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THE  
BIBLICAL REPERTORY  
AND  
THEOLOGICAL REVIEW.

EDITED BY AN  
*ASSOCIATION OF GENTLEMEN IN PRINCETON,  
AND ITS VICINITY.*

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OCTOBER 1830.

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1830.



# JOURNAL

OF

## The Philadelphia College of Pharmacy.

*Edited by Benjamin Ellis, M.D. Professor of Materia Medica  
and Pharmacy in the College, &c. assisted by a Publishing  
Committee consisting of Daniel B. Smith, Charles  
Ellis, S. P. Griffiths, Jr, and George B.  
Wood, M.D. Professor of Chemistry  
in the College, &c.*

This Journal is published quarterly, in numbers consisting of 80 pages each, at \$2 50 per annum, payable in advance. It is devoted exclusively to those branches of science which belong to, or compose, the pharmaceutical art, viz: Chemistry, Materia Medica, Botany, Mineralogy, Zoology, and the commercial history of drugs. In every number, except the first two, a copperplate has been inserted of some indigenous or foreign medicinal plant, accompanied with a brief dissertation respecting its history, chemical and medicinal properties, and pharmaceutical combinations. The department of selected matter consists of articles taken from the French and English Journals, and the discoveries noticed in these works relating to the art are transferred to our pages. The amount of information contained in each volume of this work is therefore very considerable. Its publication fills a hiatus in the medical literature of the United States: and it is especially deserving the notice of apothecaries, chemists, and physicians, as offering a medium through which they may communicate to those most interested in the subject, the results of their own experiments: and by means of which they

will gain early information of foreign and domestic discoveries and improvements.

The Journal will become in fact a digest of modern pharmacy, and furnish the materials for a complete history of the progress of pharmaceutical science during the period of its publication.

The following is a list of the principal articles contained in the first volume.

### No. I.

- E. Durand on Copaiba.
- Dr Staples on Opium.
- R. Philips on the Purity of Sulph. Quinia.
- Cultivation of Sago in the East.
- Gauthier or Linen Plaster.
- Selections from Faraday's Chemical Manipulations.
- J. J. Virey on Reagents.
- Preface to the Codex Medicamentarius.
- Wollaston's Method of Rendering Platina Malleable.
- Pure Strychnia not reddened by Nitric Acid.
- Artificial Production of Diamonds.

### No. II.

- S. Allinson on the Protoxide of Mercury and the Atomic Weight of that Metal.
- W. R. Fisher on the Preparations of Iodine and their Compounds.
- F. R. Smith on the Bicarbonate of Soda.
- J. Scattergood on Quercia, a new Substance discovered in the Bark of Quercus Falcata.
- E. Durand on the Preparation of Blue Mass.
- S. Allinson on the Non-existence of Oxide of Mercury in Blue Pill and Blue Ointment.
- On Plasters.
- On the Upas Antiar and Upas Tieuta.
- New Process for extracting the Volatile Oil of Copaiva, &c.
- Selections from Faraday's Chemical Manipulations.
- C. Recluz's Table of the Quantity of Volatile Oils yielded by different Plants.
- Dr Hancock on the Native Oil of Laurel.
- On Rhubarb.
- Chinese Materia Medica.

### No. III.

- D. B. Smith on the Carbonate of Ammonia.
- Dr Staples on Xanthoxylum Fraxinæum.

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Dr Staples on *Geranium Maculatum*.

W. R. Fisher on the Preparation of Citrine Ointment.

On Weights.

Dr Roxburgh on the Specific Differences between *Melaleuca Cajuputi* and *M. Leucadendron*, (with Lithographic plate).

Preparation of the Iodides.

Spanish Pharmacy.

M. Guibourt on *Fecula*.

M. Guibourt on the Combinations of Mercury with Oxygen and Sulphur.

Dr Steel on Iodine in Saratoga Water.

Mercury detected in Swaim's Panacea.

#### No. IV.

Address by the President, D. B. Smith, at the Annual Commencement, September 1829.

D. B. Smith on *Virginia Snake Root*, (with copperplate.)

E. Durand on the Chlorides.

A. Chevallier on Tartar Emetic.

Dr Hancock on *Sarsaparilla*.

Dr Mitchell on *Caoutchouc*.

On *Chinioidine*, or supposed new Alkalies in *Cinchona*.

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*By order of the Board of Trustees.*

HENRY TROTH, *Chairman.*

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### Annual Commencement.

A public commencement will be held in the Hall of the College on Monday the 25th of October, at seven o'clock, P. M., for the purpose of conferring diplomas on the graduates of the College. An address will be delivered on the occasion by Henry Troth, Esq. one of the vice presidents of the institution. Druggists, Apothecaries, and Students of Pharmacy are particularly invited to attend; also physicians and others interested in the prosperity of American Pharmacy.

*By order of the College.*

BENJAMIN ELLIS,

*Chairman of the Committee of Arrangement.*

*Philadelphia, Sept. 30th, 1830.*

THE  
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AND  
THEOLOGICAL REVIEW

Is published Quarterly by JAMES KAY, JUN. & CO. Library street, Philadelphia, and by JOHN I. KAY & CO. 95 Market Street, Pittsburg, on the 15th day of January, April, July and October.

This Periodical is a continuation of the *Biblical Repertory*; is more adapted to the taste and the wants of the Christian public generally than that work was; and is conducted by an *Association of Gentlemen in Princeton, N. J. and its vicinity; aided by Distinguished Writers in various parts of the Union.* It is designed not only to promote the proper interpretation and illustration of the Bible, but also to review such works on Philosophy and Literature as have a bearing on religious sentiment and doctrine, as well as those touching religious opinion, ecclesiastical polity, and those events which promote or retard the diffusion of piety. The various enterprises of Christian benevolence will be reviewed with deep attention, and cordially sustained.

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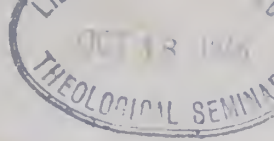
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THE  
BIBLICAL REPERTORY AND THEOLOGICAL  
REVIEW.

FOR OCTOBER 1830.

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THE DOCTRINE OF ORIGINAL SIN AS HELD BY  
THE CHURCH, BOTH BEFORE AND AFTER THE  
REFORMATION.

Although, as has been shown in a former article, the Pelagian doctrines respecting original sin were condemned by councils and popes, yet the heresy was not soon extinguished; but was in whole or in part adopted by many learned and ingenious men. To many, the opinions of Augustine appeared harsh, and hardly reconcilable with moral agency and human accountableness. They, therefore, endeavoured to strike out a middle course between the rigid doctrines of Augustine and the unscriptural opinions of Pelagius. This led to the adoption of an intermediate system, which obtained the denomination of semi-Pelagianism; and as these views seem to have been generally received about Marseilles, in the south of France, the abettors of this theory were very commonly called *Massilienses*. Augustine entered also into this controversy, and carried on a correspondence on the subject with Prosper and Hilary, two learned men of that region; the former of whom ardently opposed the semi-Pelagians, while the latter was inclined to favour them. By degrees, however, the public attention was called off from this subject. The darkness and confusion produced by the incursion of the northern bar-

barians took away all opportunity and disposition to discuss those abstruse matters. Ages of ignorance succeeded, which have emphatically been called "the dark ages." Superstition advanced, indeed, with rapid strides, but doctrinal investigation was neglected; or degenerated into mere logomachies, or useless thorny disputations.

We shall therefore pass over this long dark period with this slight notice, and will proceed to take a survey of the period antecedent to the reformation; and endeavour to ascertain the opinions of some of those acute and metaphysical men, denominated *schoolmen*. It has become customary for almost all classes of modern writers to treat the scholastic theology with sovereign contempt; and this often without any adequate knowledge of the system which they condemn. It is true, these ingenious men often exhausted their energies and lost their labour by a vain attempt to fathom an abyss: but it would surprise some modern metaphysicians and theologians to learn how exactly they themselves are running in the track, and pursuing the very footsteps of these despised schoolmen.

Our first object, therefore, will be to lay before the reader a brief abstract of the discussions of the *angelical* doctor, St Thomas Aquinas, on the subject of original sin. The subject is treated in the eighty-second question of his second book.

On this subject he starts four queries. 1. "Whether original sin is *a habit*? 2. Whether original sin is *one*, in man? 3. Whether it consists in concupiscence? 4. Whether it exists in an equal degree in all?"

This author, in his vast work, entitled *SUMMA THEOLOGICÆ*, invariably commences his discussion by briefly stating some arguments on each side of the question.

On the first question proposed above, he brings forward the following objections to the affirmative. 1. "Original sin consists in the privation of original righteousness, as is declared by Anselm; but a privation is not a habit, therefore original sin is not a habit." 2. "Actual sin is more deserving of blame than original sin, because it possesses more of a voluntary nature; but a mere habit of actual sin is not chargeable with guilt; for if it were, then a man would be guilty of sin all the time he was asleep. Original sin therefore is not a habit." 3. "Besides, in evil, the act always precedes the habit; for no evil habit is ever infused, but always acquired: but no act precedes original sin; therefore original sin is not a habit.

"But, on the other hand, Augustine declares that infants are



the subjects of concupiscence; but they are not so in regard to the act; therefore original sin in them must be a habit."

The conclusion which he draws from a view of both sides of the question, is the following: "Original sin is a habit, but not in the same way as knowledge is a habit; but it is a certain inordinate condition of nature, and a debility consequent on the privation of original righteousness," which proposition he proceeds to explain as follows: "The word habit is taken in a two-fold sense; in the first, it signifies a power by which one is inclined to act; in this sense, knowledge and virtue are called habits: but in the other sense, habit is a disposition or state of nature composed of many particulars, according to which nature is in a condition favourable or unfavourable for any given exercise. Now, according to the first sense of the word, original sin is not a habit, but according to the second it is; just as we speak of health as a good habit or state of the body; and sickness as the contrary. Original sin may, therefore, be described to be "a certain inordinate condition or disposition proceeding from the loss of harmony in the exercise of the moral powers, in which harmony original righteousness consisted: just as sickness is a certain disordered state of the body and its functions, arising from the loss of that equal temperament in which health consists. On account of this analogy, original sin is often called "a disease of the mind." And as in bodily sickness, there is not a mere privation of that regular state and action in which health consists, but also an inordinate disposition, so also, original sin includes both a privation of original righteousness, and a disorder of the faculties of the mind: it is not, therefore, merely a privation, but is also a corrupt habit."

