happy issue most subjects with which it had to deal. Chief among these was the re-organization of the Boards so as vastly to raise the standard of Christian giving, of ministerial support, of home and foreign evangelization, and of all else which can contribute to the efficiency of the Church in spreading the Gospel.

FINANCE AND BENEVOLENCE.

The Report of the Committee of Twenty-one which has been spread before the Church by the weeklies, and the action taken upon it, were the great features of the meeting. Nearly all else done was in direct or indirect relation with this, as providing for the contemplated advance in Christian liberality and evangelization. The jubilant reception of the report of the Memorial Fund Committee, showing that the contributions

had far exceeded the $5,000,000 aimed at, and that if all were reckoned in which is fairly due to the momentum of this great effort, whether professedly or intentionally included in it or not, it will closely approximate $10,000,000, also gave shape and impulse in many minds to some plans of Benevolence and Finance which found much favor in the Assembly. It was very natural that it should be thought that the concentration which had been so successful in swelling the Memorial Fund, would be equally successful with reference to the stated charities and contributions of the Church. A large majority of the Assembly, however, judged that this was straining the analogy too far. For reasons which we will soon give, we believe they were right.

The Report of the Committee of Twenty-one, composed of some of the most sagacious and public-spirited men in the church, had for its salient points several recommendations designed to "simplify, consolidate and unify the various benevolent operations of the Church." Chief among these were a General Commission composed of representatives of the Boards and Synods to superintend all; the reduction of the Boards to four, viz.: the Foreign Board to conduct all Foreign evangelization; the "Board for Home work to discharge the duties now assigned to the present Boards of Home Missions, Education, and Church Erection, and to the Committees on Freedmen and Ministerial Relief." The Board of Publication "to be conducted strictly as a business operation;" and a Board of Benevolence and Finance to be "composed largely of business men of acknowledged skill in the management of financial affairs. With one Treasurer it shall have charge of the funds for the Home and Foreign work of the Church. It shall meet the drafts of each of the Boards so far as funds have been received for it, or as may be directed by the General Commission. It shall also be its duty to promote throughout the church the regular and systematic consecration of property to the Lord. . . The Boards of Foreign and Home Work, together with that of Benevolence and Finance shall be located in New York, and the Board of Publication shall be located in Philadelphia." The rest of the report recommended the detailed measures, whereby through Synods, Presbyteries,

Sessions, and ministers, these commissions and boards might reach every church in our connection, and bring home to every member the responsibility of contributing or refusing to contribute to the various charities of the Church. The adoption of the report was strenuously urged by Dr. Hall and W. S. Gilman, Esq., the honored Chairman of the Memorial Fund Committee, and opposed with great power by Dr. Musgrave and Judge Allison. After discussion it was plain that the Assembly was not prepared to adopt it. It was therefore referred to a committee in which both sides were represented, who agreed upon the following compromise, which was adopted by the Assembly:

"*Resolved*, That in order to the systematizing and developing of the liberality of our people, and fostering the aggressive interests of our Church in accomplishing the work assigned us in the providence of God, there shall be a committee of Benevolence and Finance, which shall consist of fifteen members, composed largely of business men of acknowledged skill in the management of financial affairs, and one member *additional* from each of the Boards. It shall be located in the city of New York, and it shall be its duty to use all proper means to promote throughout the Church, the regular and systematic consecration of property to the Lord: and to superintend the collection of funds for the whole benevolent work of the Church. The contributions to be sent directly to the Treasurers of the several Boards and Committees of the Church.

2. It shall receive regular monthly statements of their receipts from all the Boards of the Church, that the financial condition of these Boards, as well as the actual benevolence of each congregation, may be at all times before the Committee. This Committee shall also receive and report to the General Assembly, to be disbursed by the Assembly, any monies from churches and individuals that may be given without any specific designation.

3. The expenses of said Committee shall be borne *pro rata* by the several Boards.

4. The Assembly enjoin upon all the churches the practice of periodical giving to all causes recommended by the General Assembly, according to the principles commended in the Word of God.

5. In order to carry out this plan, the General Assembly enjoins upon every Presbytery to appoint a Standing Committee on the Benevolent Work of the Church, of which the Stated Clerk shall be Secretary. It shall be the duty of this Committee to use all means in its power to have brought before all the congregations in the Presbytery the plans that may be recommended for securing contributions, and to give each pastor and session information of the wants of the various objects and what is expected of each congregation. Every Presbytery is required to question each pastor, stated supply, and elder present at every stated meeting in the spring and fall, whether the directions and recommendations on this subject have been complied with, recording the answers on the minutes.

6. At least as often as once every six months these Standing Committees shall report to the Committee of Benevolence and Finance, so far as they can, in relation to the different objects for which contributions have been made by the churches within the limits of their respective Presbyteries, with the amount contributed for each, together with such other information of the general benevolent work of their churches and Presbyteries as shall seem necessary, or shall be called for by the Committee.

7. No church, not complying with the directions of the Assembly to make collections for the several Boards, shall receive aid from the funds of the Church."

While we think the Assembly acted wisely in going thus far, it was equally wise in going no further. The one great truth, signalized in the Report of the Committee of Twenty-one, was the necessity of some adequate agency for developing and organizing the benevolence and liberality of the Church; of taking effectual measures for ensuring the annual presentation of the claims of all our boards to every congregation of the Church, and the bringing home to each one the distinct personal responsibility of giving or declining to give to each and every of these causes. For the lack of this our Church suffers, and long has suffered, grievous loss. It is due to this that churches, by the hundred, and even thousand, and church members by the ten or hundred thousand, give nothing, or next to nothing, to the causes of Christian benevolence, and that they fall behind the giving of the New England churches, where the proper organization of benevolence has produced its proper effect; and that so large an amount of all our contributions come from a few churches, and even a few members of these few churches. It is common to say that more liberality supposes more piety, and that if we seek the former we must first ensure the latter. There is a side of truth in this observation. Giving is at once a fruit and a promoter of Christian piety. This piety is the ultimate propulsive power. It needs, however, the guidance of light, the help of system and organization. A locomotive will not, indeed, go without steam; but what will the steam do without an adequate machine, a well-laid track, a competent engineer? Good crops suppose a fertile soil, but what will this avail without systematic tillage? We hold, therefore, that the work assigned to our Board of Benevolence and Finance is indispensable, and that no higher service can be

rendered to the Church than the adequate discharge of it. But we are of opinion that the further process of centralization recommended, culminating in one treasury for all Church work, and one general commission to control it, would have had quite a contrary and disastrous effect on the beneficence of our Church; and this not merely on the ground that it is too radical and extreme to be safely adopted at once, although desirable in itself if the Church were only good enough to bear it; but that it is intrinsically inferior to the present plan of separate boards for all the great departments of Church work, each with its own independent treasury and independent conduct of its own affairs, subject only to the Church and its Head. For—

1. In order to evoke the largest beneficence of the people, each cause must be presented to them on its own special merits, by those who are specially set in charge of it. It is not enough that appeals be made for all these objects *en masse*, or that the people be called on to give their donations in a lump or indiscriminately for all these objects, to be apportioned to each by some central commission or treasury, at their discretion. Men highly trained in business, and capable of taking a full survey with due information of all objects of beneficence, may give as much under such a system as any other. The Committee of Twenty-one are doubtless gentlemen of this character, and have only been mistaken in supposing that the great mass of givers have reached this elevation. But it is otherwise. We are persuaded that the average human mind, even when sanctified, is not fitted to grasp things and direct its gifts in this calm, complete, and self-possessed way. They are impressed, and they respond most readily, as each department of benevolence is placed before them upon its own absolute merits. Of course there are limits to this distribution of departments of benevolence, just as there are limits to the division of labor. But none the less is it certain that within these limits such division promotes the efficiency of labor. Such distribution of the objects of benevolence increases the contributions of the people to them. Let Foreign Missions, Home Missions, Church Erection, Ministerial Education, Publication, Disabled Ministers, be placed each

upon its own merits before the Church, and we are sure a more generous response will be returned than if all or part of them were mixed together in a promiscuous presentation.

2. The board charged with the conduct of any branch of Church work should be charged with the collection and disposal of the funds requisite to carry it on. All these elements in a cause mutually interwork. They act and react on each other, and are more safely conducted in unison than separately. The manner of conducting missions, foreign or domestic, for example, determines the power with which an appeal can be made to the Church, and the degree of support accorded to them conditions the manner in which they must be conducted. No parties can so effectively represent to the Church the wants, the urgencies, the encouragements in their respective fields as those who superintend them, who know them most thoroughly, and are most profoundly interested to sustain and invigorate them. If they have no responsibility or agency in raising the funds, it will most seriously weaken their responsibility for the successful administration of the whole work, absolutely dependent as it is upon the funds. We have not the slightest doubt of the truth of these considerations. They are urged not merely on *a priori* grounds. They are enforced by a long observation and experience.

3. As God's Spirit divideth to each one severally as He wills, so He gives to different persons different degrees of light in regard to the merits of different causes. Some of the heartiest and largest givers will be more touched and wrought upon by the claims of Foreign, others of Home Missions. Some will be deaf to all pleas for Ministerial Education who will yet be most generous to Ministerial Sustentation. And so of the whole circle of causes, of which some will make this and some that their specialty. The most distinguished layman with whom we have had to do gave as much to Home Missions as to all other causes combined, because his doctrine was that on the christianization of this country depended its temporal and eternal salvation, and with it that of the world. His nearest neighbors, not one whit his inferiors in intelligence and liberality, gave most largely to Foreign Missions, on the

ground that the field is the world, and the wants of Heathendom are more urgent and crying than those of this Christian land. We may criticise this diversity of judgments as much as we please. Still, after all efforts to enlighten the Church, they will unquestionably exist among intelligent, conscientious, and liberal givers. This being so, our methods should be so adapted to this state of things as to utilize it to the utmost. But this cannot be done by making collections for benevolent work in general, instead of specific objects. Those who have these preferences for such objects will not have their beneficence fully drawn forth, unless it is certain that their donations will be appropriated to strengthen the cause which they have most at heart. Nor does it remove this difficulty to agree to appropriate from the Central Treasury any particular donation to the particular department of work for which it is given. For all this amounts to nothing if, in consequence, a like portion of the general fund is withdrawn from the cause in question to serve others; for the object of this class of donors in such cases is to strengthen, not the fund for general Christian benevolence, but the particular cause, to which they make a large donation for the purpose of giving it a support which it would not otherwise receive. Not only so, but such donations are a sacred trust for the particular objects to which they are devoted. They may not, therefore, directly or indirectly, be diverted therefrom without breach of faith.

4. We conclude our remarks on this subject with a simple reference to the concentration of power which the proposed scheme involves, and which undoubtedly contributed somewhat to its defeat. We do not sympathize with small jealousies of power in the hands of good men, and least of all such as the present generation of liberal givers in New York City, of whom the honored Chairman of the Committee of Twenty-one is so noble a type. We believe it impossible in this world to confer upon any men power enough to do any good which will not carry with it the power, by perversion, to do evil. And we shall not shrink from conferring upon the right men all powers absolutely necessary for the best church work, because of the possibility of its perversion, or ultimate drifting into

hands that will pervert it. At the same time, it is a strong and conclusive argument against conferring on any Board, Commission, or Central Treasury, powers not essential to the fullest organization and development of Christian beneficence —such a prodigious power as that of determining where the whole benevolent contributions of the Church shall go, and whom they shall sustain. It is idle to deny that such a body might make itself felt fearfully on one side or another of any great questions of doctrine or polity that may hereafter agitate the Church. And when the occasion arises, we have in time past had abundant experience how great is the temptation to use such a power in support of the views which those who wield it suppose to be right. We think, therefore, the present distribution of these functions to be preferred to the concentration proposed, unless it can be shown to be necessary to evoke the fullest benevolence of the Church. We have shown that, so far from being conducive to such a result, it is the reverse. We think, therefore, that the objection against needless concentration of power holds in its full force, because it is wholly unnecessary. We rejoice in unity, but unity in wholesome variety. The reunion happily accomplished has inspired some with a morbid passion for extreme unification. They would have but one central Board, one quarterly, or even weekly journal in the Church. Should such succeed in realizing their aspirations, we apprehend that some of them would be the first to tire and chafe under the dreary monotony, the centralized irresistible supremacy, of single persons, organs, boards, and agencies.

The great end, however, sought through this one central treasury, we trust will be accomplished through the agency of the Board of Benevolence and Finance as now constituted; and that the day is near, when through Synods, Presbyteries, Sessions, Pastors, and deacons, every member of our Church will annually be informed as to the present necessities and claims of each department of church work, and confronted with the distinct personal responsibility of making or declining contributions to them. We are glad that the Assembly has felt warranted to call for $500,000 for Foreign Missions; $300,000 for Home Missions; and an addition of 33⅓ per cent. to

the allowance to the beneficiaries of the Board of Education. We trust these reasonable calls will be cheerfully and abundantly met, and that after the successful completion of the Memorial Fund, we shall be saved one mortifying experience of the first year of Reunion, in which all our Boards were suffered to fall into unexampled embarrassments, and we were compelled to pare down to the quick the already starveling allowance of our toiling and famishing Missionaries. We hope that the deficiency in the past will be more than balanced by the unstinted liberality of the future.

BOARD OF PUBLICATION—SABBATH-SCHOOL LIBRARIES.

The Assembly adopted a policy with regard to the Board of Publication, quite different from that recommended by the Committee of Twenty-one. They declined to make it a mere publishing house, conducted simply on business principles. On the contrary they enlarged its functions, not only giving increased scope to colportage and its authority to call for contributions from the churches, but charging it with the superintendence of Sabbath-schools; and especially the duty of providing a suitable Sabbath-school literature, together with sound and edifying books for Sabbath-school libraries, made up of their own publications, and judicious selections from all other available sources. After the full discussion of this subject in one of the articles of our present number, we deem it unnecessary to say more, than to express our satisfaction with the general accord of the reports, speeches, and of the fixed policy of the Assembly, with the views therein set forth. We hope this flagrant evil will soon be abated.

PSALMODY.

Another work of great moment devolved upon the Board of Publication, is the issuing a new book of Psalmody, to be prepared under the supervision of an able committee appointed for this purpose. We think the preparation of a fit book for the service of song, and its adoption throughout our whole Church, among the most precious benefits now possible to be conferred upon her. Great evils arise from the medley of Hymn-books now in use in different congregations of our

Church, and we think nothing would be more significant, or promotive of restored unity, than to find all our churches singing the same psalms and hymns, and spiritual songs; thus making melody in their hearts unto the Lord. Nothing tends more to make Presbyterians feel at home and as one in any and every church of our communion. And nothing sooner makes one feel as a stranger and alien from any church, than unwonted hymns arranged in unwonted methods, till he is lost in a thicket of "books," and "selections," "to find no end in wandering mazes lost." This would be so, if the psalms and hymns when found, were unexceptionable. It is particularly embarrassing to ministers, to find these strange books in strange pulpits. But many of these hymns themselves are unorthodox, or unpoetical, or undevout, or unclassic. This is especially true of many private collections, and is not wholly untrue of some books enjoying ecclesiastical sanction. We trust we may soon be able to sound forth the high praises of our God with one heart and one voice, and that no longer will every man have each for himself a psalm or a doctrine throughout our wide communion. We hope the Committee will limit themselves to standard hymns and tunes that have been proved and accepted as such by the ample use of the church; that all hymns that have become sacred in the affections, not of a few, but of the great mass of Presbyterians, will be religiously retained; that they will be connected with the tunes that have been sacredly associated with them in the general usage of the church; that no hobby, or private idiosyncrasy will be allowed to shape the work; that the least possible alterations will be made in hymns and tunes endeared to the church; and above all, that no musical composer, however gifted in his own or others' esteem, will be allowed to inflict upon the church his own crude and untried compositions to displace tunes that have long proved their fitness for expressing the devotions of God's people.

SUSTENTATION.

A great step taken by this Assembly was the initiating of a sustentation scheme, for carrying into effect the doctrine which has been advocated in this journal almost alone for

thirty years, viz.: that the whole church is bound to ensure a competent support for all its ministers; that each minister has a claim, not alone upon the members of his own church however feeble and poor it may be, but upon the whole church, for at least that minimum support without which he cannot exercise his vocation, with comparative dignity, energy and freedom from worldly cares. We will not burden our pages with the statistics on this subject which the able Committee charged with it has so industriously collected and turned to account; nor with the details of the plan recommended by them, and unanimously adopted by the Assembly without debate. These have been laid before our readers to the full in our Presbyterian weeklies, and in pamphlets sent to all our ministers. They seem to us eminently wise, and well digested for an initial movement in a church so prodigiously extended, and full of ever-multiplying missionary and pioneer weak churches, which must keep pace with our ever-advancing and multiplying new settlements. This involves difficulties for any sustentation scheme, unknown to a compact body of churches in an old country and small territory, like the Presbyterian churches in Scotland and Ireland. The principal features of the plan are: 1. Positively, that it aims to supplement the salaries of all to whom it applies so as to bring them up to a minimum of $1000, parsonage included at first, but with the hope of ultimately reaching that figure in addition to a parsonage.

2. Negatively, it is inapplicable, of course, to all whose salaries reach this amount independently of it; also to those who are mere stated supplies and not pastors, also to pastors whose congregations do not themselves raise at least $500 for them, and who do not average for this purpose two cents per day, or $7 30 annually, for each member in their contributions for the pastor's salary. It further requires that each pastor shall aim to secure from his people an amount equal to at least one-twentieth (and rather one-tenth) of his own salary annually, toward supplementing the salaries under this scheme.

3. "That, in like manner, not only such churches as are aided by this scheme, but every church session, be required by the General Assembly to set on foot forthwith, and to earnestly

prosecute, a plan that shall extend to every member of the congregation an opportunity of contributing to this cause (and to all the Boards of the Church) either by the envelope system or by collectors, reaching each in person; and that the Presbyteries be enjoined to see that this requirement is complied with. Many of our churches give nothing to our great schemes of beneficence. Many, in our best churches, are not reached by the ordinary method. It is the plain duty of the officers to afford to each worshipper the opportunity to contribute; and every church has a right to this means of education and cultivation in the divine life. And then, the mites are mighty. "*The power of the littles*," as Chalmers pleaded for it, wrought such distinguished success for his church schemes."

In the final recommendation which follows, and was adopted and carried out by the appointment of Dr. Jacobus as Secretary, for which he had shown his high qualifications while acting as Chairman of the Committee, we find a strong confirmation of the views we have already presented against the proposed consolidation of boards and treasuries, as tending to obstruct rather than enlarge the flow of benevolence:

"X. That the Central Committee of *Seven* be annually appointed by the General Assembly to supervise this work, having a secretary to conduct the operations and to keep accounts with the Presbyterial Treasurers of Sustentation, and every way, and by all means, to further the great object in view.

"It may be said that this work falls naturally under the Board of Home Missions, and can as well be done by them, and that no additional object should be presented to the churches. But it is plain, from all our experience as a church that the Board of Home Missions has already in its church-extension work more than it can well accomplish. And your Committee are fully of the opinion that unless this scheme is set on foot, as distinct from the pioneer work of that Board, and unless it shall be presented as something extra and specific, it cannot be successful."

May God prosper this great work to which the Church has now set itself.

UNION WITH THE UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH.

The progress of negotiations for union with the U. P. Church was reported by the committee in charge. No basis of union mutually acceptable has yet been reached. The

committee was continued, with instructions to seek further conference. We notice one article agreed to on both sides, "That in all ordinary cases the sacraments are to be restricted in their administration to those over whom the Church has authority."

Does "church" here mean the particular church in which the communicant is partaking at the time? We presume not. But the known principles of the U. P. Church lead us to contemplate the possibility of such a construction on their part, and in that case it would exclude all but those who do not submit to their discipline, *i. e.*, to their terms of communion. That is to say, who do not in practice conform to their requirements as to Psalmody, and as to subscribing the standards as a condition not only of ministerial and official standing, but of private membership in the Church. We ask the attention of our committee to this point, to see to it that there is nothing ambiguous, and thus capable of being turned against our system in any stipulations made. A union with this excellent body establishing any such terms of communion would cause a much larger secession from, than accession to, us.

INTOXICATING DRINKS.

We find the following in the *General Assembly Journal*, reported as the recommendation of the Committee on Bills and Overtures, presented during the last hours of the Assembly, and adopted without discussion, unless the question put by Rev. Mr. Patterson and the answer of Rev. Mr. Moore can be called such:

"LIQUOR-SELLING CHURCH MEMBERS.—The Presbyteries of Pittsburgh and Philadelphia Central send an overture relative to this matter, and the following deliverance is adopted by the Assembly: This General Assembly, believing the manufacture, sale, and use of alcoholic stimulants as a beverage, to be contrary to the spirit of God's word, and wholly inconsistent with the claims of Christian duty, reiterate the testimonies of former Assemblies on this subject. It also affirms its conviction of the reprehensible complicity in the guilt of the aforesaid traffic, of those who knowingly rent their premises for such purpose, or indorse licenses, or legalize it. And further to give emphasis to this action, the Board of Publication is directed to print an abstract of such former testimonies as cover the points referred to in the overtures, and send a copy to each pastor, etc., in the Church, with the direction of the Assembly to read the same publicly from his pulpit. Finally, the general circulation of a temperance paper is recom-

mended, and the Board of Publication is requested to add such other treatises as may be adapted, to its present list.

"On the question to adopt the report of the Committee on Bills and Overtures on the temperance question, the Rev. R. M. Patterson said he heartily concurred in this report. He felt just now a special interest in this question, and was glad that such a decided paper had been reported by the Committee. He wanted it, however, to be so voted upon that it could not be said it had passed among a great number of reports, in the last hours of the session, and without being fully understood. He therefore called the special attention of the Assembly to it, and inquired whether it was distinctly understood that among the deliverances of preceding Assemblies now proposed to be reaffirmed, was included that of the Assembly of 1865 (Old School) which met in Pittsburgh.

"The Rev. W. E. Moore, clerk of the Committee, replied that such was the meaning of the paper."

It nevertheless was "passed among a great number of reports in the last hours of the session," and how could it be "fully understood?" Does not the very next column of the *Assembly Journal* tell us that on a renewed motion to recommit the Report of the Committee of Twenty-one,

"Rev. Mr. Patterson thought it was anything but courteous or parliamentary to take up the matter at this late stage of the proceedings, when a large number of members had gone home with the impression that it was to be allowed to rest, for the time at least. And while he voted the other way yesterday, he felt he must, in justice to these absent members, take an opposite course; and accordingly would move, as a test of the question, that the subject be laid upon the table.

"On a division, the matter was tabled.

"A motion to reconsider the report was lost."

How many in the Assembly knew precisely the Pittsburgh paper of the O. S. Assembly, 1865, running through two closely-printed, elaborately-reasoned, octavo pages, and handling some of the most perplexing and disputed cases of Christian ethics and casuistry? How many knew what were the deliverances of other O. S. Assemblies consistent and inconsistent with it? Who of the former Old School body knows what have been the deliverances of the New School body, and *vice versa?* Who knows whether the collection of deliverances of both Assemblies, which the Board of Publication are charged to publish, will be a confused and contradictory medley, or a consistent whole, in harmony with the Bible, the Confession of Faith, and the truth? Perhaps some may know. We do not; nor do we believe the majority of the Assembly

did. The Board of Publication will of course publish the substance of the whole as they find it. They will not usurp the semi-legislative function of picking and choosing and omitting what suits them. And all pastors are instructed to read all this, be it consistent or inconsistent, to the churches. Suppose it should prove a mass of mutually contradictory utterances, what then? Will it prove for edification? The paper adopted in 1865 at Pittsburgh makes "the manufacturing and vending of intoxicating drinks as a beverage" a bar to communion. If this be so, much more must the drinking of them be so. But we find the following in the *Southern Presbyterian Review* for April, 1871, pp. 244–5. While we have not the minutes at hand with which to verify it, we have no reason to doubt its truth, since it accords with the known attitude of our ministry at that time. "At an Assembly at Indianapolis, a short time before the war, the overweening friends of total abstinence moved the Assembly to make their rule as to alcoholic beverages binding on the consciences of the people. Dr. Thornwell properly met them by arguing that the Assembly had no Scriptural authority to bind the liberty of the people in this thing; that the Bible prohibited excess only, and not the use of strong drinks. The Assembly so enacted." At all events, in 1842, on the question whether the manufacturer, vender, or retailer of intoxicating drinks should be continued in full communion of the Church, it was voted, "That, while the Assembly rejoice in the success of the temperance reformation, and will use all lawful means to promote it, they cannot sanction the adoption of any new terms of communion."

We also find the following in the Minutes of the General Assembly, 1843, p. 189:—"On the question of approving the Records of the Synod of Pittsburgh, it was

"*Resolved*, That the records be approved, except so far as they seem to establish a general rule in regard to the use and sale of ardent spirits as a beverage, which use and sale are generally to be disapproved; but each case must be decided in view of all the attendant circumstances that go to modify and give character to the same."

We have not been able to find the Minutes of the Synod

so excepted to, but are informed that the item was precisely similar to the action of the Pittsburgh Assembly of 1865.

And the celebrated paper adopted by the O. S Assembly in 1848, in response to the petitions of certain temperance associations, is in entire harmony with the above action.

We wait for the publication of the collected testimonies ordered, and for more time and space than we can now command, as our last sheet is going to the printer, before giving the subject that thorough discussion, in its relations to the teachings of the word of God; the standard of Christian morality; obligation as related to the use of things indifferent; expediency; Christian liberty; total abstinence; the sacramental use of wine; which we apprehend from various signs is about to be forced upon us. Meanwhile, however, we close by briefly stating without argument a few propositions which we do not think can be successfully impugned.

1. The Word of God is the sole, infallible standard of Christian duty.

2. The "spirit of God's Word" is to be learned solely from the declarations of that word, fairly interpreted, and duly compared with each other.

3. No enterprise of moral reform can succeed in the end, or fail to do more harm than good, that impeaches the morality of the Scriptures, or of any act of Him who was holy, harmless, undefiled, and separate from sinners.

4. According to the belief of ninety-nine hundredths of the Christian Church, the latest verdict of evangelical scholarship, and the clear internal sense of Scripture itself, the wine of Scripture, whose temperate and sparing use is not, and whose excessive use is, condemned, and which was made by our Saviour at Cana, was fermented, and capable of inebriating, if taken in excess.

5. All intoxicating and intemperate use of wine, or any strong drink, is condemned alike by Scripture and a good conscience as a sin, which in its own nature involves pollution and guilt.

6. Although, according to Scripture, the sparing use of beverages that taken in excess may intoxicate, is of itself indifferent, like the eating of certain meats, so that if we thus par-

take of them we are not the worse, and if we partake of them not, we are not the better, yet it may often be expedient to abstain from the use of lawful things, when not so to abstain may wound the conscience of weak brethren, or may constitute a snare to tempt ourselves or others to sin, or to form sinful habits. Whether we eat, or drink, or whatever we do, we are bound to do all to the glory of God, and to the perfecting of holiness in ourselves and others. In short, we are to use our liberty in things indifferent in a Christian spirit, with Christian love, and for Christian ends. "For, brethren, you are called unto liberty, only use not your liberty for an occasion to the flesh, but by love serve one another."—Gal. v. 10.

7. But inasmuch as it is a real *liberty* to which we are called in these things, its use is to be determined by each one's own conscience for himself, not by the conscience of others. For "why should my own liberty be judged by another man's conscience?"—1 Cor. x. 29. Here each one is at liberty to act according to his own views of duty, and no man has a right to judge him. Whether he eat meat, or herbs, or drink wine, or abstain from them, "to his own Master he stands or falls;" we must all herein give account to Him, not to man.

8. In the light of these views, and in the circumstances in which we are now placed, we think it a right and Christian use of our liberty in the premises to abstain from the use of intoxicating drinks as a beverage. We do what we can to persuade others to take the same view and the same course. We hope and pray that all may see their duty in this light, till the drunkenness which desolates the land is done away.

9. But if others judge it right to use their liberty otherwise, and, within the limits of temperance, not to abstain from all that can intoxicate, it is not our province to judge or condemn them for that purely and simply. We may not make it a term of communion, or bar to the Lord's table. To do so would be to usurp the prerogative of Christ, nay, to excommunicate our Lord himself.

10. We believe that nine-tenths of all who habitually abstain from the use of intoxicating drinks do so in conformity to the principles above indicated; and that, should the leaders of Temperance Societies succeed in what some are

attempting, and undermine the faith of men in the scriptural foundations of temperance principles above indicated, they could only do it by undermining faith in God and his Word, which would end in the destruction of temperance and every other virtue. "WHOSOEVER SHALL FALL ON THIS STONE SHALL BE BROKEN; BUT ON WHOMSOEVER IT SHALL FALL, IT SHALL GRIND HIM TO POWDER."—Matt. xxi. 44.