"Again, as actual sin consists in the irregularity of our moral exercises, and original sin in the inordinate disposition of our nature, original sin may have the true nature and ill-desert of sin; but such an inordinate condition of the soul has not the nature of an act, but of a habit; therefore, original and actual sin are distinct, although both are connected with ill-desert."

But in regard to the third objection, stated above, in which it was alleged, that in evil, acts must precede the habit, as there can be no infusion of evil habits, "I would observe," says he, "that it has already been stated, that original sin does not consist in that kind of a habit in which there is a power inclining us to act; for although from original sin there does follow an

inclination to inordinate action, yet not directly, but indirectly; namely, by the removal of original righteousness, by which these inordinate motions were restrained, and every thing preserved in its regular condition: just as in the case of bodily sickness there follows indirectly an inclination to irregular bodily motions. Original sin, therefore, ought not to be considered 'an infused habit,' nor a habit acquired by repeated acts, but an innate disposition derived from the voluntary transgression of the first man."

The above will serve as a specimen of the manner in which this subject was discussed in the thirteenth century. It is not to our purpose to take any notice of the author's answers to the other questions stated above.

It is now time to bring distinctly into view the opinions of the reformers on the subject of original sin. And here it may be observed in the general, that while these distinguished and holy men appealed to the Bible for the proof of their doctrines, and would agree to submit to no other judge in matters of faith, yet they were all much in the habit of studying the writings of Augustine, whose views of doctrine appeared to them to be remarkably accordant with the sacred scriptures. From a knowledge of this fact, it might readily be inferred that the reformers agreed with the father before-mentioned, in his views of original sin. There is no occasion, however, to have recourse to reasoning on this point: the confessions, catechisms, and treatises of these men, are as explicit as we could wish them to be; and although they fell into deplorable divisions about other matters, yet in regard to doctrine, it is remarkable, they were all of one mind. This unanimity is not a conclusion merely inferred from their writings; but at the famous conference between Luther and Zuingle, and their respective friends and adherents at Marpurg, where they were unable to come to any agreement respecting the eucharist, it was ascertained by a particular comparison of ideas on all the important doctrines of religion, that no difference of opinion existed among them on these points. And that this conference, from which the friends of peace had expected so much, might not be altogether without fruit, a paper, or confession, consisting of fourteen articles, was prepared and signed by all the theologians present. The fourth of these articles related to original sin, and was in the following words: "Quarto, credimus, quod peccatum originale sit nobis innatum, et ab Adamo in nos propagatum. Et quod sit tale peccatum, quod omnes

homines damnationi obnoxios faciat. Ita, quidem, ut nisi Jesum Christum nobis sua morte et vita subvenisset, omnes homines propter originale peccatum damnati fuissent, nec in regnum dei, et ad æternam felicitatem pervenire potuissent.”

These doctrinal articles were subscribed by Luther, Melancthon, Jonas, Osiander, Brentius, Agricola, Ecolampadius, Zuingle, Bucer and Hedio.

It is true, however, that Zuingle fell, for a while, under some suspicion of error, in regard to the doctrine of original sin; because he maintained that infants, the offspring of believing parents, would not finally perish for want of baptism: and it has been alleged, that in some of his writings he spake of original sin rather as our disease and curse than as our sin. On this account Rhegius addressed an admonitory letter to him, to which Zuingle replied explicitly and fully, so as to give full satisfaction to Rhegius and to others; and now, A.D. 1529, at Marpurg, he and his followers were as ready to subscribe this doctrine as Luther himself. After the breach was found to be irreconcilable on the subject of the sacrament of the Lord's supper, the Lutherans indulged great bitterness of spirit towards this noble reformer, and often spoke of him and his adherents as *pelagianising*: although, in fact, they were as orthodox on this point as the Lutherans themselves.

As it appears that no diversity of opinion existed among the reformed on this subject, it will be sufficient, in addition to what has been said already, merely to exhibit the words of the famous confession of Augsburg, sometimes called the Augustan confession. “Peccatum originis habet privationem originalis justitiæ, et cum hoc inordinatam dispositionem partium animæ; unde non est privatio, sed quidam habitus corruptus.” “Original sin consists in the want of original righteousness, and in an inordinate disposition of the faculties of the soul: so that it is not merely a privation, but a certain corrupt habit.”

The perfect agreement of all the reformers on the subject of the imputation of the first sin of Adam to all his posterity, must be well known to all who are conversant with their writings. Their opinions on this subject have, however, been collected by the very learned Andrew Rivet, in his work on Original Sin, which is contained in the third volume of the folio edition of his works. It will be unnecessary, therefore, at present to exhibit their testimony on this point.

The far famed council of Trent formed several canons on

the subject of original sin, but they were expressed in the most ambiguous terms. Their object was, in general terms, to recognize the ancient doctrine of the church on this point, but not to censure any of their own doctors, who differed exceedingly from one another in their views of the subject. That this was indeed the motive which actuated them, is explicitly declared by one of their most learned members, Andradius, who became also the principal defender of the canons and proceedings of that body. He informs us that the decrees of the council on this subject were not intended to condemn even the opinions which had been published by Albert Pighius, who confined original sin entirely to the imputation of the sin of Adam, and asserted that there was no such thing as inherent, hereditary depravity; for, he says, it was their purpose to leave all men at liberty to form what opinions they pleased respecting the nature of original sin.

Andradius himself, in treating this subject, makes a free use of this liberty, and discourses in the following manner: "Man, in his original creation, received a constitution, in which were implanted a number of appetites, desires, and affections, between which, considered in themselves, there was not a perfect concord, for the flesh naturally lusted against the mind, and *vice versa*: but over these purely natural affections there was superinduced a moral character, called 'original righteousness,' by which all the irregular tendencies of the nature of man were restrained within proper bounds, and the exercise of the whole rendered harmonious." "The propension of these natural inclinations," he says, "is not in itself sinful, but when original righteousness is removed, then it becomes sinful by its disorder and extravagance. The very essence of original sin therefore consists in the absence of original righteousness, from which defect all sinful concupiscence proceeds. These natural inclinations, therefore, called 'concupiscence,' are not evil *per se*, but only by irregularity and excess; therefore, when the mind is renewed by the Holy Spirit, and they are again restrained within their proper limits, they cease to be sinful." But as all sin supposes the transgression of a law, Andradius asks, "whether the loss of original righteousness is repugnant to any law;" and answers, "that there is, indeed, no express law to which it is opposed," but says, "it is contrary to the general law of our nature, which requires every thing essential to our moral perfection." But here our ingenious author falls into a difficulty,

for he lays it down as a principle, "that all sin is the act of an intelligent and voluntary agent in violation of the law of God;" but the loss of original righteousness was owing to the personal fault of Adam, who was the only voluntary agent concerned in the transaction. His answer is subtle, though unsatisfactory; but it is borrowed from Augustine. "As all men were then included in Adam, so our wills were included in his will, and thus original sin may be said to be voluntary in us." But, whereas, there was but an obscure exercise of our will in the commission of the first sin, he maintains, and it is accordant with the common opinion of popish theologians, "that of all sins, original sin is the least;" but as this is directly contrary to the declaration of the fathers, they say, that the reason why it had been called *great* by them was, on account of its wide diffusion and universal propagation.

It is very evident, therefore, from the explicit declarations of this great defender of the council of Trent, how much they obscured and misrepresented this fundamental doctrine of scripture; and, accordingly, he finds great fault with a writer of his own church, who had taught, that from the soul infected with original sin no good thing could naturally proceed; asserting, that human nature was not so entirely depraved, but that from it by proper discipline, some good thing might proceed without the aid of grace; and this good he does not confine to external acts, but extends to spiritual exercises; therefore, according to him, the seeds of genuine piety must exist in our corrupt nature, previous to regeneration.

Chemnicus, from whose EXAMEN the preceding account is taken, gives his own views and those of his brethren on this subject; an abstract of which we will here insert, and which may be considered as expressive of the opinions of all the reformers, as this defence of their opinions met with universal approbation.

He utterly denies the truth of the principle asserted by Andradius, that in the original constitution of man, there existed a tendency to disorder, which was only restrained by the superadded gift of righteousness; and maintains, that man in his state of original integrity possessed perfectly the image of God, which consisted in a conformity to his law; so that with his whole heart and mind, with all the faculties of the soul, and all the appetites and members of the body, there was perfect strength, and no tendency to excess or evil. The law of God, which required him to love his Creator with all his soul

and mind and strength, was fully written in his heart, to which there was a perfect conformity in every thought and desire. There existed, therefore, in man thus pure and holy, nothing of that struggling of carnal appetites and desires against spiritual exercises which is now experienced by the regenerate, and which is called concupiscence. Now the law of God requires a complete conformity to its precepts in our acts, and in the whole frame and state of our minds, and where this is not found, condemns us as sinners. Experience, as well as the word of God, teaches, that man's mind in its unrenewed condition, instead of being illumined with the rays of truth, is replete with horrible darkness; that his will is turned in aversion from God, and indulges enmity towards him; that the affections are perverse; and that in all the powers, there is a horrible *αταξία* and depravation, so far as relates to spiritual things. Then, this able polemic goes on to adduce the texts of scripture which bear on this point, which we shall at present omit; and only remark, that no modern author has insisted more strenuously on the depth of original sin, and the total depravity of the human heart in all ages and in all persons. As to the seat of depravity, he says that the scriptures refer it to the mind, the will, and the heart; it has infested all our faculties, and commences with our very being.

“Nor,” says he, “need we fear, as does Andradius, lest we should exaggerate the evil and extent of our innate corruption; for if we attend to the language of scripture, we shall be convinced that the depth of the disease exceeds all conception; as says David, “who can understand his errors?” And Jeremiah, “the heart is deceitful above all things, and desperately wicked, who can know it?” The papists acknowledge that original sin exists, but pretend, that it is not safe to define what it is; and allege, that the ancient church never defined it. But let the impartial reader only compare the awful descriptions of this evil in the word of God, with the frigid, mitigating discourses of the papists, and their absurd philosophising respecting *puris naturalibus*, and he will be convinced that their doctrine is not that of the Bible. And as to the pretence of Andradius, that the council of Trent did not think proper to give any definition of original sin, we oppose to it the explicit testimony of the Holy Spirit, repeatedly given in the scriptures, in which the nature of this fountain of all iniquity is clearly exhibited. And in regard to the fathers, they certainly call it *the vice of our nature, pollution, inbred*

*corruption, &c.* And he concludes his proofs of the doctrine of original sin with the following weighty sentence: “*Et quando Domini os loquitur omnis caro debet silere, cœlum et terra auscultare: Andradius vero mavult cum concilio Tridentino opinari, quam cum scriptura, credere.*”

The doctrine of total depravity, derived as an inheritance from our first father, is not inculcated more strongly by any writer than by Luther, in his work, entitled “*DE SERVO ARBITRIO,*” written against the celebrated Erasmus. It was our first purpose to have given an abridgment of this treatise of the great reformer; but Luther’s style and manner are so peculiar, that his writings do not bear to be abridged without much loss; and having met with a treatise on the subject of original sin, by a celebrated professor of the Lutheran church, D. G. Sohnnius, who lived and wrote in the sixteenth century, we have concluded to lay before our readers an abstract of this discourse, from which may be learned what views were entertained on this subject, in the age immediately after that of Luther and Calvin. This theologian received the first part of his education at Marburg, but when he was only fifteen years of age his residence was transferred to Wittenberg, A. D. 1589, where his progress in learning was astonishing. At first his extraordinary talents were most assiduously devoted to the study of the civil law: but, in the twenty-first year of his age, he seems to have been led, by a remarkable divine influence on his mind, to relinquish the profession which he had chosen, and devote himself to theology, which he pursued with unremitting ardour, at Marburg, for two years; when his proficiency was so remarkable, that although no more than twenty-three years of age, he was made theological professor, and continued in this office to give instructions to candidates for the ministry with extraordinary diligence and conspicuous success for ten years. But differing in opinion with some of his older brethren, respecting the doctrine of the ubiquity of Christ’s body, which he strenuously opposed, and also in some other points of theology; for the sake of a good conscience he resigned his office at Marburg; but after a very short interval, such was his celebrity, he received two invitations, the one from prince Casimir to become professor of theology at Heidelberg, and the other to a similar station at Herborn. He accepted the first, and was inaugurated July 18, 1584. In this situation he conducted himself with consummate wisdom and incessant diligence, in promoting the cause of truth, and

by giving his aid and influence to every enterprize for the benefit of learning and religion; and A.D. 1588, he was chosen one of the ecclesiastical counsellors and senators, but without any interference with his office as professor. But this extraordinary young man soon finished his work upon earth. While in the midst of his useful labours, and when the influence of his peaceful and pious example had become extensive, he was unexpectedly taken out of the world by a pleurisy, in the thirty-seventh year of his age. His theological writings, in Latin, were published soon after his decease, including something like a system of theology; and are remarkable for profound research and accurate discrimination; as we think will be acknowledged by all who impartially peruse the following translation, or rather abstract, of his treatise on original sin. But our object in bringing forward this work is not so much for the sake of its explanations and arguments, in all of which we do not concur, as to furnish the inquisitive reader, with a full view of the opinions of protestants on this point, in the period immediately succeeding the reformation. And no one acquainted with ecclesiastical history will suppose that the doctrines here inculcated were peculiar to this author: the very same are found in the works of every protestant writer of credit in that age.

The first part of the treatise of Sohnnius, in which he discusses the nature of sin and its various distinctions, we omit, as not being now to our purpose: we shall therefore commence with his answer to the objections urged in his day against the doctrine of original sin, from which it will clearly be understood what opinions were then commonly entertained on this subject.

“ Having given some account of the nature and divisions of sin, our next object will be to refute some of those errors which relate to original sin. The first question then is, whether there is any such thing; and this inquiry is the more necessary, because many of the papists so extenuate original sin, that they will scarcely admit that it partakes of the nature of sin. And the Anabaptists have gone to the impudent length of asserting, that original sin is a mere figment of Augustine. In opposition to this error of the Anabaptists and of some of the Romanists, we assert, that their doctrine is not countenanced by scripture, and therefore cannot be true. They appeal, indeed, to Ezek. xviii. 20, where it is said, “ The son shall not bear the iniquity of the father; but the soul that



sinneth, it shall die." From which they infer, that the posterity of Adam cannot be guilty in consequence of his fall. To which it may be replied, that Ezekiel is not speaking of the sin of our first father and federal head, which was the sin of the whole species, but of the sins of individuals of the Jewish nation. In this sense, it is true that the son shall not bear the punishment of his father's sin, unless by imitation he is led to do the same; but the sin of Adam was not the sin of an individual, but of the whole race, for he represented the whole species. The first man stood in a situation, in regard to his posterity, which no other man ever did, and his first sin was theirs, in a sense in which no other of his sins could be; for his after sins were personal, and he alone was answerable for them; but his first sin was public, and that which brought death upon all his posterity. The gifts with which Adam was endowed, if they had been retained, would have been for the benefit of all his posterity, but being lost, they were not only forfeited for himself but for them. For as Levi paid tithes while in the loins of his progenitor Abraham, so the whole human race were included in Adam, to stand or fall with him. Hence Paul, in Rom. v. says, that Adam was a type of Christ; so that "*as by* the disobedience of the first Adam many were constituted sinners, by the obedience of the second Adam many were constituted righteous." In this passage it is clearly signified, that the integrity which was given to our first father would have been available for our benefit if he had stood firmly in innocence: but that it was also committed to him to forfeit and lose all blessings for his posterity as well as for himself, if he should prove disobedient. This was the event, and accordingly the precious deposit with which he was intrusted for the whole human race, was lost. Now, this being the state of the case, it is manifest that no son bears the sins of any other father as he does those of Adam; but the soul that sinneth, in the common administration of God's government, dies: but surely this general principle in relation to sin and punishment, does not in the least affect our condition as fallen in the fall of our federal head and representative. The son does not bear, commonly, the sins of his other progenitors, with which he has nothing to do, but he does and must bear the first sin of Adam, which was his own; for though not guilty of the act in his own person, he did commit it by his representative.

2. Another argument brought against the doctrine of original

sin is, that what is not voluntary cannot be sinful, because nothing can have the nature of sin which does not proceed from the exercise of understanding and choice; but what is called original sin, especially in infants, is not voluntary, therefore it cannot possess the nature of sin.

The maxim on which this argument rests is acknowledged in courts of justice, among men; but it ought not to be transferred to the church, so as to affect the doctrine of original sin, which she has always held and believed. Moreover, this maxim has relation altogether to actual sins, but not to original sin: and it is repugnant to the declaration of Paul, Rom. vii. *What I will that I do not, but what I hate that I do.* And Gal. v. *The spirit lusteth against the flesh, so that ye cannot do the things that ye would.* Augustine, in his Retractions, lib. i. c. 13, declares, "that this political maxim ought to have no place in relation to this point." And in his book against Julian, he says, "Frustra putas ideo in parvulis nullum esse delictum, quia sine voluntate, quæ in illis nulla est, esse non potest." That is, "In vain do you pretend that there can be no sin in infants, because they are not, and cannot be the subjects of voluntary exercise." The maxim is true enough in regard to our own proper acts, but can by no means be admitted in relation to the contagion of original sin; which, however, had its origin in the voluntary act of the first man."

3. A third argument against original sin is, that all sin consists in acts, but infants are capable of no acts, therefore they cannot be the subjects of sin; for, *to sin* is an active verb, and signifies to do something actively; original sin, therefore, cannot exist.

To which it may be answered, that in the Hebrew language, the words which signify "to sin," express not only acts, but habits; not only positive actions, but defects and inherent perversity, which is born with us.

4. It is again argued, that that which is the property of an individual cannot be propagated through a whole race, but the sin of our first parents was the property of those individuals, and cannot be communicated to their posterity.

It is true that the qualities or properties of individuals are not universally propagated through the whole species, except such as are of the nature of *αδυναμίας* or imperfections; for these are constantly propagated through the whole race. For example, that corruption of human nature which is the cause of

death, whatever it may be, is universally propagated; for all the descendants of Adam are mortal: so also original sin is *αδυναμία*, or a natural impotency, or a defect, or a depraved inclination, or *αραξία*,—a disorder of the affections of the mind. Besides the proposition on which the argument is founded is only true of separable qualities, but does not apply at all to such as are inseparable, and which perpetually inhere in the subject; so that they cannot even in thought be severed from it. We do in fact witness many evils which are propagated from both parents. Moreover, the proposition stated above is only true of those qualities which are only found in some individuals, but not to those which are common to the whole species; but original sin is not a quality of a few individuals, but of the whole race; for Adam was the representative of the whole race, and forfeited that *depositum* with which he was entrusted, as the head of the whole family.

5. It is again alleged, that punishments are not sins, but those defects and irregular inclinations which belong to human nature are the punishment of the sin of the first man, and cannot be of the nature of sin.

Here again there is an application of a political maxim to a subject to which it does not belong; for it is a fact clearly established in the divine government, that the privation of the divine image and favour, is both a sin and a punishment, but in different respects. In respect to God inflicting it, it is a punishment; for he in just judgment may deprive his creatures of his grace; but in respect to man, this privation is a sin, which by his own fault he has brought upon himself, and admitted into his own soul.

6. It is again objected, that nature being from God must be good, therefore, there can be no such thing as original sin, or a vitiated nature.

To which it may be replied, that nature was good before the fall, and before sin entered to corrupt it; and nature still, so far as it is the work of God, is good; that is, the substance of the soul, the faculties, and the natural principles of rational action, are good; but nature, as it is depraved, is not the work of God, but something added to his work; namely *αραξία*, or disorder and corruption in the faculties which God created in a state of order and integrity. God is the creator and preserver of the faculties, but not of the sin.

7. The Anabaptists argue, that Adam having been received into favour, was in a state of grace when his children were

procreated; and, therefore, upon the principle that every thing begets its like, he could not propagate offspring infected with original sin.

Answer. There is more in the conclusion than in the premises; for the procreation of offspring is not according to grace, but according to nature; so that whatever the nature of man is since the fall, that only can be propagated. Adam obtained freedom from guilt, not from nature but from grace; but grace cannot be propagated. Man, therefore, cannot propagate any thing but that corrupt nature derived from the fall.