It is quite certain that the late action of Assemblies on Temperance has accomplished little more than to leave the subject in a state of unrest, or rather to start that renewed discussion which is requisite to the safe disposal of the subject. It will doubtless come up again in the next or a future General Assembly. We trust that, meanwhile, it will receive the careful consideration of the ministers, elders, members, and subordinate judicatories of the church; and that any future deliverance of the General Assembly will be made only after the subject has been thoroughly considered in all its bearings by the *whole* church at large; and after such an early introduction of it to the body by the Committee having the subject in charge, as will afford opportunity to discuss it thoroughly, and put it in a form consistent with the word of God, and truly promotive of the cause of temperance.

Finally, the declarations of any General Assembly on points of faith and morals, are simply the expressions of their own opinion at the time, and often, for various reasons, they fail truly to express the deliberate judgment of a majority of its members. They are no part of the law of the church until sanctioned by the Presbyteries upon formal overture. They are entitled simply to the consideration due to the vote of such a body of men in view of the haste or deliberation with which they are passed. But no human enactments, however or by whomsoever passed, can bind the conscience, if contrary to the word of God. That is our supreme law, and the judge that ends the strife. God alone is Lord of the conscience.

Art. VII.—NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

English Past and Present. Eight Lectures by Richard Chenevix Trench, D. D., Archbishop of Dublin. Seventh Edition, Revised and Improved. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1871.

The rank which Trench has achieved as an author will quite surely attract attention to any of his publications, whether philological, exegetical, theological, literary, or miscellaneous. He has the rare faculty of writing what at once interests scholars and general readers. In no department is this trait more conspicuous, or more advantageously displayed, than his favorite topic of language and words. We cannot better give our readers an idea of the book than by presenting them a few extracts from it. The following will teach us charity for what we are wont to think vulgarisms of pronunciation:

"The same may be asserted of certain ways of pronouncing words, not now in use except among the lower classes; thus 'contráry,' 'mischiévous,' 'blasphémous,' instead of 'cóntrary,' 'míschievous,' 'blásphemous.' It would be easy to show by quotations from our poets that these are no mispronunciations, but only the retention of an earlier pronunciation by the people, after the higher classes have abandoned it."

And may not the following make us less sensitive to many idioms and uses of words so freely condemned as 'Americanisms?'

"What has been just now said of our provincial English, namely, that it is often *old* English rather than *bad* English, is not less true of many so-called Americanisms. There are parts of America where 'het' is still the participle of 'to heat;' if our Authorized Version had not been meddled with, we should so read it at Dan. iii. 19, to this day; where 'holp' still survives as the perfect of 'to help;' 'pled' (as in Spenser) of 'to plead.' Longfellow uses 'dove' as the perfect of 'to dive;' nor is this a poetical license, for I lately met the same in a well-written book of American prose."

The following points to a nobler lineage for many words as well as persons than their present rank and status would indicate:

"'Gossip' is a word in point. This name is given by our Hampshire peasantry to the sponsors in baptism, the godfathers and godmothers. We have here a perfectly correct employment of 'gossip,' in fact its proper and original one, one involving moreover a very

curious record of past beliefs. 'Gossip' or 'gossib,' as Chaucer spelt it, is a compound word, made up of the name of 'God,' and of an old Anglo-Saxon word still alive in Scotland, as all readers of Walter Scott will remember, and in some parts of England, and which means akin; they being 'sib' who are related to one another. But why, you may ask, was the name given to sponsors?"

"Out of this reason:—in the Middle Ages it was the prevailing belief (and the Romish church still affirms it), that those who stood as sponsors to the same child, besides contracting spiritual obligations on behalf of that child, also contracted spiritual affinity one with another; they became *sib*, or akin in *God*, and thus 'gossips;' hence 'gossipred' an old word exactly analogous to 'kindred.' Out of this faith the Roman Catholic Church will not allow (unless by dispensation) those who have stood as sponsors to the same child, afterwards to contract marriage with one another, affirming them to be too nearly related for this to be lawful.

"Take 'gossip,' however, in its ordinary present use as one addicted to idle tittle-tattle, and it seems to bear no relation whatever to its etymology and first meaning. The same three steps, however, which we have before traced will bring us to its present use. 'Gossips' are, first, the sponsors brought by the act of a common sponsorship into affinity and near familiarity with one another; secondly, these sponsors, who being thus brought together, allow themselves with one another in familiar, and then in trivial and idle talk; thirdly, they are any who allow themselves in this trivial and idle talk,—called in French, commérage,' from the fact that 'commère' has run through exactly the same stages as its French equivalent."

Christianity and Positivism: A Series of Lectures to the Times on Natural Theology and Apologetics. Delivered in New York, January 16, to March 20, 1871, on the Ely Foundation of the Union Theological Seminary. By James McCosh, D.D., LL. D., President of the College of New Jersey, Princeton. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1871.

Seldom if ever has any course of Lectures so extended, on questions so profound and abstruse, kept up an interest so unflagging, and attracted audiences so large and growing to the very end, as these ten lectures by Dr. McCosh. This is due to various causes. The great eminence and world-wide fame of the lecturer no doubt stimulated the curiosity of large numbers to see and hear him. This, however, would account only for the earlier assemblies, but not for the sustained and increasing audiences. Nothing will explain this but the intrinsic

power of the lectures themselves to lay hold of the minds, not only of theologians, metaphysicians, scientists, and other experts in the topics handled, but of cultivated and thinking men generally. This power, which has been conspicuous in some of the more important works of Dr. McCosh and especially so in his first great volume on the "Divine Government Physical and Moral," is due to several characteristics which are remarkably blended in him. Among them are, 1. His clear insight into and grasp of the living issues between faith and existing forms of scepticism, fundamental truth and the current forms of destructive thinking in science and philosophy, whether materialistic or idealistic. 2. An aptitude not only for metaphysical but for physical science. Although his chief distinction has been achieved in the region of mental science and metaphysics, yet in his work on "Typical Forms," and as occasion has offered, in his other works, he has shown a strong turn for physical science, especially at its points of contact with metaphysics and apologetics. All this gives him a great advantage for the refutation of destructive doctrines whether originating with the physicists or metaphysicians; with Kant, German Idealism and Transcendentalism, with Hamilton and his school, or with the Positivists and Materialists of various grades, like Compte, Spencer, Mill, Huxley and Darwin. 3. Dr. McCosh is thoroughly at home among these combatants, and master of the literature of the subject. 4. He displays, when called for, an imaginative and even poetic power which enables him to illustrate abstruse points with clearness and beauty, and to lighten the heaviness and tedium toward which such discussions tend, with flashes of wit, poetry, and eloquence. All this is aided by a fine command of nervous, idiomatic, Saxon English which tends to marshal itself in short, pithy, sententious clauses.

The only other circumstance we note is the wonderful momentum of Dr. Cosh, moral, intellectual, nay even physical and vocal, which gives impetus to his every utterance, and carries it with magnetic force to his hearers.

The same features that invested the delivery of these lectures with such power, will commend them to a vastly wider circle of readers, and render them powerful auxiliaries in defending the cause of God and truth. Instead of stating any of the particular points made in the volume, we prefer to let our readers see a partial statement of them by Dr. McCosh himself, in which they may observe an average specimen of his manner and matter.

"I labored to show that the mind begins its intelligent acts with knowledge, a knowledge of things. I have no objection to call it a

knowledge of phenomena; but by phenomena in that case I mean not phenomena apart from things, which is a mere abstraction, but things as appearing. The mind knows relations, but not relations between things unknown, which is impossible, but relations between things known, so far as known. Beginning with knowledge, what it reaches by generalization is also knowledge, and a knowledge of realities. Beginning with intuitive knowledge it adds to it by logical processes; and what it gains is also knowledge. Its intuitive power is confined within very stringent limits. In particular it has no *a priori* forms to impose on things. It does not override experience. It simply gives us a certain knowledge of things. Its main office is to enable us to gain experience, and to assure us that the knowledge we thus gain is of real things. Mr. Mill, proceeding on a different theory, declares —and his theory requires him to do so—that there may be worlds in which two and two make five, in which parallel lines meet, in which a straight line may return upon itself and inclose a space, and in which there may be effects without a cause. In all this he is consistent; it is the logical consequence of his theory. And you can meet him only by undermining his theory. This is what I have endeavored to do in previous lectures. On his principles you cannot prove the existence of God, just as you cannot prove that two and two make four in the planet Jupiter, or that a straight line may not enclose a space in the constellation Orion. For aught that this theory can say to the contrary, it may be an accepted axiom in the universities of the Dog Star, that parallel lines may and must meet if prolonged sufficiently far, and not coming in the way of a little planet called Earth—seen by a telescope of monster power—where a small mortal called man says, in his ignorance, that parallel lines cannot meet. I admit that if we cannot prove that two and two make four everywhere, we may also be unable to prove that every effect has a cause, or that this world has had a cause. But if, as Aristotle says, a man's mind is organized to discover truth, and truth be not beyond his reach, then I hold that we are entitled to say that in all times and in every place two and two make four, and a thing effected implies a power effecting it, and that the existence of benevolent affections in man implies benevolence in Him who planted them there, and that the Moral Law in the heart implies a Moral Governor.

"The spectroscope directed to that star which takes a hundred thousand years to send its light to the earth, tells us that these effects could not be produced on the instrument, unless there were hydrogen and sodium in that star; and I am constrained to believe on the

principle of cause and effect, that it speaks the truth. And when I discover that beautiful adjustment in the eye which enables it to receive light from that distant star, I am as sure that there has been a designing mind constructing it, as I am that there has been an intelligence planning and making that spectroscope. These same principles that entitle us to argue that there is a God, authorize us to say that so far we know that God,—the adequate cause of the effects we perceive, the source of that power we feel in ourselves and see exhibited on the earth, the fountain of that benevolence from which our affections flow as petty rills, the authority from which the moral power in us derives its authority.

"Having examined the theory, I believe fairly and logically, we may now look for a moment at its consequences, speculative, moral and practical. What have we left according to this new philosophy? We have a series of feelings aware of itself and permanent, or rather prolonged; and we have an association of sensations, and perceived resemblances and possibilities of sensations. Truth can be nothing more than an accordance of our ideas with sensations and laws of the association of sensations; which sensations come we know not whence, and are associated by resemblances existing we know not how; or more frequently by contiguity, with no relation of reason, with no connection in the nature of things, and being very possibly altogether fortuitous or absolutely fatalistic. The sensations and associations of sensation generate ideas and beliefs which do not, however, either in themselves or their mode of formation, generate any reality. This is the consequence on Mr. Mill's theory; and on Mr. Spencer's it is development out of a thing unknown, according to an absolute fatalism. And is this the sum of what has been gained by the highest science of the nineteenth century? Can this satisfy the wants of the soul seeking truth, yearning for reality, seeking for light as plants do in the dark cellar, and striving towards it, being sure that it exists and is to be found? Does it not undermine every belief in goodness, in affection, in beauty, and in truth, to which men have ever clung? Does it not leave the soul as the moon is supposed to be left, and as some think the earth will be ultimately left, with its rocks, its extinct volcanoes, but without atmosphere, without water, without life? Diodorus the Slow, after writing his profound treatise on the Awful Nothing, died in despair; and, deprived of all their deepest instincts and highest hopes, I feel as if there was nothing left for those who accept this theory of nescience but to do the same.

"This, then, is the gulf to which we have come. It is as well that

young men entering on the path should know what is the swamp in which it terminates. Some who have gone so far will draw back. But they will not fall back upon the icy crystals constructed by Channing, or the melted snow of Parker and Emerson. Yet they cannot stand where they now do. If they do not draw back, they must go forward; and they will find that, beneath this deep, there is a lower deep still. This deep is Materialism, which I mean to examine in my next Lecture."—Pp. 174–8.

The Reverend George Junkin, D.D., LL. D. A Historical Biography. By D. X. Junkin, D.D. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1871.

While this important volume breathes everywhere the tender affection and admiring appreciation of a true brother, it also aims at scrupulous truth, justice, and fairness towards all persons and parties. Even where he has failed, or, in the view of any parties touched, may seem to have failed, of exact truth or justice in his representations, we think all candid persons must give him credit for the intention and desire to render them. In this effort we think he has generally been successful. The Biography is very thorough and complete, leaving nothing untouched of any importance in the more private relations and public career of its distinguished subject. His public offices and labors were so many, so momentous, so implicated with the founding or conduct of institutions, and with the critical movements of the Presbyterian Church which culminated in Disruption, that a true biography of him must needs be historical, and is rightly styled an "Historical Biography." For the great acts of his life, by which his name is most known, are so involved in the history of the Presbyterian Church from 1830 to 1840, that no intelligible account of them, and no justice to his memory were possible, without a thorough and candid presentation of that history. This, his brother found it absolutely necessary to give. It occupies something like half of the volume, which it serves to make very, and perhaps unduly, extended, but by no means tedious. It is written with a graceful and graphic pen, and sheds light on some of the most important events of the century.

The strong impression produced upon the mind of the writer of this notice, who had no personal acquaintance with Dr. George Junkin, is that, notwithstanding an occasional dissent from him, he was an extraordinary man, of strong intellect, high culture, devout and earnest piety, scrupulous conscientiousness, incorruptible integrity, unflinching courage, great self-denial and self-sacrifice, unflagging indus-

try and perseverance, fertile in enterprise and resource. With these noble, manly qualities, were combined an almost womanly sympathy and tenderness. Seldom does a higher and truer man appear. No interest or institution confided to him suffered for lack of heroic labors and sacrifices to build it up. Indeed their very origination and continuance were often due to a matchless energy and sleepless vigilance on his part, which not only kept them alive, but even prosperous, when in weaker hands they would have become extinct. La Fayette College, now an assured and grand success, notwithstanding its obligations to its present able head, is still more a monument of Dr. Junkin's untiring and heroic toils. And we have always observed that those in closest relations with Dr. Junkin, whether as students or faculty, cherished the most ardent affection for him, such as generous and high-souled natures alone can inspire. Their view of him was quite the reverse of that of multitudes who, without personal knowledge of him, judged him an odious heresy-hunter, an unfeeling prosecutor of Mr. Barnes. But all parties, however differing with Dr. Junkin as to the propriety of this measure, accorded to him the credit of a most upright and Christian spirit therein. The Presbytery which acquitted and were in sympathy with Mr. Barnes, judged that "the Christian spirit manifested by the prosecutor during the trial renders it inexpedient to inflict any censure upon him." And Mr. Barnes has put it on record, "I have only to add that I cherish no unkind feelings towards the prosecutor. I charge upon him no improper motives, I delight to add my humble testimony, in accordance with the feelings of all who have heard the trial, to his Christian spirit; and I rejoice to close by saying that my conviction of the piety and Christian temper of the prosecutor has been augmenting throughout the entire prosecution."