Moreover, the regenerate are not perfectly delivered from the evil nature of sin, which still dwells in them and renders imperfect all that they do. So far as the regenerate act from nature, they act sinfully: all the good which is in them is from the spirit of God, to whom they are indebted for every good thought; it is evident, therefore, that grace, for every motion of which we are dependent on another agent, cannot be propagated: but sin, consisting in a defect or disorder of our nature, and having its origin and proper seat in our own nature, may be propagated. "In me, that is, in my flesh," says Paul, "there dwelleth no good thing." "That which is born of the flesh is flesh." And we never hear of a man being regenerated by a natural birth from pious parents; but the regenerate are "born of the Spirit—born of God." They further allege, indeed, that men cannot propagate what they do not possess; and therefore, the regenerate cannot communicate original sin to their offspring, for the guilt of all their sins is removed by a full pardon. To which we reply, as before, that though it is true that a man cannot propagate what he has not, yet as far as nature prevails, all men are sinful, and it is that which properly belongs to our nature which is capable of being propagated; therefore, when a sinful nature is communicated to posterity, it is the communication of what a man does possess; for neither remission of sins nor the infusion of grace do in the least affect the laws by which the propagation of the human species is regulated, for reasons already stated.

8. But the opposers of the doctrine of original sin even appeal to scripture for support to their opinion. They allege, Rom. xi. 6, and 1 Cor. vii. 14, as texts which declare in favour of the children of the saints being born free from original sin. In the former, Paul asserts, "That if the root be holy, so are the branches." But they are deceived by the mere sound of a word; for "holiness" in this place, does not refer to internal

moral qualities, but to external consecration: whatever is devoted solemnly to the service of God, or has a relation to his worship, is called *holy*. Thus, the tabernacle, the altar, the ark, the sacrifices, the priests, and even Jerusalem itself, were holy. The whole nation of Israel, as being in covenant with God, are continually spoken of as "a holy people;" and as the promises of God's covenant with Abraham have respect to his posterity even to the end of the world; so, in a certain sense, these branches which are now broken off, are holy, as they stand in a peculiar relation to God, which other people do not. And in the latter passage, the children of believers are called "holy" on account of their relation to the christian church, as being connected with the visible church by baptism; or as being capable of such connexion, in consequence of their relation to parents who are members of the church. For God makes the same promise to each believer, which he formerly made to Abraham, *I will be a God to thee and to thy seed after thee*. But this text by no means signifies that the children of believers are born in a state free from all pollution.

9. It is again objected, that the phrase "original sin," never occurs in scripture, and never should have been introduced into the church.

Answer. Many words are conveniently used in theology which are not found in scripture; and this must be the case where the truth is denied and error introduced: and appropriate words and phrases, expressing a clear and definite meaning, save us the necessity of much circumlocution. Now the truth is, that the scriptures use various words to express what is usually denominated "sin," without entering into the distinction between original and actual sin; but the idea conveyed by the phrase "original sin" can be logically inferred from numerous passages of scripture, as we shall show presently. When the Pelagians denied the doctrine of original sin, which the church had before held without dispute, the orthodox fathers invented this name for the sake of avoiding all ambiguity, and that the matter in dispute might be clearly and distinctly exhibited: for the Pelagians strenuously maintained that all sins were actual, or consisted in acts; but the orthodox maintained, that besides the acts of sin, there existed a corruption of nature,—an inherent moral disorder in the faculties, which for convenience, they denominated "original sin."

Having shown that the doctrine of those who oppose original sin, is not contained in scripture, nor can be proved from

it; we now proceed to demonstrate, that it is absolutely repugnant to the testimony of God, in his word; and therefore is a false doctrine which should be exterminated from the church.

The first testimony which we adduce is from Genesis v. 5, "And God saw that the wickedness of man was great in the earth, and that every imagination of the thoughts of his heart was only evil continually;" and Gen. viii. 21, "For the imagination of man's heart is evil from his youth." The objection to this testimony is, "that this is only spoken of adults, and only shows that there is in man a proneness to go astray: but nothing is here said respecting a hereditary corruption of the human heart." But is it not evident that if all the thoughts and imaginations of the heart are constantly evil from youth upwards, that the nature of man must be corrupt? What stronger evidence could there be of a corruption of nature, than the fact that all men sin and do nothing else but sin, from the moment that they are capable of actual transgression? An effect so universal can never be accounted for by imitation, for children begin to sin before they have much opportunity of imitating the sins of others, and even when the examples before them are pious and good. If from the fruits of holiness we may infer that the tree is good, then certainly on the same principle, from a production of bad fruit it is fairly concluded that the nature is evil. "A good man out of the good treasure of his heart bringeth forth that which is good; but an evil man, out of the evil treasure of his heart, that which is evil." "Out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh." Our next testimony we take from Rom. iii. 10. "There is none righteous, no not one." Now, if man's nature be not corrupt, how can it be accounted for, on any rational principles, that all men, without the exception of one, should be unrighteous? To this proof, indeed, Albert Pighius excepts, that it relates to the Jewish nation, and not to the whole race of man. But this is contrary to the express design of the apostle in this passage, which was to prove that both Jews and Gentiles were all under sin and wrath, and all stood in absolute need of salvation by faith in Christ. And in the preceding verse he explicitly declares that he had "proved both Jews and Gentiles, that they are all under sin." And his general conclusion is, "That all the world may become guilty before God." Indeed, if the nation of the Jews only was referred to in this passage, yet it might be fairly inferred, that all other nations were in the same corrupt condition; for why should it be supposed that

universal depravity should be confined to this one people? And history confirms the sentence of the apostle, for it represents other nations as wicked as the Jews. The apostle must, therefore, be considered as describing the moral condition, not of one nation, or one age, but of human nature in all countries and at all times; so far as it is not restored by Christ.

A third testimony for original sin is found in Rom. vii. where Paul, in strong language, describes the power and depth of indwelling sin, as experienced by himself, now in his renewed state. He calls it "a law of sin and death;" as working in him "all manner of concupiscence;" as "deceiving him." And he speaks of it as an abiding principle—"sin that dwelleth in me." As an evil ever present with him in all his exertions to do good; "as a law in his members warring against the law of his mind;" so that he exclaimed, "O wretched man that I am, who shall deliver me from the body of this death?" The Pelagians, it is true, will not agree that Paul is here speaking in his own person, but pretend that he personates a Jew under conviction of the duty which the law requires, but sensible of his inability to comply with the demands of the law. But that the apostle is here giving us his own experience, is evident from all the circumstances of the case; which opinion is not only held by Augustine in his controversy with Julian, but was maintained by the fathers who preceded him; particularly Cyprian and Hilary.

Other testimonies not less direct and conclusive are, Job. xv. 14, "What is man that he should be clean? and he which is born of a woman, that he should be righteous?"

Psalm li. 5, "Behold I was shapen in iniquity; and in sin did my mother conceive me."

John iii. 3, "That which is born of the flesh is flesh."

Rom. v. 12, "As by one man sin entered into the world,—and so death passed upon all men, because that all have sinned." On this text it is worthy of remark, that it is not only asserted that the punishment of death hath passed upon all men, but the reason is added, namely, "because all have sinned:" so that the fault and punishment, the guilt and pollution, are by the apostle joined together.

Rom. v. 19, "For as by one man's disobedience many were made sinners."

Rom. viii. 7, "Because the carnal mind is enmity against God, for it is not subject to the law of God, neither indeed can be."

Ephes. ii. 3, "And were by nature the children of wrath, even as others."

And as infants die, as universal experience teaches, it is evident that they must be chargeable with sin; for Paul clearly represents sin as the cause of death—of the death of all men. "And the wages of sin is death."

It would be tedious to enumerate all the objections which Pelagians and others make to the interpretation of these texts. The specimen given above may be taken as an evidence, that they never can succeed in proving that their doctrine is consonant with the testimony of God in the Holy Scriptures.

Hitherto we have disputed with those of the papists and anabaptists, who deny the existence of original sin altogether; but now we come to consider the opinion of those who acknowledge original sin, but insist that it is not any thing inherent in man at his birth, but only the guilt of another's sin imputed. This opinion is maintained by some of the papists, who think that original sin is nothing else than the debt of punishment contracted from the sin of Adam; but that nothing of the pollution of sin is propagated by natural generation. A.D. 1542, Pighius, after the conference which was held at Worms, expressed his opinion in writing as follows, "Original sin does not consist in any defect, nor in any vice, nor depravation of nature; not in any corrupt quality, nor inherent vicious habit in us; but solely in our subjection to the punishment of the first sin; that is, in *contracted guilt*, without any thing of depravity in our nature."

It is a sufficient refutation of this doctrine that it is nowhere found in scripture, and nothing should be received as an article of faith which cannot be proved from this source. Its abettors do indeed endeavour to establish it by an appeal to the Bible, but they are obliged to beg the very point in dispute, as will soon be made to appear.

Pighius, the chief advocate for this opinion, brings forward Rom. v. 12, "By one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin." Rom. v. 15, "By the offence of one, many are dead." Rom. v. 16, "For the judgment was by one to condemnation." Rom. v. 17, "For by one man's offence death reigned by one." Rom. v. 18, "Therefore, as by the offence of one judgment came upon all men to condemnation." In all these texts, says Pighius, the apostle attributes condemnation to the sin of Adam, and nothing else. To which it may be replied, that when the apostle declares that "sin had entered



the world," he does not mean, merely, that Adam had become a sinner, but that it had come upon all his descendants; that is, upon all men in the world; for he does not say in this place that *guilt* had entered, but that *sin* had entered into the world. And this is not left to be inferred, but is expressly asserted in the same verse; "*in whom* all have sinned;" or, "*for that* all have sinned." Moreover, when he declares that all are subject to death and condemnation by the sin of one, it is a just inference that they are all partakers of his sin, and are born in a state of moral pollution. In the 19th verse it is said "By the disobedience of one many are constituted sinners;" now to be constituted sinners, includes the idea not only of being made subject to the penalty, but partaking of the nature of sin; for they who are entirely free from the stain of sin, cannot with propriety be called "sinners." Again, the apostle in this chapter teaches, that "while we were yet sinners Christ died for us, to deliver us from death and reconcile us to God; certainly he died for none but sinners: but if infants are not sinners, then Christ did not die for them, nor do they belong to him as their Saviour; which is most absurd.

"But," says Pighius, "infants being neither endued with the knowledge of the law, nor with freedom of will, are not moral agents, and are therefore incapable of obedience or disobedience; they cannot, therefore be the subjects of sin, and cannot be bound to endure the penalty of the law on any other account than for the sin of another."

Answer. Although infants have not the exercise of free-will, and are not moral agents, yet they possess a nature not conformable to the law of God: they are not such as the law demands that human beings should be, but are depraved; "children of wrath," and guilty on account of their own personal depravity: for the authorised definition of sin is *ἀνομία*, that is, whatever is repugnant to the law of God.

But they insist further, "that God being the author of nature, if that be depraved, he must be the author of sin."

To which we reply in the words of Augustine: "Both are propagated together, nature and the depravity of nature; one of which is good, the other evil: the first is derived from the bounty of our Creator, the latter must be attributed to our original condemnation. The first has for its cause the good pleasure of God, the latter the perverse will of the first man: *that* exhibits God as the former of the creature, *this* as the punisher of disobedience. Finally, the same Christ for the

creation of our nature, is the maker of man; but for the healing of the disease of this nature, became man."

Again, this doctrine may be refuted by express testimonies from scripture; and ought therefore to be rejected as unsound. Gen. v. 3, "Adam begat Seth in his own image." Job, xiv. 4, "Who can bring a clean thing out of an unclean?—not one." Psalm, li. 5, "For I was shapen in iniquity, and in sin did my mother conceive me." Rom. v. 19, "By the disobedience of one man, many were made sinners." Ephes. ii. 2, "And were by nature the children of wrath, even as others;" that is, we were born subject to condemnation, because born in a corrupt state. From all which passages, it appears that original sin does not consist merely in guilt, or liableness to punishment; but in a moral depravation of the whole nature; and that it is not contracted by imitation, but by generation. Paul often speaks of that which we call "original sin" under the general name of "sin." In Rom. vi. 8, he speaks of the "old man" being crucified; of the "body of sin" being destroyed; and in chap. vii. he speaks of being "sold under sin," of no good thing dwelling in his flesh; of evil being present with him when he would do good; and of being led captive by "the law of sin" in his members.

Another cogent proof of the heterodoxy of this doctrine may be derived from the baptism of infants, which certainly supposes that they are conceived and born in sin.

It is also worthy of observation that spiritual regeneration is, in scripture, continually put in contrast with "the flesh," and with our fleshly birth. But where is the propriety of this, if the flesh is naturally free from stain?

And finally, the catholic church has ever held an opinion contrary to the one which is now opposed. Augustine, in his second book against Pelagius and Celestius, expresses most explicitly what we maintain: "Whosoever," says he, "contends that human nature, in any age, does not need the second Adam as a physician, on the ground that it has not been vitiated in the first Adam, does not fall into an error which may be held without injury to the rule of faith; but by that very rule by which we are constituted christians, is convicted of being an enemy to the grace of God."

It is again disputed, whether concupiscence, or that disease of our nature which renders us prone to sin, is itself of the nature of sin. This the papists deny; we affirm.

They allege, that whatever exists in us necessarily, and is

not from ourselves, but from another, cannot be of the nature of sin; but this is the fact in regard to concupiscence, *ergo*, &c.

Answer. In a merely political judgment this may be correct, but not in that which is divine. And if the principle here asserted was sound, it would prove too much: it would prove that even the *acts* of concupiscence are not sinful: for there is a sort of necessity for these, supposing the principle of concupiscence to exist in the soul.

It is next objected, that that which is wholly the work of God, as is the whole nature of man, cannot be corrupt, and therefore whatever belongs to this nature as it comes from the hand of God, cannot be otherwise than free from sin.

If there were any force in this argument, it would prove that there could be no such thing as sin in the universe, for all creatures are not only dependent on God for existence at first, but for continuance in being every moment; and if the power of God could not, consistently with its purity, be exerted to bring into existence the children of a corrupt parent, in a state of moral corruption, neither could it be to continue their being, which equally requires the exertion of omnipotence. But the truth is, so far as human nature or human actions are the effect of divine power, the work is good: the essential faculties of the mind and members of the body are good, and the entity of every human act is good; but the evil of our nature is received by natural generation, and is the consequence of the fall of our first parent, and the sinfulness of our acts must not be ascribed to God, "in whom we live and move," but to the perversity of our own wills.

But they allege, that God inflicts this depravity on the race of men, and therefore it cannot partake of the nature of sin, without making God its author.

To which it may be replied, that God inflicts it, as it is a punishment, but not as it is sin; that is, he withdraws all divine influence, and all the gifts of innocence with which the creature was originally endued, in just judgment. Does not God in just displeasure for obstinate continuance in sin, often send blindness of mind as a judgment: in the same manner, he can inflict that pravity of nature which we bring into the world with us as a punishment for the sin of our first parents: that is, he withholds all those gifts and all that influence which are necessary to a state of moral purity. The texts of scripture which might be adduced to establish the doctrine

which has been advanced, have already been cited, and need not now be repeated. But Albert Pighius asserts, that the divine law only prohibits vicious acts, not the latent qualities of the mind: the command says, "Thou shalt not covet," but it does not say thou shalt not have a disease which may induce you to covet. It is true, the act only is mentioned in this prohibition, but the disposition is doubtless included: as in the sixth commandment, it is only said, "thou shalt not kill;" and in the seventh, "thou shalt not commit adultery;" but we know from high authority, that in the one case, the law is violated by sinful anger, and in the other, by a wanton desire; so in the eighth commandment the act of theft only is forbidden expressly, but we know that to covet our neighbour's goods, is sin; and in like manner, although the tenth commandment only prohibits expressly the act of concupiscence; yet undoubtedly the disease, or corrupt disposition from which the act proceeds, is included by implication in the prohibition. And this will appear very clearly by considering the preceptive part of the law: this requires that we should love God with all our heart and mind and strength; and of course, whatever in us that is opposed to a compliance with this command is forbidden, but such an obstacle is this disease of concupiscence, therefore this being forbidden by the holy law of God, is sinful. Infants, therefore, are children of wrath, because they have in them a disease of irregular propensity, although it has not yet been exerted.

Pighius still urges the objection, already refuted in another form, that no law can prohibit equitably, what it is impossible for the creature to avoid; but the infant can no more avoid being born with a proneness to irregular indulgence, than it could avoid coming into the world with the sense of touch or taste; he concludes, therefore, that concupiscence is not prohibited in the tenth commandment.

Now we answer, as before, that if it is true, that nothing is forbidden which cannot be avoided; then, sinful acts are not forbidden, for with a nature labouring under the disease of concupiscence, sinful acts cannot be avoided; and so the argument is not sound, since it proves too much; nay, the renewed themselves cannot avoid sin in this life, as Paul abundantly teaches in the 7th of Romans; therefore, God does prohibit what we cannot avoid, and does command what we cannot perform.

The author then proceeds to refute the opinion of the Flac-

cians, that original sin corrupted the substance of the soul; an opinion industriously propagated by Flaccius Illyricus, one of the most learned of the reformers; and which was embraced and pertinaciously maintained in several places in Germany. But as this error is not now maintained by any with whom we are acquainted, we do not think it necessary to exhibit the elaborate and conclusive arguments by which Sohnnius refutes it.

As we stated before, our object in giving an abstract of this treatise, is not so much to defend the doctrine of hereditary depravity, as to give a correct view of the state of opinion on this subject at the time of the reformation and afterwards. And it cannot fail to occur to the intelligent reader, that none of the objections now made to this doctrine are new, or supported by any new arguments. The whole ground of controversy now occupied by the various discordant opinions, has been gone over before. And the result will probably be as before, that while those who adhere strictly to evangelical doctrine will continue to maintain the old doctrine, its opposers will deviate further and further from orthodoxy. There has never yet been an instance in the history of the church of the rejection of any doctrines of the gospel, where the opposers of the truth have been contented to stop at the first step of departure from sound doctrine. If they who first adopt and propagate an error are sometimes restrained by habit, and by a lurking respect for the opinions of the wise and good, as also by a fear of incurring the censure of heresy, from going the full length which their principles require; yet those who follow them in their error will not be kept back by such considerations. Indeed, the principles of self-defence require, that men who undertake to defend their opinions by argument, should endeavour to be consistent with themselves: and thus it commonly happens, that what was originally a single error, soon draws after it the whole system of which it is a part. On this account it is incumbent on the friends of truth to oppose error in its commencement, and to endeavour to point out the consequences likely to result from its adoption; and to us it appears that nothing is better calculated to show what will be the effect of a particular error, than to trace its former progress by the lights of ecclesiastical history.

REVIEW OF LUTHER'S LETTERS, BY DE  
WETTE.

*Dr Martin Luther's Briefe, Sendschreiben und Bedenken, vollständig aus den verschiedenen Ausgaben seiner Werke und Briefe, aus andern Büchern und noch unbenutzten Handschriften gesammelt, kritisch und historisch bearbeitet von Dr Wilhelm Martin Leberecht de Wette, Professor der Theologie zu Basel.*

*Erster Theil. Luthers Briefe bis zu seinem Aufenthalt auf Wartburg. Nebst Luthers Bildniss. Berlin, 1825. Pp. xxviii. 605, 8vo. 1825.*

*Zweiter Theil. Luthers Briefe von seinem Aufenthalt auf Wartburg bis zu seiner Verheurathung. Berlin, 1826. Pp. 680.*

The extraordinary fame of the great reformer has given a value to every production of his pen, in the estimation of the protestant world. In addition to the voluminous works which he prepared for the public, and which were so diligently studied by our fathers, his familiar letters have been sought out and collected; notes of his ordinary discourse have been offered in print; the remnants of his rudest draughts, *adversaria*, and heads of arguments, and even notes, quittances and household memoranda, have been rescued from oblivion, and set forth in volumes.

No name in the history of the reformation holds so high a rank as that of Luther. When Calvin, or Zuingle, or Beza, or even Melancthon, are named with praise by their respective admirers, there is immediately manifested a reluctance, on the part of many, to accord to them the unmingled applause which all sects and schools of reformed Christians unite in bestowing on Luther. And yet, strange as the assertion may appear to some, and long and sedulously as the character of this wonderful man has been examined, we venture to maintain that few men have been more misunderstood. There are, indeed, certain prominent traits which strike at once the apprehension of the most unobservant, and in which all the various and discordant representations agree; as in the many portraits of his

countenance there are notable features common to all, by which it may be recognised.