In regard to the controversies, polemics, and measures which ultimated in disruption, the whole case is presented at length by the biographer. Doubtless those will not be wanting who will censure this part of the book as a needless and gratuitous raking up of the expiring embers of past conflicts, and reopening of wounds healed by the Reunion. We do not so regard it. No true biography of Dr. Junkin could have been written which failed to emphasize and explain those most momentous public acts of his life. Nor can the truth of history be known, or the materials for a future adequate history be secured, except as the part taken by leading actors in it is rightly recorded from their own stand-point. So long as this is done with candor, fidelity, and charity, good and not evil will come of it. All

parties must be prepared to see some things put by those writing from different stand-points in a light not always pleasant, or even just to themselves. Doubtless our New School brethren will find some matters in our author's analysis of the old controversies and conflicts put in a way somewhat distasteful to themselves. But we ourselves can say as much. The attitude of Princeton in these struggles, and the attitude of all whom he styles "middle" or moderate men, *i. e.*, who agreed with Dr. Junkin and the Act and Testimony men as to the doctrinal and ecclesiastical *principles* involved, and the errors and disorders which had become rife and needed to be arrested, but disagreed with them as to some of the leading measures they adopted, is evidently not approved by our biographer. And he makes his feeling apparent in a mistaken or exaggerated estimate of certain facts and incidents. We are sorry that he should have deformed a book so generally elevated in spirit by reviving the myth and its implications found on pp. 360–1. The story there stated was never before heard of here. Yet, barring exceptions, we do not demur to the spirit generally shown toward us and all other parties in the work. The Princeton divines did not see their way clear to make certain of the doctrinal errors charged against Mr. Barnes a ground of exclusion from the church, because these had been freely tolerated always, and if made test-points, would have excluded Drs. Richards and Griffin, *e. g.*, imputation of Adam's sin, general atonement, etc.; nor to infer from the abrogation of the plan of union, that Synods not having a majority of irregularly organized churches should be forthwith dissolved.*

A very strong impression is produced upon us by the perusal of this book, that, had those Congregationalists in the Presbyterian church who were principal leaders of the New School party and secession before and through the disruption and afterwards went over to the Congregational body in form, been out of our church, and had the New School brethren been in their present position as to Congregationalism, voluntary societies, church work by church boards, and our doctrinal standards, the separation would never have occurred.

The Conservative Reformation and its Theology, as represented in the Augsburg Confession, and in the History and Literature of the Evangelical Lutheran Church. By Charles P. Krauth, D.D., Norton Professor of Theology in the Evangelical Lutheran Theological Seminary, and Professor of Intellectual and Moral Philosophy in the University of Pennsylvania. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1871.

Dr. Krauth evinces the learning, theological aptitudes, metaphysical

* See Index, volume of *Princeton Review*, pp. 19, et seq.

acumen, hearty adoption of the Lutheran system, while he holds that representative position in the American Lutheran Church, which makes him the man beyond comparison for such a work as this. He has executed it with singular ability and fidelity. In accordance with the Lutheran idea that their system conserves important truth, sifted from attendant errors, upon the sacraments and other topics, held by the Romish Church before the Reformation, which was sacrificed by those who acquired the title of the Reformed *eminenter*, he styles Lutheranism the "Conservative Reformation." He analyzes Lutheran symbolism and literature with great, and almost exhaustive thoroughness, particularly on the subjects of Original Sin, Baptism, Regeneration, and most of all, the Eucharist. He carries a blood-earnestness into his discussions which enlists the interest, and, to a certain extent, sympathy of the reader, even when constrained to dissent from his reasonings and conclusions. Nowhere can the American reader obtain so ready and satisfactory a knowledge of the symbolism, theology, and literature of the Lutheran Church. He earnestly and ably contests some of Dr. Shedd's representations of Reformation theology and creeds.

On the subject of Original Sin he shows the Lutheran Church to be unambiguously anti-Pelagian, and to maintain a native sin which is real sin; that it maintains Regeneration can only be wrought by the Holy Ghost; that "we may have the outward part of Baptism performed, and not be born again; but confessedly we cannot have the saving energy of the Holy Ghost exercised upon us without being born again, whether ordinarily in Baptism, or extraordinarily without Baptism," p. 430.

He lays himself out most in defining and guarding against misconceptions of the Lutheran doctrine of the Real Presence of our Lord in the elements of the eucharist. Here he of course assails the Romish doctrine of Transubstantiation with the usual conclusive argument, that bread and wine remain such so long as they retain the proper attributes thereof. Lutheranism, he contends, holds to a real presence of the body of Christ with or in the consecrated bread, while rejecting consubstantiation or impanation; that these are terms of reproach or misconception invented by adversaries, but disowned by Lutherans. But in order to make out such a presence of the body of Christ without those essentials of body which occupy space and are cognizable by the senses, Dr. Krauth is led to impress into his service all the resources of the ideal and transcendental philosophy of Kant's *noumena* and *phenomena*, and of Hamilton's relativity of knowledge. He

reaches the following dictum as a philosophical basis for his doctrine: "The popular idea that we are cognizant of *the very external things in themselves*, which we are said to see, hear, and feel, is entirely false. All accurate thinkers of every school admit this. . . and yet to the mass of minds this demonstrated fact in metaphysics seems as palpable and ridiculous a falsehood as can be devised." pp. 787–8. If this is so, we think "the mass of minds" are more trustworthy than the philosophers. The former know things and know that they know them. The latter have simply asserted our incapacity to know anything, and that the sublime climax of all knowing is nescience. But this is true only of a section of philosophers. Not all are thus run mad. If they were, so far as philosophy testifies, there is an end of all knowledge, all faith, all religion, all reality, all but drear and void nihilism. Surely a religious dogma cannot present a very conclusive claim upon our faith which first requires us to give the lie to our senses, and the acknowledged intuitions of the human race. We say this of the philosophy and theology here mutually implicated, and not in any way as detracting in the least from what we have before said of the book and its author.

Treatise on Regeneration. By William Anderson, L.L. D., Glasgow. Philadelphia: Smith, English & Co. New York: A. D. F. Randolph. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1871.

This work has been highly commended by a portion of the press in Great Britain. With this commendation we can only in part concur. The treatise is marked by force, originality, independence of thought, and earnestness of conviction. But it has withal a certain crudeness to which all are exposed who undertake to work out systems or forms of doctrine by any mere individualism of insight, however strong it may be, in comparative independence or ignorance of historical or catholic theology. This will be evident enough in regard to the present treatise, when we state that, along with much scriptural and evangelical truth strongly put, its characteristic and differential positions on Regeneration are, 1. That it is produced by simple belief of the truth. 2. That there is only one grade or kind of belief or faith, the distinctions of historical, or speculative, and experimental, saving faith, or faith of the heart being repudiated. Any real belief of the understanding will change the heart and affections, and therefore must involve saving faith and a regenerate state. 3. Regeneration "does not consist, as others imagine or affirm, in the production of a *holy disposition* antecedently to the presentation of the word to the mind, so that it is prepared to relish its truths, and thereby prepared to believe them." Of course he

states the doctrine he rejects in his own way. But he none the less denies that regeneration consists in the production of a new disposition by the Holy Ghost. What then is the new heart which the Spirit gives?

On Representative Government and Personal Representation: Based in part upon Thomas Hare's Treatise, entitled "The Election of Representatives Parliamentary and Municipal." By Simon Sterne. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1871.

We have before called attention to the book of Mr. Hare, and to the great subject it handles, in an article on "Minority Representation," in the *Princeton Review* for October, 1869. The present volume adapts the principles and discussions in Mr. Hare's volume to the circumstances of the United States. The subject is discussed with great ability, and we hope the book will receive the attention due to it, and to the importance of the subject. Unless some device can be found and adopted, by which persons as well as majorities can be represented in our legislative bodies, we are in imminent danger of being governed by the ignorance, depravity, and brutality of the offscourings of the earth, native and imported, or what is, if possible, worse, by the unprincipled desperadoes, adventurers and plunderers, who scruple at no means by which they can purchase or manipulate their votes. To a very large extent, the intelligence, culture, integrity and patriotism of the country are already virtually disfranchised, although they may have the privilege of voting *pro forma*. This course of things, unless arrested, must rapidly work toward national ruin. We see no escape from this catastrophe, unless we can in some way connect with our universal suffrage minority representation.

Calvinism: an Address delivered at St. Andrew's, March 17, 1871. By Charles Anthony Froude, M.A. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1871.

The high repute which the author has gained by his great History of England, and his volume of Miscellanies, has kindled an eager appetite to know what he has to say upon Calvinism, a theme which most literary orators eschew, or touch only in the language of caricature, abuse, and defamation. It is greatly to the credit of Mr. Froude that he has made it the theme of discourse on a great academic occasion, and has lavished discriminating and appreciative eulogy on what it is so common for mere literati to misunderstand, misrepresent and vilify. While we do not concur with Mr. Froude in every thread of his beautiful and eloquent unfolding of the truth, and power, and beneficent fruits of Calvinism, we think it in the main as just and true

as it is scholarly and profound. He shows beyond a doubt, in the very exordium of his discourse, that he knows what he is talking about and understands the essential features, the attractive and stumbling aspects of the system he espouses, and of the Arminianism arrayed against it. He knows well how much may be plausibly urged against it; but however, on merely speculative grounds, the war against it might end in a drawn battle, practically it conquers by the logic of the life. It is proved by that most divine and decisive test, its fruits. These have always been of the best, which could not be true of any false system. The author proceeds to search the evidence of its truth and the grounds of its beneficent influences. We are sorry not to have room for extracts.

Memoir of the Life and Character of Rev. Lewis Warner Green, D.D., with a Selection from his Sermons. By Le Roy J. Halsey, D.D., Professor in the Theological Seminary of the Northwest. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1871.

We are glad that Professor Halsey has turned his able pen, always so ready and graceful in biographical sketches and delineations of character, to the work of rescuing from oblivion, and making known to the church, the name and virtues of one of her brightest ornaments. A similar service in his Biography of President Lindsley has embalmed the memory of one of the great men of his age and country. In the present volume, it is hardly necessary to say that the biography is well drawn, and the character well portrayed. A fine example is thus presented to our younger clergy. The sermons speak for themselves. We have not been able to examine them at length. But wherever we have opened to passages in them, we have found unmistakable evidence of much more than average power of sacred oratory.

The Revelation of John; with Notes, Critical, Explanatory, and Practical, designed for both Pastors and People. By Rev. Henry Cowles, D.D. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 549 and 551 Broadway. 1871. 12mo, pp. 254.

This work, as to plan, seems to be very similar to the one on the writings of Solomon, noticed in the last number of this *Review*. We are pleased to notice that Dr. Cowles, inasmuch as the question has so important a bearing on the interpretation of the book, favors and strongly argues in favor of the earlier date of the Apocalypse, which assigns it to the reign of Nero, rather than to that of Domitian. Following a late article on "The Date of the Apocalypse from Internal evidence," in the *Bibliotheca Sacra*, he gives great prominence to the internal evidence for the earlier date, and concludes that the historic

testimony for the Domitian date is largely founded on a misconception of the meaning of the passage from Irenæus. He also very successfully disposes of a theory, which has proved an *ignis fatuus* to many good men, that "day" in this prophecy and that of Daniel means "year."

But we notice with regret that Dr. C. applies all from Chap. xiii. 11, to the end of Chap. xix., to ancient pagan Rome. He makes the first beast, that rises up out of the sea, Chap. xiii. 1, the Roman Empire, or the civil power of the Roman Emperors, and the beast that comes up out of the earth, v. 11, the pagan priesthood. And he says, "As surely as this prophecy makes the first beast and the second contemporaneous and co-working, and as surely as history locates the persecuting activities of the seven heads of pagan Rome on the one hand, and of papal Rome on the other, one thousand years asunder, so surely do the stubborn facts of history rule out as absurd and impossible the theory that this second beast is papal Rome." He fails, however, to give the evidence that "this prophecy makes the first beast and the second contemporaneous." Instead of this, it does just the contrary. It represents the first beast as slain, killed with the sword, and as having of course passed away; and as brought to life again in the second. "He exerciseth all the power of the first beast;" "and causeth the earth and them which dwell therein to worship the first beast, whose deadly wound was healed." "And he had power to give life unto the image of the beast (a dead thing of the past), that the image of the beast should both speak, and cause that as many as would not worship the image of the beast should be killed." The first beast to whom worship was constrained by the beast that came up out of the earth is by the expression, "whose deadly wound was healed," clearly identified with the beast mentioned in the first three verses of the chapter, which rose up out of the sea, and which we agree with Dr. Cowles in explaining to be a symbol of pagan Rome. The healing of the deadly wound is designed to prefigure the revival and preservation of the Roman power in a new form, with somewhat of its original ability and disposition to persecute. For what is to be understood by the second beast exercising all the power of the first beast, his giving life unto the image of the beast, and requiring the worship of that image, we commend Dr. C. to Dr. Middleton's "Letter from Rome on the similarity between Popery and Paganism," and to the late Dean Alford's letters from Italy in "Good Words." We think, upon a reconsideration of this subject, he will not fail to see in the beast which had "two horns like a lamb," but which

"spake as a dragon," the Papal Hierarchy, or the nominally Christian Church in its usurpation of temporal power.

The Tripartite Nature of Man, Spirit, Soul, and Body, applied to illustrate and explain the Doctrines of Original Sin, the New Birth, the Disembodied State, and the Spiritual Body. By Rev. J. B. Heard, M.A. Third edition, revised and enlarged. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. New York: Scribner, Welford & Co. 1870.

The successive editions of this work, viewed in connection with the comparatively small number who appreciate or take interest in such discussions, afford gratifying evidence of the attention now given to this particular subject, and of the author's power in the treatment of it. He shows learning, culture, and insight in respect to the philosophical and theological issues involved in his theory, and its application to various fundamental Christian doctrines. He also throws into his reasonings the charm of a vivacity of style greater than the average in such discussions. Yet, while all interested in the subject will seek this volume and gain important assistance from it, we confess that we do not understand the author's position on the radical question involved. We are not even sure that he understands it himself.