None, it is supposed, would dissent from the statement that the leader of the reformation was a man of stern integrity, of sincere piety, of ardent zeal, of undaunted firmness, of profound learning, and of indefatigable and laborious perseverance. Yet these are attributes which were not withheld from many of his contemporaries, and they are compatible with many and great faults, which indeed it is too common to blend with these in the picture. The point of view from which the character of Martin Luther has been surveyed, has confined the observation of men too narrowly to his public acts. He has been regarded as a bold and decided innovator, braving the storms of ecclesiastical wrath, and shaking to its foundation a corrupt but mighty hierarchy. The spectacle presented by such a character, standing in such relation to the church, is interesting and sublime; but its very splendour may and does tend to withdraw the mind from those characteristics which mark him out as a man, a Christian, a friend, a scholar, and a minister of Jesus Christ. Every man is in reality what he is found to be in these more ordinary relations. It is here only that we can profitably look upon him as an example, for here we behold him arrayed in the common garb of humanity, compassed with frailties and temptations; and thus trace those principles in their simpler manifestations, which resulted in such amazing effects when applied to the singular circumstances in which he was placed.

It is not enough that we set before us the commanding figure of the eminent divine, when he stood before princes and councils, and defied the malice of the court and the church. We must follow him to his university, his dwelling, his cloister, his closet; we must inspect, in secret, the workings of a heart swelling with vast designs and oppressed with anxious cares; we must mingle with the circle of friends in which his inmost fears and sentiments were breathed forth. The volumes before us enable us in some good measure to do this, and we believe that no one can rise from their perusal without acknowledging that he has acquired new and more satisfactory views of the character of the man, and has been relieved of many painful doubts and difficulties with regard to his conduct and motives. It must not be expected, however, that by any abstract or analysis of this correspondence, we should be able to communicate to the reader the correct and

vivid impression which arises from the examination of the letters themselves. The reason for the vagueness and inaccuracy of the ordinary estimates of Luther's character, must ever be the very reason why a second-hand representation must fail to be satisfactory. From a minute description by a man of discrimination and eloquence, we may gather some outlines of the peculiarities of one whom we desire to know; but how far does this fall short of that which we acquire by an hour's conversation with the subject himself? Our sole object in the extracts and remarks which follow, is to attract notice to this invaluable collection of documents, constituting at once the most authentic and the most complete biography of the venerated reformer.

The character of Luther is an interesting study to the theologian and the lover of truth, when viewed with regard to the gradual development of those opinions and feelings which led to consequences so momentous. It is known by all our readers that his entrance into the monastic order took place in the year 1505. Corrupt as were the motives by which multitudes were influenced in attaching themselves to conventual institutions, we have every reason to believe that the views of Luther were sincere and conscientious, and that it was from a hearty desire to consecrate himself to God that he united himself to the Augustinian monks of Erfurt. He had already acquired an admiration for the great patron of the order, as we learn from a desire which he expressed to exchange his name of Martin for that of Augustine. In the year 1507 he was admitted to the priesthood, and we are persuaded that it will gratify many readers to give a translation of a letter in which he invites an intimate friend to attend the solemnity of his ordination, especially as it is the earliest production of his pen which is extant.

“To John Brown, Vicar in Eisenach.

“I should fear, most courteous friend, to vex your kindness with my importunate letters and solicitations, if I did not call to mind the sincere affection of your benevolent and ardent heart towards me, which I have proved by so many arguments and favours. I have not, therefore, hesitated to address to you this epistle, confiding in the intimacy of mutual love, that it will find acceptance with you, and that you will not be inexorable.

“Since then, God, who is holy and glorions in all his works, has vouchsafed so greatly to exalt me, a miserable and in every respect unworthy sinner, and of his mere and most free mercy to call me to



his sublime ministry; in order that I may be grateful for the magnitude of the divine mercy, (however little mere dust can do,) I am bound entirely to fulfil the office entrusted to me.

“ For this cause, agreeably to the decree of my fathers, it is determined, under favour of God's grace, to solemnize this ordinance upon the fourth Sunday from this time, which we usually call *Cantate*. This day is set for dedicating my first fruits to God, to suit the convenience of my father. To this I invite you, humbly, yet perhaps too boldly; not, I am sure, because I deem it proper, on the ground of any obligations laid on you by me (there are none such) to incommode you with the toil of such a journey, or that you should attend upon the poverty of my low estate, but because I learned your kindness and easy forbearance towards me, on a former day, and abundantly at other times. Be pleased, therefore, dearest father, master, brother, (for one is the title due to your age and care, the other of merit, and the third of pious regard), if by any means your time, church affairs, or domestic business will permit, to attend, and assist by your grateful presence and your prayers, that our sacrifice may be acceptable in the sight of God. You will have for a fellow-traveller my kinsman Conrad, formerly sacristan of St. Nicholas', and whomsoever else you may desire, provided he also is willing, and free from domestic cares. Observe, lastly, that you are to come directly to our monastery, and tarry for a short time, (I have no fear indeed that you will take up your abode here,) and not seek for lodging through the streets without. It will be necessary for you to become a *Cellarius* [butler], that is, an inmate of a *cell*. Farewell, in Jesus Christ our Lord. From our convent at Erfurt, 10 Calends May, (22d April) 1507.

(Signed) FRATER MARTINUS LUTHERUS EX MANSFELD.”—*Ep.* 1.

There is in this earliest relic of Luther, no striking indication of that greatness which ten years later astonished Europe; but how little did the young monk imagine that the note of simple-hearted friendship, in which he invited a friend to his ordination, would ever be sought out, and published, and subjected to remark. The style of this and other writings of that period is rude and contorted, clogged with the barbarous words and accumulated superlatives of the *infimæ latinitatis*. It breathes, however, the humble, fearful spirit of one who approaches the sacred office with a deep sense of accountability. It was in this very year that the writer first obtained a copy of the whole Bible; which soon became the standard of all his opinions.

In 1508 the humble monk became professor of ethics and dialectics in the university at Wittenberg, and devoted him-

self to the promotion of genuine learning. It was about this time that the persecution of the celebrated Hebraist *Reuchlin*, or *Capnio*, was at its height, not without exciting the most lively interest in the mind of Luther. One of his letters, supposed to be written in the year 1510, being the first which remains of the long-continued correspondence with *Spalatin*, contains allusions to this persecution, and to the corruption of the times, which appear to be the very first tokens of any desire for a reformation. "The theologians of Cologne," says *De Wette*, "had, in 1509, instigated a converted Jew, *Pfefferkorn* by name, to procure from the emperor Maximilian plenary authority to destroy all Jewish writings; by which they intended to give a blow to Hebrew literature, which *Reuchlin* had brought into favour. As *Pfefferkorn*, however, met with difficulties, and asked new orders and authorities from the emperor, the latter commissioned the elector of Mentz to obtain from *Reuchlin* a statement of the case; which he gave in such a way as to pronounce the determination to destroy all Jewish writings preposterous. *Pfefferkorn* attacked this in a production which was answered by *Reuchlin*. The affair went to greater lengths, as may be seen in *Planck's* History of Protestantism." The letter of Luther contains the following paragraphs:

"Peace be unto thee, venerable Master George. Brother *John Lange* has asked me, in your name, my opinion concerning the case of the innocent and very learned *John Reuchlin*, in opposition to the jealous inhabitants of Cologne, and whether he is in peril as it regards faith and heresy. You know, most kind sir, that I hold the man in high esteem and affection, and my judgment is perhaps suspicious, since (as is said) I am not free and impartial. Yet, as you demand it, I shall say what I think; that there appears to me, in all his written statement, nothing that is dangerous." "For if such protestations and opinions are dangerous, there is cause to fear, lest perchance those inquisitors, at their good pleasure, shall begin to swallow camels and strain out gnats, and denounce the orthodox as heretics, in spite of all their protestations. Now, in truth, what shall I say of this, but that they are plotting to cast out Beelzebub, not by the finger of God? This is what I often deplore and bewail. For we Christians are wise out of doors, and senseless at home. There are blasphemies a hundred fold worse throughout the streets of Jerusalem, and every place is filled with spiritual idols. Now, while these ought with all possible diligence to be removed, as intestine enemies, we are neglecting those things which most sorely press us, and turning away to external and foreign matters, at the

suggestion of the devil; deserting our own affairs, and doing no good in those which are extraneous."—*Ep.* 3.

As we have named *Reuchlin*, it may not be irrelevant to insert in this connexion an extract from a letter of Luther, eight years later, after the triumph obtained by the former. It is the 102d of this collection, and bears date December 14, 1518.

"The Lord be with thee, most courageous man; I give thanks for the mercy of God, most learned and accomplished Reuchlin, which is in you, and by which at length you have succeeded in stopping the mouths of those that uttered unrighteousness. You have, indeed, been an instrument of the divine counsels, unknown by yourself, but longed for by all who were interested in pure theology; so that far other effects were wrought by God, than appeared to be accomplished by you. I was one of those who desired to be with you, but lacked opportunity. Yet I was ever present with you in prayers and wishes. What was then, however, denied to me as your associate, is now accumulated upon me as your successor. The teeth of that Behemoth are assailing me, that if possible, they may be indemnified for the ignominy which they received from you. And though I oppose them with genius and strength of erudition far inferior to that with which you met and prostrated them, yet with no less determination of soul. They decline argument with me, and refuse to answer, but with mere force and violence embarrass my path. But Christ lives, and I can lose nothing, for I have nothing to lose. Not a few of the horns of these bulls have been broken by your firmness. For God hath wrought this by your means, that the tyrant of sophists might learn to resist sometimes more tardily and meekly the true study of theology, and that Germany might begin to breathe once more, since, alas, for centuries the doctrines of the scripture have been oppressed, or rather extinguished."—*Ep.* 102.