What is this question? The author maintains a trichotomy in the nature of man as against the dichotomy or dualism held by most theologians. In this matter they both agree against materialists and idealists that his nature is not one indivisible unity of essence, that it is not body merely, nor spirit merely, but body and spirit vitally and mysteriously conjoined in one personality, yet so that they can be separated at death, and reunited at the resurrection. This has been *inter alia* the conclusive proof to the Church that body and soul are at least two distinct and separable entities. But the trichotomists have held with our author that not only is man's nature made up of body and spirit, but that soul and spirit, ψυχη and πνευμα, differ from each other, or are as much mutually different entities, as the spirit is from the body. Great stress is laid on such passages as Heb. iv. 12, and 1 Thess. v. 23, which appear to distinguish soul and spirit from each other as sharply as from body. To this argument, however, it is easily rejoined that ψυχη and πνευμα are used interchangeably in scripture to denote the whole incorporeal and intelligent nature of man, and that although primarily one may denote more properly the mere animal life and consciousness, and the other the rational and moral element in man, they sometimes each stand singly, and sometimes both jointly for the whole immaterial principle within us. So the analogous words soul, spirit, reason, mind, understanding, in our own language are

constantly used by those who are dichotomists, and recognize only one immaterial, intelligent entity within us.

Now all dichotomists concede that there may be various faculties and capacities of the one immaterial soul, and that in man it is higher than in brutes; that there may be sensation and sense-perception without supersensual insight; instinct without reason, and the power of reasoning; all other insight, intuitive and discursive, without knowledge of the good, the true, and the beautiful, or of God in whom all these are concreted; a speculative without a spiritual knowledge of God; in short, that one may be a mere natural or psychical without being a spiritual or pneumatical man. But do all these different powers belong to numerically different entities or agents? Do they require two such substances, or if two, why not a dozen? Or do they pertain to one indivisible soul and spirit, according as it may be variously enlightened, quickened or endowed? The dichotomists say that one indivisible mind, self or ego is the subject of all these varied forms or grades of conscious being. The trichotomists say that besides the body there are two such entities, viz., the soul and the spirit.

Now we have said that we do not understand our author on this subject, and that we are not sure he understands his own ground. Why? He is a strenuous trichotomist. But does he hold that soul and spirit are different substances, or the spirit is a substance different from body? We do not know, and we will show our readers why we are puzzled. Indeed, we sometimes are not clear whether in his view body and spirit are different substances. Thus he tells us, pp. 90–92, that we gather from Scripture that "The psyche is the life of man in its widest and most inclusive sense, embracing not only the animal but also the intellectual and moral faculties, in so far as their exercise has not been depraved by the fall." "It is the formative principle of our body and mind." "The psyche of Scripture is the sum total of man's natural powers, the life as born into the world, and all that it contains or can attain to," p. 93. While this seems to identify body and soul as to their ultimate principle or essence, he says, p. 103, "Not so with the spirit; it comes from God, and is of God. Let us not shrink from using the expression that it proceeds from God not by creation *but by emanation*. Mere creationism fails to bring out the meaning of that expression, 'God breathed into his nostrils the breath of life.' It were Pantheism to speak of nature as substantial with God. The creature is his handiwork. . . . But the spirit in man is divine, *consubstantial with God*, who is the Father of spirits, as our

bodies of flesh are consubstantial with those of the parents of our flesh." The italics are ours. But what does this mean, unless the very Pantheism the author disclaims, so far as human spirits are concerned? The spirit in man he defines again and again as the "organ of God-consciousness." Again, p. 115, "Man is, indeed, a tripartite person made up of three parts which we can ideally distinguish. But this does not imply that we can actually divide them, much less that any one of these natures in one person can maintain an existence apart from the other two." What of the spirit between death and the resurrection? Still further, p. 118, "The trichotomy of Scripture does not then imply the union of three distinct and separable natures in man. This would be to repeat, and even exaggerate the error of the old school of dichotomists. The ground error of the dichotomist system is this—that man is made up of two parts, body and soul, and that these parts are not only separated at death, but capable—the higher at least—of surviving that separation. What would it be but to make confusion worse confounded, if we were to assert the existence of a third nature distinct from the former two, and equally with the soul capable of continuing its existence in the disembodied state? Once more, p. 119, "That relation of the Persons of the Trinity which is called Sabellianism is the best expression of that which we hold in regard to the nature of man."

What else does all this imply but a denial of three or even two entities in man, and an assertion of one only in a three-fold mode of manifestation? But we stop. We have simply shown why we do not understand the position of our author, and doubt if he himself understands it.

Yet the book opens rich veins of thought on supreme topics. It is always fresh and suggestive. We hope to return, on some convenient occasion, to some of the great topics it brings before us. If it does not give an adequate solution of its great theme, it at least points out numerous problems that need solution, on many of which it throws important light.

The Atonement, in its Relations to the Covenant, the Priesthood, the Intercession of our Lord. By the Rev. Hugh Martin, M.A., Member of the Mathematical Society of London. Philadelphia: Smith, English & Co. New York: J. Inglis & Co., 21 Clinton Place. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1871.

We welcome another addition to the able works on the Atonement, yet to be noticed, which have recently appeared, and which develop the doctrine upon its Scriptural basis, and according to the Scriptural

unfoldings of it. This compact, vigorous, and thoroughly reasoned volume sets forth the nature, efficacy, and objects of Christ's Atonement according to the federal system of theology, the supports of which it strongly arrays, while effectually repelling the common assaults upon it. That the Atonement is a true and proper expiation of sin and satisfaction of divine justice; that the sufferings of Christ were penal, because he bore the sins of his people imputed to him, and that they are justified by his righteousness solely because that righteousness is imputed to them; that atonement implies forgiveness, and is effectual to secure it and all other saving benefits for its proper objects; that these are all included in the covenant of redemption and are its exclusive objects; that it procures not mere "atonability," but actual atonement for sin, not mere "remissibility," but the actual remission of sins—these and correlative truths are maintained by the author with an earnestness, a strength of logic, and array of Scriptural proofs, which can hardly fail to strengthen believers and stop the mouths of gainsayers.

The Doctrine of Holy Scripture respecting the Atonement. By Thomas J. Crawford, D.D., Professor of Divinity in the University of Edinburgh. William Blackwood & Sons, Edinburgh and London. 1871.

This addition to the latest contributions to the elucidation of the doctrine of the Atonement must inevitably take a high rank among them. It collates and analyzes the teachings, not only of the Apostles, but of all the Scriptural authors on the subject. The work is done in a critical, thorough, exhaustive manner, and gives us an invaluable thesaurus of Scriptural doctrine on the subject. The result of this searching review of the Scriptural teachings on the subject is to prove that the atonement of Christ is truly and properly sacrificial, and that his sufferings and death were strictly vicarious, penal, and in satisfaction of divine justice. It seems difficult to understand how any candid investigator and receiver of the Bible can come to any other conclusion respecting this fundamental doctrine and central truth of Christianity.

The value of the volume is greatly augmented by the searching review of various opposing theories and dogmas with which it concludes. The symbolical, didactic, realistic, governmental, and other schemes of atonement are examined and vigorously refuted. The systems and speculations advanced by Grotius, the New England school, Bushnell, Campbell, and others, are in turn defined and exposed. If clergymen can have but a single volume on this great doctrine, we know of none more highly to be recommended than this.

The Doctrine of Atonement, as taught by the Apostles; or, the Sayings of the Apostles exegetically expounded, with Historical Appendix. By Rev. George Smeaton, D.D., Professor of Exegetical Theology, New College. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. New York: Scribner, Welford & Co. 1870.

This massive and handsome volume is a successor to another by the same author and publishers, entitled "The Doctrine of the Atonement, as taught by Christ himself; or, the Sayings of Jesus on the Atonement, exegetically Expounded and Classified," which we have not yet seen, but which we find to be warmly commended by the most competent critical authorities in Great Britain, an endorsement which it well deserves if executed in a manner at all equal to the work now before us. This is a thorough collation and exegetical analysis of the utterances of the Apostles on the subject. Professor Smeaton brings to the work that peculiar combination of scholarly, exegetical, doctrinal, and spiritual insight, which are prime requisites to a good theologian generally, and upon soteriology especially, and above all upon the nature of Christ's atoning work.

We are glad to see an increasing tendency among orthodox and evangelical theologians to repair to the sacred originals of all Christian truth, and to ground their theology immediately and exclusively upon the authority of the Great Teacher and his inspired apostles. Certainly here, if anywhere, we can find what the central doctrines of the Gospel are. No richer resources can be furnished to theological students, ministers, or professional theologians for the due fulfilment of their respective vocations. Professor Smeaton shows *ex abundanti* that the Apostles set forth an Atonement that is not merely didactic, exemplary, symbolical, or governmental in its nature, but is also strictly piacular, vicarious, penal, in satisfaction of divine justice, involving the imputation of the sins of the redeemed to Christ, and of his righteousness to them.

The historical analysis in the Appendix is also of decided ability and value. The successive developments of the doctrine post-Apostolic, Patristic, Medieval, Lutheran, Reformed, and by such great masters as Anselm, Aquinas, Luther, Calvin, Melancthon, Grotius, Owen, and a host of others are clearly exhibited. Nor has he overlooked or failed to understand, like so many of our Scotch brethren, the differential features of a system that has great popularity in this country, as the following extract sufficiently shows, pp. 536–7.

"The Grotian theory has been largely accepted in America under the name of the Governmental Theory. Hopkinsianism was one phase of it, and it is sometimes designated the New England theory,

or the New School theory. We repudiate in the strongest terms the designation lately given to it—THE EDWARDEAN THEORY of the Atonement—because the honored name of Edwards, one of the greatest in church history, is not to be identified with a theory of which not even the germs can fairly be deduced from his writings. We could exhibit illustrations from the President's writings of almost every position we have advanced in this volume; and mere stray expressions occurring in his writings are not to be fitted into the crude outline of the governmental scheme, from which his whole mode of thought diverged. No writer more fully describes Christ as entering into all the obligations of His people, both as to active and passive obedience. The Hopkinsian or governmental scheme, repudiating imputation in the proper sense, reduces the atonement from the high ground of a propitiation to the level of an empty pageant, however imposing; or a governmental display for the good of other orders of creation. It is a scheme which connects the death of Christ with some imaginary public justice, not with the divine nature and perfections; as if God Himself were not His own public, the only august public worthy of regard in this great transaction. According to the Grotian or Hopkinsian theory, the atonement is fit to impress the creation of God, but is not necessary in respect of the divine attributes."

The Problem of Evil. Seven Lectures. By Ernest Naville, corresponding Member of the Institute of France, late Professor of Philosophy in the University of Geneva. Translated from the French by Edward W. Shalders, B.A. Edinburgh: T. &. T. Clark. New York: Scribner, Welford & Co. 1871.

Another effort to solve which must needs ever be incapable of but one, and that the Scriptural solution, at least, so far as it is solvable at all. That solution is simply this. All other evil is consequent on moral evil, either as a natural, or penal, or disciplinary sequence. Sin is not a creation of God, but of the free will of his creatures perversely used. The sinfulness of our entire race, and not merely of individuals or portions of it, must have some common ground, which can be none other than the fall of the race in the fall of its first progenitor, standing and acting therein as its representative. As to the foundation of this representative character of Adam—whether it be federal or realistic—we are not sure of the author's position. But we think most of his modes of statement realistic. "The lot of each of us," says Professor Luthardt, "was decided by the act of the first of our race, for this was not only the act of the individual, but the act of the representative of all men. . . We all form one great unity; each is mysteriously involved in all; none can isolate himself and say, What does that concern me?" pp. 139–40.

The subject is presented not only in its dogmatic, but its practical bearings. The book has a strong evangelical tone, and is marked by

that transparency and vivacity by which the French contrive to lend a charm even to such discussions.

Biblical Theology of the New Testament. By Christian Friedrich Schmid, D.D., late Professor of Theology, Tubingen. Translated from the fourth German edition, edited by C. Weizäker, D.D., by G. H. Venables. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. New York: Scribner, Welford & Co. 1870.

Here we find another happy instance of the increasing tendency we have already noted to draw theology directly from the Holy Oracles. The late productions of Drs. Thompson, Van Oosterzee, Smeaton and others, are lifting exegetical theology to new prominence, and orthodoxy is all the gainer by this process. This work of Dr. Schmid is a good instance of the working of German theologians in this direction, and of its salutary effects. The exhaustive nature of German research and thinking are seen here, and it serves to bring all the scattered rays of scriptural teachings to one bright focus of evangelical and saving truth. This work, like that of Prof. Smeaton just noticed, is in its way a thesaurus, and an analysis of the doctrinal teachings of the New Testament, which must be invaluable to ministers, theologians, and all who would search the Scriptures, and learn what is truth, and life, and salvation from Him who is the way, the truth, and the life. They are standard works.

Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews. By Frank Delitzsch D.D., Professor of Theology, Leipsig. Translated from the German by Thomas L. Kingsbury, M.A. Vol. II. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. New York: Scribner, Welford & Co. 1870.

We have not seen the first volume of this great work. But the exhaustive learning, logic, exegetical tact, and deep spiritual insight so conspicuous in that before us, abundantly assure us of the great value of both. In the close of this volume are some supplementary dissertations, in one of which he strenuously maintains that not Paul, but Luke is the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, and in another, that the scriptural doctrine of Christ's death is that of a true and proper satisfaction to Divine justice. He ably and conclusively controverts the following positions advanced by Hofman. "1. The death of Jesus was not the punishment of the sin of man. 2. Satisfaction is not made thereby to the wrath of God. 3. Christ did not suffer in the place of man. 4. Our reconciliation with God does not consist in the fact, either that our sin was correspondingly punished in Jesus' death, or that it was atoned for by Jesus' ethical action in his sufferings. I am convinced that all these negations would be condemned by the

author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, as inferences very correctly drawn from his writings." P. 419.

A History of the Christian Councils, from the Original Documents to the close of the Council of Nicæa, A. D. 325. By Charles Joseph Hefele, D.D., Bishop of Rottenburg, formerly Professor of Theology in the University of Tubingen. Translated from the German, and edited by William R. Clark, M.A., Oxon., Prebendary of Wells and Vicar of Taunton. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. New York: Scribner, Welford & Co. 1871.

This is a volume of great value for its learning, its calm and scholarly analysis of facts, and the great facilities it furnishes for obtaining a knowledge of the Primitive Councils, their origin, objects, decrees, and authority. It begins with an able introductory dissertation on the nature, scope, composition and power of these councils. The bias of the author towards the primacy of the Roman See and Pontiff are always perceptible, he being a Romish bishop, and member of the late Vatican Council. There is, however, along with this bias, a prevailing judicial candor, which is unusual with this class of writers, and leaves the facts of the case to tell their own unvarnished tale to the reader, and to testify that the dogma of Romish and papal primacy was of gradual and post-apostolic growth.

The Messrs. Clark of Edinburgh, and Scribner, Welford & Co., New York have also issued a further instalment of their Ante-Nicene Library now approaching completion, consisting of translations of the writings of the Fathers down to A. D. 305, edited by Drs. Roberts and Donaldson. We have now before us the 3d and last volume of Tertullian's writings with the extant works of Victorinus and Commodianus. It contains his famous tracts against Heresies, on modesty, chastity, virginity, monogamy, fasting, etc. Although these with other writings have made his name immortal, and are valuable as indicative of the state of doctrine and life in the early church, they also evince the absurdity of exalting the early Fathers to a height of authority co-ordinate with the inspired writers, or of making patristic theology an authoritative exposition, or infallible development of Christian doctrine. With much that is admirable they contain much that not even the most pronounced ritualists could endure.

The other volume contains the *Clementine Homilies* and the celebrated *Apostolical Constitutions.* They are especially valuable as bringing us most nearly to the apostolic age, although their assumed authorship is mythical. They rather show what their authors understood and would have others understand to have been taught by the Apostles and by the Father whose life reaches back to theirs. They

are valuable as showing what their authors regarded, and would have taken, as apostolic. They are much quoted by Romanists and ritualists; yet the definition given of the church at the very opening of the Apostolic constitutions is fatal to that system. It is as follows:

"The Catholic church is the plantation of God, and his beloved vineyard; containing those who have believed in his unerring divine religion; who are the heirs by faith of his everlasting kingdom; who are partakers of his divine influence, and of the communication of the Holy Spirit; who are armed through Jesus, and have received his fear into their hearts; who enjoy the benefit of the sprinkling of the precious and innocent blood of Christ; who have free liberty to call Almighty God, Father; being fellow heirs and joint partakers of his beloved Son."

The Leading Christian Evidences, and the Principles on which to estimate them. By Gilbert Wardlaw, M.A. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. New York: Scribner, Welford & Co. 1870.

The author presents in a clear and succinct form the principal heads of evidence for the divinity of the Scriptures both external and internal. He discusses at much greater length the principles which determine the weight and conclusiveness of these proofs. The ground taken by him is generally just; his temper calm, candid and judicial; and his book is a presentation of the subject, which, without anything novel in its matter, or specially stimulating in style, is fitted to confirm believers and impress candid unbelievers, if such there are. He shows how much faith is implicated with the moral state of the mind: how the Christian evidences are in their nature largely moral, and appeal to the moral nature of man, quite as much as to mere speculative reason. Unbelievers are shown that if they estimate the Christian evidences, as they treat proofs on all subjects, they must inevitably assent to the truth of revelation and the resistless cogency of the proofs of its inspiration.

We are happy to notice that on the subject of inspiration the author maintains it to be both plenary and verbal. He, however, prefers to let it remain an open question whether this plenary and verbal inspiration extends beyond the strictly moral and religious teachings of Scripture to bare facts, dates, and other matters of no religious significance. But he evidently leans to the opinion that it includes these, while he thinks it prudent to wait for the solution of some of the chronological and other problems now unsettled, before we commit ourselves absolutely to it. It may prove more difficult, however, than he is aware, to leave it to each one to separate the moral and doctrinal element from that which is indifferent in this res-

pect in Scripture, and still to preserve its authority over men as the infallible word of God. We take the ground that no part of the Bible rightly interpreted is contrary to any proposition evinced to be true by sufficient proofs.

Sermons and Lectures. By the late William Crombie, editor of the Aberdeen Free Press, author of "Hours of Thought," "Moral Agency," "Modern Civilization." Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. New York: Scribner, Welford & Co. 1871.

This posthumous volume we judge from the Preface to have been from the pen of a Baptist layman, who was also editor of a public journal and author of other volumes on great subjects. On looking through it we discover constant marks of original and vigorous thinking, also of evangelical and earnest piety. A large number of points in theoretical and practical divinity are handled with decided ability. We observe indications, however, that the author has not thought himself so thoroughly out on all points, as to escape some very serious slips. While strenuously opposing universalism he represents it as a great error to hold that all but the elect are "under the curse of a broken law." (p. 51.)

We think also that he has, in his first essay, gone too far in commending the great verities of our religion to men, as mere probabilities rather than certainties. Faith is more than a conjecture or problematical opinion. We know in whom we have believed.

Sermons to the Natural Man. By William G. T. Shedd, D.D., author of "A History of Christian Doctrine," etc., etc. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1871.

We find in this volume a drift of preaching of which there is now a great need, and for which Dr. Shedd is peculiarly fitted. The object is to make unregenerate men thoroughly alive to their true character and condition of sin, guilt, misery, helplessness, from which only the blood, righteousness, and Spirit of Christ can deliver them. In his views of sin and grace Dr. Shedd goes deeper than the Pelagian and semi-Pelagian superficialities and plausibilities that have had a disastrous currency. He is thoroughly Augustinian, with even a deeper realistic tinge than the great father. But alike in both, the mere speculative analysis of the subject, though deep and incisive, is subordinate to their intense conviction of its immeasurable practical and experimental moment. In this respect Dr. Shedd, like the great typical theologian whom he makes his model, is terribly in earnest. These sermons are a series of logical and eloquent appeals to the understanding, heart, and conscience of the unregenerate, in which the

assault is relentlessly pushed from every side. He leaves the sinner no chance to take breath out of Christ. We believe it quite time that the alarming side in preaching should be restored, if the soothing messages of divine love are to do any good. The present inclination of men is to be quite at ease in regard to their souls. But they will never really flee to the great physician till they realize their sickness, nor be constrained by the love of Christ, until they feel the terrors of the Lord. We believe it will do them great service, to be plied with such blood-carnest exhibitions of "the sin of omission," "the sinfulness of original sin," "sin as spiritual slavery," "the exercise of mercy optional with God," and much more the like, as glow on the pages of this volume.

Papers for Home Reading. By John Hall, D.D., Pastor of 5th Avenue Presbyterian Church, New York. New York: Dodd & Mead. 1871.

This is a collection of editorial contributions to a magazine which Dr. Hall edited in Ireland, and which have never appeared in this country. The subjects discussed are "the Means of Home-happiness, the Perils from Intemperance, Mammon-worship, and neglect of the Great Salvation: the definite and saving truths of which Christ is the centre; the facts of Religious experience; the future of the Soul and of the Church." Of course they are not meant to be exhaustive discussions. But they are presented in that vivid, pointed, racy, earnest style, of which Dr. Hall is so complete a master, and which never fail to reach the hearts and consciences of the people. We are confident that they will prove widely useful.

Thoughts on John xvii., with a Revised Version from a Critical Greek Text, and the Authorized Version Illuminated. By James Inglis, editor of "*The Witness*" *and* "*Waymarks in the Wilderness.*" New York: J. Inglis & Co., 21 Clinton Place. pp. 127.

This small volume in its mechanical execution is simply an exquisite work of art. In its binding, paper, and letter-press, it has scarcely, if ever, been excelled by an issue of the press, whether in this country or in Europe. Its title, "One with Christ in Glory," wrought into an illuminated frontispiece, rich and gorgeons, and, at the same time, chaste, is a fair type of the whole. One half the volume is occupied with the authorized version illuminated, an entire page being devoted to a single verse or part of verse. The skill of the designer seems never to have failed, but steadily to have improved as he advanced. It is an attempt, by the use of particular colors, and particular forms of letters, to trace the various aspects of a truth, as it is woven into

the general texture of the prayer, and also serves to bring its leading points into prominence. The eye rests with delight, and lingers fondly over the successive pages, as they present the familiar words of the prayer in their brilliant attire. It would be very little to say that the gem is worthy of its setting. Mr. Inglis, in his preface, well remarks, "It is not for a moment to be thought that any art can adorn the sublime simplicity of the language of the seventeenth chapter of John. The attempt to paint the lily, or gild refined gold, would be humility itself compared with any endeavor thus to honor it; and it would be a poor estimate of it to say, that it deserves to be printed in letters of gold. The work has rather been prosecuted under the conviction that no exposition or illustration could do justice to words which, though spoken in the hearing of man, were addressed to the Father, by the Son of his love. The utmost that man can do is to direct attention to its pregnant phraseology; and it is hoped that this method of exhibiting it to the eye may subserve this purpose."

The whole work has been under the personal supervision of Mr. John A. Gray, so long and well known as the head of one of the most important printing establishments in the city of New York. It has received his watchful, and it may be said, his loving care, at every stage of its progress. The letters in the illuminated portions were designed by him, and engraved by John Fahnestock.

The introduction, while it does not assume to be an exposition, is well and ably conceived, and fitted to aid in the right understanding of so important a chapter. It describes the chapter into two parts. The first extending from verse first to verse eighth, containing the relations of our Lord to the two parties, God and man; and so the grounds on which his intercession proceeds. The second, extending from verse ninth to the end, consists of the intercession itself, in its several particulars. Mr. Inglis holds the pen of a ready writer, and his pages are often illuminated with a fervid eloquence, beauty of expression, and always with an unction that render them very attractive to the devout. Thus, referring to the profound import of its plain and artless expressions, he says, "It reaches back into the counsels of eternal love, and forward into the eternal glories on which these counsels are accomplished; and thus it is infinitely beyond the stretch of all created powers. It penetrates the arcana of the relations of the Father and the Son, and of the "covenant that was between them both;" and thither created thought may not follow. It strikes out into the ocean of the love of the Father, for his only begotten Son; and who will come with the brief sounding line of human affections to

fathom its depth! Yet these counsels, glories, and relations, and that love are presented in their bearing upon the salvation of men." "We come, therefore to the contemplation of it, though we cannot comprehend it. We may know it, though it passeth knowledge. We may drink and be refreshed at the fountain whose depths we cannot sound." It is not altogether a memory of the past; but coming to our hearts, in the Spirit's power, it is an ever-living utterance of His love, as though by faith we entered within the vail, and listened to His pleading with the Father." "How vainly we attempt to estimate the magnitude of the crisis which had arrived, or to comprehend the eternal and universal interests which are crowded into these worlds, 'Father, the hour is come'—the hour appointed by the Father—on which the counsels of eternity converged, and from which the glories of eternity radiate. More momentous than the birth-hour of the universe, as to the great end for which the universe exists—to manifest the Glory of God! under the oppressive consciousness of our own nothingness, lost in the vastness and bewildering variety of these interests, we can but summon expressive silence to muse on its wonders." Mr. Inglis, especially as editor of "*The Witness*," has performed a most important service in unfolding to multitudes, not a few of them ministers of the Gospel, the riches of the Gospel of Christ, as never understood by them before, and bringing them forth from bondage to the covenant of works into the glorious liberty of the sons of God. He has for this special adaptation, by his theological culture, his critical knowledge of the Scriptures, and an experimental judgment enabling him distinctly to mark the boundary between that use we should make of the Gospel to obtain assurance of God's love, and His joy which is our strength, and Antinomian license and indifference. We scarcely know a man more devoted to the study of the Scriptures in the original. He imports the choicest editions of the Hebrew and and Greek Scriptures, with Lexicons and Grammars. Among them is the "Greek Student's Manual, designed for those who have no knowledge of the Greek Testament;" and he also publishes a tract setting forth "The reason why all Christians should read God's written word in Greek."

Commentary on Paul's Epistle to the Romans, with an introduction on the life, times, writings and character of Paul. By Wm. S. Plumer, D.D., LLD. New York: A. D. F. Randolph & Co. 1870. 8vo, pp. 646.

Dr. Plumer mentions among his reasons for writing this Commentary that he found himself especially attracted to the Epistles of Paul,

and they had long been a favorite subject of study with him; "for years he seldom took a journey without some volume on the epistles in his hand." This large and elegant volume is full of evidence in the author's own peculiar vein, that he has brought to his task a generous enthusiasm, as well as patient and continued toil. It cannot be said that the interpretation of the epistle is essentially furthered in the way of textual criticism, philological exegesis, or archæological illustration. His forte lies in theological and homiletic exposition. The doctrinal discussions opened by the epistle to the Romans are greatly to his taste, and offer familiar themes of thought. Upon these he enlarges freely and fully, and his trumpet utters no uncertain sound. The reader of this Commentary is likewise reminded at every turn of the practised skill and power which has given its author such celebrity in the pulpit by the many sided and impressive applications which are made of the truth to the heart and life. The doctrinal and practical remarks, which regularly follow the exposition of each section, are full of pith and marrow, sometimes recalling the quaintness of the old writers, and always abounding in pertinent and suggestive thoughts. The frequent and sometimes extended citations, which are introduced here as in the "Studies in the Book of Psalms," may be thought by some needlessly to encumber the pages, but will be welcomed by others as presenting in brief compass, and bringing within easy reach, the opinions or striking thoughts of some of the best writers on this epistle in all past ages.

Episcopalianism in three parts. By B. F. Barrett. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1871.

Mr. Barrett is a leading Swedenborgian writer. This little volume is intended as a reply to a pamphlet by Bishop Burgess on Swedenborgianism. He deals with this in three chapters, under the somewhat sensational heads. 1. "Episcopalianism in its own dress." 2 "Episcopalianism in borrowed Robes." 3. "Episcopalianism at the Confessional."

The Pharaoh of the Exodus identified in the myth of Adonis. By the Rev. John Campbell, M.A. 8vo, pp. 32.

The identification proposed to be established in this learned and ingenious paper is so far as we know original with its author. The Adonis beloved by Venus, and slain by the wild boar, is Pharaoh pursuing the children of Israel and drowned in the Red Sea. The Syrian women weeping for Tammuz, Ezek. viii. 14, perpetuated the universal grief of Egypt, when not only the monarch with the flower of his

army perished in the sea, but the first born in every house was cut off throughout all the land. The probabilities against this bold and novel hypothesis are of course immense. Some curious coincidences of various sorts are pointed out. But nothing is adduced that at all balances the weight of the contrary presumption, or inclines us to give up the far simpler solution which bases the myth on the annual death of nature from the cruel assault of winter.