With the views which Luther had obtained of the true source of theological truth, it is natural to suppose that he would soon be led to condemn the scholastic method of argument. This was not, in his case, the result of any ignorance of the system of the schools. He thoroughly knew the citadel which he was about to attack; and if he had been disposed to glory in human strength, no path to honour lay more fairly before him than that of dialectic warfare. As professor of logic he had been eminent, in an age when all were ambitious of this honour, and through life he displayed a remarkable adroitness in turning the weapons of the Aristotelians against themselves. Yet we find in a letter of date February 9, 1516,

that he thus commences his attack upon the peripatetic philosophy. The temper of the age and of the man will excuse some of the expressions:

“*To John Lange.* I send these letters, father, to the excellent *Jodocus Isenacensis*, (his former instructor at Erfurt,) filled with questions opposed to logic, philosophy and theology; that is of abuse and maledictions against Aristotle, Porphyry and the Sententiarii, in other words the ruinous studies of this age. For so it will be interpreted by those who give command to be silent (not for five years with Pythagoras, but) perpetually and eternally with the dead; to believe all things, to listen to all things, and never, even by way of light prelude, to ‘peep or mutter’ against Aristotle and the sentences.” “My mind burns for nothing so much as to expose to the public that impostor, who has so truly deluded the church under a Greek mask, and if there were time, to manifest his ignominy to all persons. I have in hand annotations upon the first book of the physics, wherein I have resolved to enact the drama of Aristaeus, against this Proteus of mine, the most crafty seducer of minds, for if Aristotle had not been flesh and blood, I should not scruple to say that he was truly a devil. It is indeed the greatest of my crosses that I am forced to see the best minds among my brethren, formed for noble pursuits, spending life and losing labour in these sloughs; while the universities do not cease to burn and condemn good books, and then indite, yea, dream bad ones.”—*Ep.* 8.

These were daring words for a young man in such an age, and here we perceive the spirit of the reformation, and the temper of the man, who never hesitated to express his honest convictions, at every hazard. The same intrepidity of mind forbade him to conceal the sentiments which, it appears, he had long entertained upon the great doctrine of justification by faith, which had been so long perverted and concealed by these subtleties. *To George Spenlein*, a brother Augustinian, he writes, April 7, 1516:

“I desire to know how it is with your soul, and whether at length, weary of its own righteousness, it has learned to live (*respirare*) and confide in the righteousness of Christ. For in our age the temptation to presumption is lively in many persons, and especially in those who seek with all their might to be righteous and good. Being ignorant of the righteousness of God, which is given us in Christ most abundantly and gratuitously, they strive of themselves to work what is good till such time as they may attain confidence to stand before God, adorned, as it were, with their virtues and merits; which is impossible to be done. Therefore, my dear brother, learn Jesus Christ, and him crucified; learn to sing praise to him, and to say to him, despairing of yourself: ‘Thou, Lord Jesus, art my

righteousness, but I am thy sin ; thou hast assumed what was mine, and given me what was thine ; thou hast assumed what thou wast not, and given me what I was not.' Beware lest at any time you aspire to such purity, as to be unwilling to appear to yourself to be a sinner ; nay, to be such. For Christ dwells in none but sinners. For he descended from heaven, where he dwells in the righteous, that he might even dwell in sinners. Meditate upon this his love, and you shall behold his most sweet consolation. For if, by our own efforts, we can obtain peace of conscience, for what end has he died ? So that you can find peace only in him, by a *fiducial despair* of yourself and your own works : you shall learn moreover from him, that as he has taken thee and made thy sins his own, so likewise has he made his righteousness thine."—*Ep. 9.*

In these sentences we discover the sum and substance of that precious truth in which all the reformers gloried, and although the nicety of theological argument would at this day demand greater precision of language, yet the precious doctrine is that which commends itself to the judgment and the heart of every unsophisticated Christian. It was a matter of lamentation to the Saxon divines, that *Erasmus*, to whom they had looked as the great restorer of letters, the satirist of many papal abuses, and the leader in scriptural interpretation, should have so soon diverged from them upon this fundamental point. Luther thus states his opinion of *Erasmus* and his doctrine, in a letter to his friend *Spalatin*, October 19, 1516.

"The things which disturb me, with regard to *Erasmus*, who is a most learned man, are these, that in explaining the words of the apostle, he understands by 'the righteousness of works,' or 'of the law,' or one's 'own righteousness,' (for so the apostle calls it,) the ceremonial and typical observances. And then, as to original sin, (which indeed he admits), he will not allow that the apostle treats of it in the 5th of Romans. Now if he would read *Augustine* in those books which he wrote against the Pelagians, especially *of the spirit and letter*, and *of the demerit and remission of sins*, and against the two epistles of the Pelagians, and likewise against *Julian*, almost all of which may be found in the eighth part of his works; and would observe that he holds nothing peculiar to himself, but what was held by the most eminent of the fathers, *Cyprian*, *Nazianzen*, *Rhæticus*, *Irenæus*, *Hilary*, *Olympius*, *Innocent* and *Ambrose*, it might perhaps be, that he would not only understand the apostle aright, but would also consider *Augustine* as deserving greater respect than he has hitherto believed. In this I hesitate not to dissent from *Erasmus*, because in the interpretation of scripture I prefer *Augustine* to *Jerome*, as much as he prefers *Jerome*, in every thing, to *Augustine*. Not that I am drawn, from regard to our order, to approve St

Augustine; for before I had alighted on his works, he was not in the slightest favour with me; but because I see St Jerome, as if with design, attaching himself to the historic sense, and what is more remarkable, interpreting scripture more soundly when it occurs incidentally (as for instance in his epistles) than when he treats it elaborately, in his works. The righteousness of the law, or of works, therefore, consists not merely in ceremonies, but more properly in the deeds of the whole decalogue.' 'For we are not justified by doing justly, as Aristotle supposes, except *simulatorie*, but in being made and in being just (*justi fiendo et essendo*) so to speak, we do justly. The person must first be changed, then the works. Abel was accepted before his offerings; but of this at another time.' 'You would say that I was presumptuous in causing such men to pass under the rod of Aristarchus, but that you know that I do these things for the sake of theology and the welfare of the brethren.'"—P. 39.

In the early part of the ensuing year (1517) he expresses in a letter to *Lange* more decided doubts respecting Erasmus. The mortification and pain of the reformed theologians was the greater, because they had numbered this celebrated scholar among their coadjutors, and had already profited very much by his critical investigations and liberal sentiments. They had yet to learn what so soon appeared in a most glaring manner, that it was simply the republic of letters, and not the kingdom of Christ, for which Erasmus was concerned:

"I am reading our Erasmus, and my regard for him decreases day by day. It pleases me indeed, that with equal constancy and learning he attacks both the monks and the priesthood, and convicts them of their inveterate and lethargic ignorance; but I fear he does not sufficiently bring forward Christ and the grace of God, in which he is much more ignorant than Stapulensis. Human things are of more weight with him than divine. Though I judge him with reluctance, yet I do it, that you may be admonished not to read—still less to receive every thing without discrimination. The times are now perilous, and I see that one is not a truly wise Christian because he is learned in Greek and Hebrew, since even St Jerome, with five languages, was not equal to Augustine with one; though Erasmus judges far otherwise. But that man who attributes something to the human will, judges differently from him who knows nothing except grace."—*Ep.* 29.

The admiration of Augustine, already noticed, continued to be manifest during his whole life, and the works of this father appear to have been, under his auspices, used as text-books in the university of Wittemberg.

“Our theology,” he says to Lange, “and St Augustine go forward prosperously, and, through the favour of God, reign in our university. Aristotle goes down by degrees, and totters towards that impending ruin, which is to be eternal. The *sententiarii* excite surprising disgust; nor can any one hope for auditors, unless he is willing to teach this theology, that is to say, the Bible, or St Augustine, or some doctor of ecclesiastical authority.”—*Ep.* 34.

The year 1517 was signalized by the attack made upon the doctrines of the Romish church, and more especially those which relate to indulgences. The general outline of this controversy must be fresh in the recollection of all who are familiar with ecclesiastical history. It is nevertheless pleasing to be able to extract from this correspondence some of the earliest declarations of the reformer, respecting this atrocious imposture, as they afford new proofs of that decision of character which marked his entire course. In a letter written October 31, the time at which he commenced the campaign against indulgences, he says to *Albert*, archbishop of Mentz,

“Papal indulgences for the building of St Peter’s are circulated under your honoured name, and I do not complain so much of the proclamations of those who publish them, (which I have not heard,) as of the false impressions taken up concerning them by the populace, and which they publicly glory in; for the wretched souls believe that if they purchase letters of indulgence, their salvation is certain, and that souls are freed from purgatory the instant their contribution falls into the chest: *deinde, tantas esse has gratias, ut nullum sit adeo magnum peccatum, etiam (ut ajunt) si per impossibile quis matrem Dei violasset, quin possit solvi.*” “Good God!” he adds, “the souls committed to your charge are led to destruction, and the awful account which you will have to render for all these, is every day on the increase. For this cause I could be silent no longer, for no one can be certain of his salvation by any gift conferred upon him by a bishop, since not even the infused grace of God gives absolute security; but the apostle exhorts us always to work out our salvation with fear and trembling; and even the righteous is scarcely saved.”—*Ep.* 42.

“Concerning the efficacy of indulgences,” he writes to Spalatin, a few months later, “the affair is still pending in doubt, and my disputation is tossed upon the waves of calumny. Two things, however, I will say. *First*, to yourself and our friends, until it becomes public; my opinion is that indulgences are a mere illusion of souls, and absolutely useless, except to such as slumber in the service of Christ. Although Carlstadt does not maintain this opinion, yet I am certain that he sets no value upon them. In order to dispel this illusion, the love of truth has constrained me to enter this pe-

rilous labyrinth of disputation, where I have raised up against me 'sexcentos Minotauros, imo et Rhadamanthotauros et Cacotauros.' *Secondly*, with reference to a point which is not left in doubt, since my opponents and the whole church are forced to grant it,—that alms and the relief of our neighbour are incomparably better than indulgences."—*Ep.* 54.

"The fabulous venders of pardons fulminate against me from their pulpits in a wonderful manner; so that at length they can scarcely find monsters to which they may compare me. They therefore add threats, promising that within a fortnight, (as one says,) or a month, (according to another,) I shall certainly be brought out and burnt. They oppose my positions with adverse arguments, insomuch that I fear lest they should burst from the very extent and vastness of their rage. I am advised by every one not to go to Heidelberg, lest perchance they should accomplish against me by stratagem that purpose which they cannot fulfil by force.—*Ep.* 58.

The first mention which is found of the noted *John Eckius*, is in a letter to J. Sylvius Egranus, a preacher in Zwickau. From this epistle it appears that Luther had entertained some feelings of regard for this zealous Dominican, and that he was surprised to meet him in the ranks of his antagonists. The title of the work of which Luther speaks, was "Obelisci," by which Eckius intimated that it was a mere collection of brief notes, alluding to the marks (††) which are used by printers in referring to such annotations. The date is March 24th, 1518.