The State of the Dead. By the Rev. Anson West. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1871.

This volume is one of much interest and value. It presents the Scriptural view of the origin, nature, and consequences of death, and of redemption from it. It considers and vigorously impugns the views of pseudo-spiritualists, Romanists, and of Wesley and other advocates of the intermediate state. The doctrine of Purgatory as stated and defended by Wiseman, Challoner, Gother and other Romish divines is thoroughly ventilated. The doctrine of the Scripture and confession is explained and vindicated. We are glad to see that it has reached a second edition.

Peter Walker of the Presbyterian House, Philadelphia, former publisher of this *Review*, has issued the final number of the Index Volume, up to 1869, which has been completed in an admirable manner by Rev. John Forsyth, D.D., of Newburgh, New York. Now that it is completed, we hope those who have been waiting to get it all at once, will encourage Mr. Walker by forwarding their orders promptly. See advertisement.

Chips from a German Workshop. By F. Max Müller, M.A. Vol. III. Essays on Literature, Biography, and Antiquities. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1871.

The learning, originality, and power which the author has manifested in his previous volumes will prepare the literary world to receive this with a warm welcome and high expectations. In these respects it will not disappoint its readers. It shows the author's scholarship and genius everywhere. Every page is worth reading, and contains something fresh and valuable, said as no common man could say it. Yet it lacks the continuous progress and thoroughgoing exhaustiveness, because it lacks the unity, of his previous volumes. It is a collection of miscellaneous and disconnected essays. But we have a keen appetite for the production of such an intellect in varied departments, and love to witness a versatility proportioned to its power.

The History of Greece. By Professor Dr. Ernest Curtius. Translated by Adolphus William Ward, M.A., Professor of History in Owen's College, Manchester. Vol. I. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1871.

This work, to be completed in five volumes, is a fit sequel or accompaniment to Mommsen's great History of Rome, the publication of which by the same house, repeatedly brought to the notice of our readers, has recently been completed. It lacks the more extended and minute detail, and consequent tediousness of Grote's ponderous work, which, invaluable as it is to thorough students of history, is beyond the time, patience and means of the great majority of readers. But if less minute, it is none the less complete, and is eminently scholarly, trustworthy, and philosophic, while at the same time terse, graphic, and readable.

C. Scribner & Co. have issued another volume of Lange's Commentary under the general editorship of Dr. Schaff, consisting of the books of Jeremiah and Lamentations, theologically and homiletically expounded by Dr. C. Edward Naegelsback, pastor of Bayreuth, Bavaria. The Commentary on this book of Jeremiah is translated, enlarged, and edited by Rev. Samuel Ralph Asbury, Rector of Trinity Church, Morristown, New Jersey.

That on the book of Lamentations is translated, edited, and greatly improved, by Rev. Wm. H. Hornblower, D.D., of Paterson, N. J.

Scholars, divines, and Bible students generally, will rejoice in the constant progress of this great work towards completion. A great thesaurus in the original, its value is much enhanced by the judicious additions of the American translators, and editors. Each successive volume, whatever we may find in it to dissent from, would form an important addition to every ministerial, theological, and public library.

Chas. Scribner & Co. have also issued the following additional volumes of their *Illustrated Library of Wonders*, so long and so deservedly high in favor with the reading public, for the happy mingling of instruction and entertainment: viz., *Celebrated Escapes*, in which the escapes celebrated in history for their ingenuity, difficulty, or peril, or on account of the celebrity of persons effecting them, are graphically portrayed and illustrated. *The Wonders of Engraving*, by George Duplessis, illustrated with thirty-four wood engravings, in which the great engravers, and some of their chief productions, are sketched with vivacity, and in a way fitted to awaken attention and interest. Besides the foregoing, we have four more volumes of the series, with the same general characteristics. *Wonders of Architecture; Wonders*

of Glass-blowing; Wonders of Italian Art; Wonders of the Heavens. By Camille Flammarion. From the French, by Mrs. Norman Lockyer. With forty-eight illustrations.

Roman Imperialism, and other Lectures and Essays. By J. R. Seeley, M.A., Professor of Modern History in the University of Cambridge. (Author of "Ecce Homo.") Boston: Roberts Brothers.

We detect in this volume of disconnected essays many of the characteristic traits which distinguished the "Ecce Homo," and gave it a transient celebrity quite beyond its merit. We find in all these papers on Rome, Milton, Art, University Education, the Church as a teacher of Morality, and the teaching of Politics, the originality, freshness and independence of thought, with raciness, pith, and transparency of style, which gave interest to that production. We also observe a like religious latitudinarianism, and radical bias generally. But amid more or less of error or half-truths often worse than error, there is a large amount of vigorous thinking and strong discussion, in which important truths much overlooked, unknown, or ignored, are set forth in bold relief, and with signal force. While we see little of the supernatural and Christian basis of sound morality in his article on the Church as a teacher of morals, we find the duty and necessity of teaching positive and definite morals forcibly and vividly presented in a way worth pondering by the ministry. We could not endorse his analysis of Art, as the play of the soul, at all lengths. Yet we feel instructed, quickened, and entertained by it. The article on University education contains much food for thought. All the discussions are highly suggestive.

Ad Fidem; or, Parish Evidences of the Bible. By Rev. E. F. Burr, D.D., author of "Ecce Coelum," and "Pater Mundi." Boston: Noyes, Holmes & Co. 1871.

In this beautiful volume Dr. Burr expatiates in his favorite field of Apologetics, with especial reference to the phases of doubt and perplexity which frequently bewilder and mislead people in our ordinary Christian congregations. He adapts his reasonings to those who uphold a secret unbelief or open scepticism by vulgar cavils, or the more pretentious arguments of fashionable modern scepticism. His appeal to such persons is conducted with vigor, tact, and frequently with eloquence. He rightly traces the fortress of unbelief in the intellect to perverseness in the will and heart; he shows that the difficulties in the way of religious belief and Christian faith are no more formidable than men encounter in every sphere of life and action without

being stumbled by them; that, with like candor applied to Christian truth, all their embarrassments will vanish; that, if they will do God's will, they shall know of the doctrine whether it be of God.

God's Rescues; or, the Lost Sheep, the Lost Coin, and the Lost Son. Three Discourses on Luke xv. By William R. Williams. New York: A. D. F. Randolph & Co. 1871.

It is not often that Sermons will bear printing. If powerful when spoken to the ear, they are apt in print to become as dull and leaden as the types in which they are set. When they lose the warmth and aroma breathed into them by speaker and hearer, they seldom will enchain or charm the reader. It is otherwise with these discourses of Dr. Williams. They are not only devout and instructive. They are original, quickening, suggestive and eloquent. Few who look at them will fail to read them through, or to feel richly rewarded by the perusal.

Outlines of Elocution. By H. R. Schermerhorn, A.M. Principal of Hudson Academy. Hudson: Stephen B. Miller. 1871.

This little work, although not of the grade of Dr. McIlvaine's recent treatise on the subject, is of considerable value and has special merits of its own. All students of elocution can study it with profit, and there are few speakers who may not gain important suggestions from it. We quite agree with him that "too much gesticulation is a more serious fault than the opposite." We are sorry to see such a religious caricature as the "language of the bells," p. 91, made even one of the exercises of the book. That is a kind of poison of which we would not even show specimens.

Memories of Patmos; or, Some of the great Words and Visions of the Apocalypse. By J. R. Macduff, D.D. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers, 530 Broadway. 1871.

Few writers are better able than Dr. Macduff to enter into the spirit of the Apocalypse, and penetrate the meaning of its wonderful symbolism and celestial imagery. His brilliant, yet sanctified imagination has enabled him to interpret that meaning to the readers of this excellent volume in a series of glowing sketches and pictures which beautifully reflect the spiritual and heavenly import of the original.

The Two Brothers, and other Poems. By Edward Henry Bickersteth, M.A., author of "Yesterday, To-day, and Forever." New York: Robert Carter & Brothers, 530 Broadway. 1871.

This volume is a collection of poems, written during the past

twenty-seven years, and mostly published in fugitive form, but now first gathered with some additional pieces into a volume. The author is a favorite with a large part of the Christian public.

The Lord's Prayer. By Henry J. Van Dyke, D.D., Pastor of the First Presbyterian Church, Brooklyn, N. Y. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers, 530 Broadway. 1871.

This topic will never become stale, though subject of the thousandth volume. The Lord's Prayer is so full of seminal truth that its due unfolding will ever attract devout authors, who will still see old truths in those fresh aspects which are ever "new and ever young." Those who have known the evangelical fervor and force of Dr. Van Dyke's preaching will find the same characteristics in this volume.

Fresh Leaves in the Book and its Story. By L. N. R., author of "The Book and its Story," "Missing Link," "Life Work," etc. With more than Fifty Illustrations. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers, 530 Broadway. 1871.

This volume contains much archæological matter brought to light by recent as well as former researches, and made to subserve the illustration of Scripture in a form adapted to popular use.

Opportunities. A Sequel to "What she Could." By the Author of "The Wide Wide World." New York: Robert Carter & Brothers, 530 Broadway. 1871.

Home Religion. By the Rev. W. B. Mackenzie, M. A., Vicar of St. James', Holloway. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers, 530 Broadway. 1871.

A little pocket volume full of sagacious counsels and scriptural wisdom on the proper conduct of home life.

Annual of Scientific Discovery; or Year-Book of Facts in Science and Art for 1871, *Exhibiting the Most Important Discoveries and Improvements in Mechanics, Useful Arts, Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, Astronomy, Geology, Biology, Botany, Mineralogy, Meteorology, Geography, Antiquities, etc., Together with notes on the progress of Science during the year* 1870; *a list of recent scientific publications; obituaries of eminent scientific men, etc. Edited by John Trowbridge, S.B., Assistant Professor of Physics in Harvard College; aided by W. R. Nichols, Assistant Professor of Chemistry in Mass. Inst. of Technology, and C. R. Cross, graduate of the Institute.* Boston: Gould & Lincoln, 89 Washington street. New York: Sheldon & Co.

It has given us great pleasure from year to year to call the attention of our readers to the merits of this Scientific Annual. It is only

necessary to add that its title-page is fully borne out by its contents, and that nowhere are the late discoveries in all departments of Physical Science, pure and applied, so readily to be found out.

Twenty-sixth Annual Report of the Executive Committee of the Prison Association of New York, and Accompanying Documents for the year 1870. *To which is appended the papers and proceedings of the National Congress on Penitentiary and Reformatory Discipline, held in Cincinnati, Ohio, October* 12–18, 1870. Albany: The Argus Company, Printers. 1871.

This great depository of facts, principles and reasonings in regard to the proper handling of our criminal population and the best regimen of our prisons, work-houses, and places of correction, deserves and will receive the attention of philanthropists and sociologists. The accurate and extended statistics, and judicious recommendations respecting the New York Prisons are very valuable. But the elaborate papers read before the National Congress at Cincinnati, constituting so large a part of the volume, are still more so. One of these, on the "Responsibility of Society for its Criminals," by Dr. Bittenger, was presented to our readers in the January No. of this year, and attracted wide and deserved attention.

Max Kromer; a Story of the Siege of Strasburg, 1870. By the author of "Jessica's First Prayer," "Alone in London," etc., etc. New York: Dodd & Mead. 1871.

This story furnishes a thread on which the successive scenes in the recent great siege of Strasburg are skilfully strung, in a little volume alike beautiful in its exterior aspect and inward structure; glowing with the interest inspired by the graphic pen of the writer, and the intrinsic interest of the events described.

Sermons for the People. By the Rev. Wm. S. Plumer, D. D. American Tract Society, New York.

The author here gives us thirty-five sermons, short, plain, pithy, evangelical and practical. Their average length we think will not exceed from 4 to 5 pages of this journal. They are well adapted not only for general use, but especially for reading by laymen in public meeting, on the Sabbath, in the absence of the minister.

The American Tract Society have published an edition of Hanna's *Life of Christ*, in which the original five volumes are all now included in one handsome octavo, neatly executed, and clear readable type. It is unnecessary to repeat what we have before said of its merits. We do not doubt that in this economical form of publication

it will find its way into multitudes of Christian homes. They have also published,

The New Life; or, Counsels to Enquirers and Converts. By a Pastor. American Tract Society.

Ruth Hawthorn; or, Led to the Rock. By E. N. B., author of "Happy Light" and "Margaret Chester," "Nurse Grand's Reminiscences," and "The Neglected Wife."

Westward: A Tale of American Emigrant Life. By Mrs. J. McNair Wright, author of "Almost a Nun," "Ohio Ark," "Shoe Binders of New York," etc.

Excellent books of their kind, published by the Presbyterian Board of Publication.

PAMPHLETS, &c.

The Presbyterian Weakness, republished from Our Monthly, June, 1871. Presbyterian Magazine Co., Cincinnati.

The Presbyterian Weakness here developed, in a brief tract of telling, ringing sentences, is the financial one. It is shown to result from the lack of any thorough and effective organization for bringing out, or rendering available so much of the wealth of the church as is needful for its own thrift, sustentation, and expansion. This "infirmity" is traced through various ramifications, but what is dwelt upon with special emphasis and force is the continual deterioration it is producing in the ministry, an evil which we have long felt. Shall no remedy be found? We trust that the mind of the church will not long work on this problem in vain, and is encouraged by the action of our Assembly.

History of the Constitution of New Jersey, adopted in 1776, *and of the Government under it.* By Lucius Q. C. Elmer. Read before the New Jersey Historical Society, May 19, 1870.

We are happy to find that the venerable author is turning his leisure to such good account in elucidating the early history of our State. The facts here brought to view, unless speedily rescued from oblivion, must be lost and give place to myths, too many of which are now and long have been current.

The Social Problem. A Discourse by Rev. A. A. E. Taylor, Mt. Auburn Presbyterian Church. Published by request. Cincinnati: Robert Clarke & Co. 1871.

Mr. Taylor here touches an evil so destructive and loathsome that our pulpits are wont to shrink from touching it, lest they should con-

tract for themselves or their audiences somewhat of its pollution. But as there is no vice which is now becoming a more fatal cancer in the very heart of society, it must be dealt with; and we see not why it should not be treated in the house of God as it is in his word. Mr. Taylor's treatment of the subject, while faithful, and timely, is likewise judicious and delicate.

Rush Medical College, Valedictory Address to the Graduating Class, 1870–71. By Moses Gunn, A.M., M.D., Professor of Surgery. Chicago: Rand, McNally & Co., Printers, 51 Clark street. 1871.

A trenchant argument against Materialism and Huxley's protoplasm on anatomical, psychological, moral and other grounds. We rejoice in the promulgation of such sentiments to medical students by their teachers.

Commemorative Discourse delivered in Newburyport, Mass., in the First Presbyterian Church, on the Centennial Anniversary of the death of the Rev. George Whitefield, September 3d, 1870. By J. F. Stearns, D.D., formerly pastor of that church, now of the First Presbyterian Church in Newark, New Jersey. Newburyport: William H. Huse & Co. 1870.

This elevated discourse is worthy of the author, the subject, and the occasion.

ART. IX.—LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

GERMANY.

Notwithstanding the absorption of the German people in the war just concluded, the last six months furnish us with a few items of literary intelligence which merit a record. Each of the main departments of literature makes us a few noteworthy contributions.

Hengstenberg's "History of the Kingdom of God under the Old Testament" is advanced by the publication of the first half of the section extending from Moses to the birth of Christ. Part I. of his Commentary on Job is recently published. Lange's Commentary is continued by the publication of "The Psalms, Vol. II," and the "Book of Revelation," both of which are understood to be in the hands of American translators. Riehm's revised edition of Hupfeld's Psalms is complete. A new part of Von Hofmann's Commentary on the New Testament contains Colossians and Philemon. The last addition to the Commentary of Keil and Delitzsch on the Old Testament contains Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther, by Keil. Part II. of Furst's "History of Biblical Literature," etc., completes the work. We have besides from Ewald "Seven Epistles of the New Testament translated and explained;" from Hitzig and Kämpf interpretations of the Moabite inscription; from Heiligenstedt Prologomena to the Book of Job; from H. Grätz a full work on Ecclesiastes; from Kessel "Eschatological Disquisitions" on the same book; L. Seinecke's "Evangelist of the Old Testament" (Is. xl.–lxvi.); from A. Bernstein, a "Critical Inquiry into the origin of the legends of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob;" from Th. Keim, Part I. of Vol. II. of his "History of Jesus of Nazareth;" Kaulen's Manual on the Vulgate; and Vol. IX. of Tischendorf's "Monumenta Sacra inedita," containing the Laudian Codex, etc.

Vol. XXXVII. of the *Corpus Reformatorum* contains the 9th volume of Calvin's Works, edited by Baum, Cunitz, and Reuss. Vols. I. and II. of the collected Theological Miscellanies of the late Prof. Nitzsch of Berlin are made up of contributions to the *Studien und Kritiken*. Other contributions to Doctrinal Theology in the broader or narrower sense are Steinmeyer on "The Resurrection of the Lord considered with reference to modern criticism;" Philippi's "Doctrine of the Church," Vol. V., Part II., first half; Vol. II. of Tölle's

"Science of Religion;" Luthardt's Sermons on "The Grace of God in Jesus Christ;" Part I. of "The Person and Work of Christ, according to Christ's own Testimony and the Testimony of the Apostles," by Gess; Part I. of Ritschl's "Christian Doctrine of Justification and Reconciliation;" Part II., Sec. II., of Rothe's Dogmatics; Part I. of Vilmar's Theological Ethics; Zöckler on the Augsburg Confession; Wieseler's History of the Confessional Condition of the Lutheran Church in Pomerania prior to the Union;" and Schultze on Fetichism.

Vol. V. of the Prussian Royal Academy's edition of Aristotle contains Fragments, Supplementary Scholia, and a very complete Index by H. Bonitz (which may also be had separately). Another Aristotelian work is "Aristotle on Art, especially on Tragedy," by Reinkens; and still another is "Aristotle's Notion of God, with reference to the Christian idea of God," by Gotz. Other philosophical treatises are Höfer's "Significance of Philosophy for Life, as exhibited by Plato;" Schoppe's "Human Thinking;" Zimmermann's "Samuel Clarke's Life and Doctrines;" and Michelis' "Kant before and after 1770."

In biography and history we note Vol. III., completing Plitt's Schelling; Vol. II. of Droysen's Gustavus Adolphus; Part V. of Dahn's "Kings of the Germans;" Disselhoff's "Guide to J. G. Hamann;" Geiger's "Reuchlin: his Life and Works;" Lang's "Martin Luther;" Part I. of Philippson's "Henry IV. and Philip III.;" Hettner's "Goethe and Schiller;" Germann's "Christian Frederic Schwartz;" Sträter's "Oliver Cromwell;" Vol. I. of L. Von Ranke's "German Powers and Confederation of Princes (1780–1790);" Ritter's "Founding of the Union in 1598–1608," Vol. I.; Vol. III. of Büdinger's "Contributions to Roman Imperial History;" Part I. of H. Rau's "Papacy: its Origin, its Prime, and its Decay;" Frantz's "Preaching of the Gospel in Germany before the time of Charlemagne;" Vol. VII. of the "History of Rome in the Middle Ages," by Gregorovius; "Hungary under Maria Theresa and Joseph II.," by Krones; Vol. I. of Müllenhof's "German Archæology;" and Tobler's "Great Controversy of the Latins with the Greeks in Palestine for the Holy Places," etc.

The most valuable contribution to philology is Part I. of the first volume of Ritschl's second and thoroughly revised edition of Plautus, containing the *Trinummus*. A second part of Westphal's "Methodical Grammar of the Greek Language," treats of the verb. Vol. I. of Peters' critical edition of the "Historicorum Romanorum Reliquiæ" has just appeared. Forbiger's "Hellas and Rome" is designed to exhibit in a thorough, yet popular way the public and private life of the

Greeks and Romans. The first section treats of "Rome in the period of the Antonines;" the first volume is recently published. A more limited work of a similar character is Philippi's "Contributions to a History of Attic Civil Law." The other works in this general department of which we make a record are, Volz's "Roman Elegy;" the completion of Teuffel's "History of Roman Literature;" R. von Raumer's "History of German Philology," being the 9th Vol. of the Munich series of Histories of the Sciences in Germany; and Part I. of Wahl's, "The Proverb in Hebrew Aramaic Literature and Modern Languages."

There remain on our list for enumeration only Wattenbach's "Letters in the Middle Ages;" Dühring's "Critical History of National Economy and of Socialism;" W. H. J. Bleek's "Reineke Fuchs in Africa;" Vol. III. of Bock's "History of Liturgical Apparel in the Middle Ages;" and Part II. of Helmholtz's "Popular Scientific Essays."

GREAT BRITAIN.

Bishop Wordsworth's Commentary on the Old Testament is completed by the recent publication of the section treating of Daniel and the Minor Prophets. The second volume of Rowland Williams's "Hebrew Prophets" covers the Babylonian Period, as the first treated of the prophets during the Assyrian Empire. The second volume of Perowne's Psalms is just issued in the revised edition. Birks's Commentary on Isaiah; Kelly's Lectures introductory to the Study of the Pentateuch; Bennett's Wisdom of the King (studies in Ecclesiastes); and Dr. McCausland's "Builders of Babel," belong to the recent literature of the Old Testament,—and to that on the New, Sir George Stephens's Life of Christ; the new edition of Stroud's "Treatise on the Physical cause of the death of Christ," (with Sir James Y. Simpson's letters in an appendix); Prof. Godwin's Commentary on Galatians; Robinson's "Suggestive Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans" Vol. I. (a work in the series commenced in this country by Dr. Van Doren's Commentary on Luke); J. Williams's "Rome, the Church, and the Jews" (an Exposition of the Book of Revelation); a new edition of Bishop Moberly's "Sayings of the Great Forty Days;" the new edition of Trollope on Matthew, edited and revised by Rev. W. H. Rowlandson; Dale's "Jewish Temple and the Christian Church" (an interpretation of Hebrews) in a revised edition; Latham's "Theories of Philosophy and Religion compared with the Epistle to the Romans;" and Canon Lightfoot on the Revision of the New Testament. Samuel

Sharpe's Translation of the Hebrew Scriptures has just appeared in a new edition.

Tillotson's "Palestine: its Holy Sites and Sacred Story," and Gill's "Notices of the Jews by classic writers of Antiquity" add to the number of works illustrative of the externals of Scripture.

Our more miscellaneous theological and religious list includes Vol. III. of Tyerman's Life of Wesley; Wesleys' (John and Charles) Eucharistical Manual; "Wesley his own Biographer," from his journals and letters; Wesley's Christian Theology (selections from his writings put in systematic form); Miss Yonge's Musings over the Christian Year; a "Concordance to the Christian Year;" "Counsels to Young Students" and "Half-hours in the Temple Church," two volumes of Dr. Vaughan's excellent sermons; a new enlarged edition of Bishop Wordsworth's "Union with Rome," and a small volume of his sermons entitled "The Maccabees and the Church;" the third series of Bishop Wilberforce's Oxford University Sermons; an "Examination of Liddon's Bampton Lectures, by a Clergyman of the Church of England;" Dean Stanley's "Athanasian Creed;" "Reasons for Returning to the Church of England" (by a distinguished Roman Catholic); Sadler's "Abundant Life, and other Sermons;" Gavazzi's "No Union with Rome, an Anti-Eirenicon;" Goodsir's "Ethnic Inspiration;" Bishop's "Human Power in the Divine Life;" Romanoff's "Divine Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom;" a new edition of Mant's "Ancient Hymns from the Roman Breviary;" Part I. of King Alfred's West Saxon Version of Gregory's Pastoral Care (text, notes, introduction, and translation, under the auspices of the Early English Text Society); a translation of Hefele's History of the Christian Councils; Gogerly's "Pioneers" (a record of early Christian Missions in Bengal); and Miss Yonge's "Pioneers and Founders" (the latest issue of the *Sunday Library*).

The most important contributions to biography and history are Vol. I. of Lord Brougham's Life and Times; Christie's Life of Anthony Ashley Cooper, first Earl of Shaftesbury; Vol. II. of Masson's Life and Times of Milton; Chabot's "Hand-writing of Junius, professionally investigated;" Earle's "English Premiers;" Life and Labors of Duncan Matheson; Moffat's "Life's Labors in South Africa;" Mrs. Oliphant's "St. Francis of Assisi" (*Sunday Library*); "The Diary of Abraham de la Pryme, the Yorkshire Antiquary;" a new edition of De Bonnechose's History of France; Philip Smith's Student's Manual of Ancient History; Starkey's England in the Reign of King Henry VIII.; "The Secret Documents of the Second Empire;" Vol.

III. of Dowson's History of India; Thomas's Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi; and McCorry's "Monks of Iona," a reply to the Duke of Argyll's "Iona."

A. J. C. Hare's "Walks in Rome;" Mackenzie's "Ten Years North of the Orange River;" Wyse's "Impressions of Greece;" Harvey's "Turkish Harems and Circassian Homes;" Elliot's "Experiences of Planting in Mysore;" Dr. Macleod's "Peeps at the Far East;" Whyte's "Land Journey from Asia to Europe;" and Stancsby's "Mansions of England," represent their department of literature.

The most noteworthy publication of the quarter is undoubtedly Jowett's Translation of Plato, with introductions of great fulness and value. Prof. Fraser, of Edinburg, has just brought out a new edition of Berkeley, in three volumes, with another volume devoted to his life and letters. Dr. Thompson's edition of Plato's Gorgias is the last and a very valuable contribution to the *Bibliotheca Classica.* Part I. of Haye's Translation of Taine on Intelligence; Maine's "Village Communities in the East and West;" Prof. Fawcett's "Pauperism, its Causes and Remedies;" Hutton's "Essays, Theological and Literary;" John Morley's "Critical Miscellanies;" T. Arnold's edition of John Wycliff's "Select English Works;" Stebbing's Essays on Darwinism; W. Forsyth's "Novels and Novelists of the 18th Century;" A. Helps's "Conversations on War and General Culture;" Tytler and Watson's "Songstresses of Scotland;" and F. T. Palgrave's "Lyrical Poems," are in their way of unusual interest and attractiveness, and with their announcement we close our present survey.

Epistle to the *Romans*, who was then, and still is, a Professor in the Princeton Theological Seminary; but it was not till 1820 that it ceased to be a mere repertory of selections from foreign works in the department of biblical literature. It is, beyond all question, the greatest purely theological review that has ever been published in the English tongue, and has waged war in defence of the Westminster standards for a period of forty years, with a polemic vigor and unity of design without any parallel in the history of religious journalism. If we were called to name any living writer who, to Calvin's exegetical tact, unites a large measure of Calvin's grasp of mind and transparent clearness in the department of systematic theology, we should point to this Princeton Professor. He possesses, to use the words of an English critic, the power of seizing and retaining with a rare vigor and tenacity, the great doctrinal turning points in a controversy, while he is able to expose with triumphant dexterity the various subterfuges under which it has been sought to elude them. His articles furnish a remarkably full and exact repository of historic and polemic theology; especially those on Theories of the Church, The Idea of the Church, The Visibility of the Church, The Perpetuity of the Church, all of which have been reproduced in English Reviews.

The great characteristic of his mind is the polemic element; accordingly we find him in collision with Moses Stuart, of Andover, in 1833, and with Albert Barnes, in 1835, on the doctrine of Imputation; with Professor Park, in 1851, on the Theology of the Intellect, and the Theology of the Feelings; with Dr. Niven, of the *Mercersburg Review*, in 1848, on the subject of the Mystical Presence, the title of an article which attempted to apply the modern German philosophy to the explanation and supervision of Christian doctrines; with Professor Schaff, in 1854, on the doctrine of historical development; and with Horace Bushnell, in 1866, on vicarious sacrifice. . . .

Hodge has contributed one hundred and thirty-five articles to *The Review* since its commencement; Dr. Archibald Alexander—a venerable divine, who resembled John Brown, of Haddington, in many respects—contributed seventy-seven; his son, Dr. James Waddel Alexander, twice a Princeton Professor, and afterwards pastor of the wealthiest congregation in New York, contributed one hundred and one articles; another son, Dr. Joseph Addison Alexander, the well-known commentator on *Isaiah*, contributed ninety-two, mostly on classical and Oriental subjects; and Dr. Atwater, another Princeton Professor of great learning and versatility, contributed sixty-four on theological and metaphysical subjects.

The articles in *The Princeton* on science, philosophy, literature, and history, have generally displayed large culture and research. The review of Cousin's Philosophy, 1839, by Professor Dod, was one of the most remarkable papers that appeared on the subject in America, and was afterwards reprinted separately on both sides of the Atlantic.—*The British Quarterly*, January, 1871.