"My positions have been opposed by certain *Obelisci*, written by John Eckius, doctor of theology, vice-chancellor at Ingolstadt, and now preacher to the court at Augsburg, a man of true and ingenious erudition, of cultivated mind, already celebrated and eminent for his writings, and (what most pains me) long united to me in the closest friendship. If I were ignorant of Satan's devices, I should wonder by what frenzy he was impelled to rend the cords of recent and delightful attachment, without writing, or giving me notice, or bidding me farewell. He has, nevertheless, written the *Obelisci*, in which he calls me a Bohemian, a virulent, heretical, seditious, petulant, and fool-hardy man. I pass over the gentler terms of abuse, such as dreamer, fool, ignoramus, and, at length, despiser of the supreme pontiff. In short, it is nothing but the basest contumely, with my name given, and my positions designated, so that the *Obelisci* comprise merely the gall and rust of a frantic soul. I was willing to receive in quietness this sop, fit only for Cerberus; but my friends have urged me to reply, with my own hand. Blessed Lord Jesus! let him alone be glorified; let him cover us with deserved confusion! Rejoice my brother, rejoice, and be not alarmed by these flying leaves, so



as to desist from teaching as you have begun, but like a palm tree in Kadesh rise against the burdens which weigh you down." "The more they rage, the further do I proceed." "I am almost ready to aver that there is not a scholastic theologian, especially of Leipsick, who can understand a single chapter of the Bible, nay, a single chapter of the philosopher Aristotle. I hope to prove this triumphantly, if any opportunity occur; for thus it is, unless a knowledge of the gospel consists in pronouncing its syllables, no matter in what way."—*Ep.* 59.

In August of the same year, cardinal *Cajetan* was commissioned, as legate of the pope, to make a thorough investigation of the whole proceedings and opinions of Luther, and empowered, in the event of his contumacy, to excommunicate and anathematize him and his adherents. Such was the poverty and the humility of the man, that he made this fatiguing journey from Wittemberg to Augsburg on foot, and arrived on the 8th of October at the latter place, in a friar's cowl, which he had borrowed on the way. "*Veni pedester et pauper Augustam, stipatus sumptibus principis Frederici.*"

Upon reaching the place of his destination, he writes to Melancthon, (*Ep.* 82,) "There is nothing new or remarkable, except that the city is filled with the rumour of my name, and every one desires to see the Herostratus\* of this great conflagration. Quit yourself like a man, as you have ever done, and instruct our young men in the truth. I am going to be offered up, if it be the Lord's will, for them and for you. I would rather die, and forever be deprived of your most sweet friendship, (which is the greatest of my trials,) than to retract the truth which I have uttered, and become the occasion of destroying the noblest studies." Instead of giving any history of the interviews with Cajetan, we shall introduce an extended extract from Luther's own statement, as given in a letter to the elector Frederic the Wise, November 19th, 1518. From this will be apparent, not only the boldness, conscientious zeal and sincerity of the reformer, but also that remarkable acuteness and native policy which enabled him to thwart the designs even of the wily and practised Italian courtier.

"I have received, most eminent and illustrious prince, through my excellent friend George Spalatin, certain letters, together with a copy of the epistle of the most Reverend Thomas Cajetan, Sixtine Cardinal, Legate of the Apostolic See, sent to me by the favour of

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\* Alluding to the celebrated incendiary of Diana's temple

your lordship; they have been received with respect and joy. For I find here a most pleasing opportunity of making an exposition of my whole case. One single request I have to make of your illustrious highness—that the splendour of your greatness would tolerate this grovelling and suppliant monk in his childish discourse.

“The reverend lord cardinal, has, in the first place, written to you, that I was anxious to be fortified by a safe-conduct at Augsburg. This was not in consequence of my own judgment, or that of your highness, but the counsel of the whole of those friends to whom I was commended by your letters; one only excepted, the eloquent *Urban*, who dissuaded me at great length. It was, however, necessary that I should prefer the majority to one, so that if any evil should befall me, they might not have to write that I had slighted the recommendation of your highness, and their very faithful care. So that it was not a perverse, but a natural disposition in me, to prefer the many Germans already known, and noted for life and authority, to a single Italian.

“Your apprehensions, therefore, are not to receive the blame, most illustrious prince; for indeed there was more confidence placed in the reverend legate than my friends had expected, so that they wondered at my rashness, or (as they did me the honour to say) my courage, in entering Augsburg without a safe-conduct. For your highness had advised me, through *Spalatin*, that a safe-conduct was unnecessary; so that you had reposed all confidence in the reverend legate.

“I shall now proceed to other portions of the reverend legate’s epistle, and reply to them in few words.

“He says truly that I at length appeared, and apologised for my tardiness, and for having demanded the safe-conduct; for I said that I had been advised by men of high rank, and of both orders [civil and ecclesiastic] not to go beyond the walls of Wittemberg, as plots of sword and poison were laid for me. I then added the reason above named, the wish of the friends who gave me counsel in the name of your highness. I prostrated myself likewise at the feet of the very reverend legate, and craved forgiveness with all reverence and humility, for whatever I might have said or done rashly, declaring that I was ready (as I feel this day) to be taught and led into more correct opinions.

“The reverend legate here raised me up in a paternal and most clement manner, commending me, and congratulating me upon this humility. He immediately proposed to me three things, with reference (as he said) to the commandment of our most holy master, pope *Leo X.*, (for he refused me a sight of the brief:)

“First, that I should return to a sound mind, and recant my errors.

“Secondly, that I should promise to abstain from the same in future.

“Thirdly, that I should abstain from all other things whereby the church might be disturbed.

“With regard to the first, I begged that he would point out wherein I had erred. He presently stated this, that in my seventh conclusion, I had said ‘that it behooved him who comes to the sacrament to believe that he shall obtain the grace of the sacrament.’ This tenet he held to be adverse to sacred scripture and the sound doctrine of the church. I replied firmly that in this point I should not forbear, either now, or to all eternity. ‘Willing or unwilling,’ said he, ‘you must this day recant, or I will, for this point, condemn all that you have said.’

“And although he declared that he would treat with me, not upon the opinions of doctors, but the holy scriptures, or the canons, yet he did not adduce a syllable of scripture against me, whilst I, on the other hand, pressed him with many scriptural passages, as may be seen in the schedule of my reply; he did cite to me certain councils concerning the efficacy of sacraments, which I did not gainsay, and indeed they were not against me. He was, however, constantly gliding into the opinions of doctors, in his discourse; and I still wait, and seek and pray, up to this present time, for a single authority of scripture, or of the holy fathers, which is against this my sentiment.

“To you, illustrious prince, I may speak from the heart: I grieve with all my soul that this principle of our faith is not only doubtful and unknown in the church, but even held to be false. I protest the truth, before God and his angels; as it regards any other declaration of mine, let whatever may happen, let it be false, let it be against the *extravagans*, let it be condemned, let it be recanted; all this shall be done, if necessary: but this principle will I profess with my dying breath, and will deny all, rather than recant it. For, even if the merits of Christ are a treasury of indulgences, nothing thereby accrues to indulgences themselves: if they are not, nothing is lost; indulgences remain what they were, by what name soever they are honoured or puffed up. Neither am I a worse christian for rejecting indulgences, which he so greatly extols and defends; but if I change this principle of faith, I deny Christ. Thus I believe. Thus I will believe, until the opposing doctrine is proved from the scriptures, and the authorities adduced by me are invalidated; which has not yet been done, and (with God's aid) never shall be done.

“Thus far,” he adds after a short digression, “we proceeded upon the first day, that is, these two objections were raised. I requested a day for deliberation, and withdrew. For I did not see

any advantage in controversy, so long as he, sitting in the place of the pontiff, desired me to receive whatever he might deem just, while, on the other hand, whatever I rejoined was hissed, exploded, yea, laughed to scorn, even if I adduced the holy scriptures. For I am omitting to state, that he endeavoured to exalt the authority of the pope, above both the scriptures and councils, alleging the case of the pope's having abrogated the council of Basil. When, in reply, I cited the appeal of the university of Paris, '*Videbunt poenas suas,*' was his answer. Finally, I know not how many of *Gerson's* followers he condemned; for I had brought up the council of Basil, or certainly *Gerson*, (in the resolutions,) which greatly moved him.

"In short, that fatherly kindness, so often promised to your highness, consisted in this, that I must either suffer violence, or recant; for he said that he was unwilling to dispute with me. It therefore seemed advisable to rejoin in writing; which mode affords certainly this solace to the oppressed, that it can be examined by the judgment of others, and that it sometimes conveys a degree of conscience and fear to such as at other times have the advantage in verbal controversy.

"On the next day, therefore, I returned, accompanied by the reverend father vicar *John Staupitz*, who had in the mean time arrived, and with four distinguished men, senators of his imperial majesty, began, in the presence of a notary, whom I had brought with me, to protest that I was not willing at this, or any future time, to utter aught against the doctrine of the holy Roman church, and that I was ready, if in any thing I had erred, to be instructed and led, submitting my opinions to the supreme pontiff, and then to the four universities of Basil, Freyburg, Louvain, and (if this was not enough) likewise to the very parent of learning, the university of Paris; as is shown by the schedule of my protestation.

"In derision of this determination, he again began to advise me to return to a sound mind and acknowledge the truth; said that he was desirous that I should be again reconciled to the church and the supreme pontiff, and the like, as if I had been declared a heretic, apostate and excommunicate. When, however, I promised to reply, not orally, but by writing, and suggested that it had been sufficiently battled between us on the day before; he seized in a vehement manner upon this word *battled* (*digladiatum*) and said, smiling, 'I have not battled with thee, my son, nor do I wish to battle with thee, but to admonish, and at the instance of the illustrious prince Frederic, to hear thee in a paternal and benignant manner;' that is (as I was forced to understand it) to urge to nothing but recantation.

In the mean time, as I was silent, the reverend lord vicar arose, and (as I had requested) begged that he would hear me in writing,

which at length we obtained with difficulty. For he would not consent to a public disputation; he refused also to argue with me in private, and until that hour he had rejected all reply in writing, pressing the single matter of recantation.

“Returning the third time, I offered answers in writing to two objections, concerning which he uttered many vain words, as he now writes, saying that I had replied in a most senseless manner, filling the paper with irrelevant citations of scripture, and that he had given their true meaning. When, however, I declared that I stood to it that the *extravagans* said, that Christ by his passion had acquired a treasure for his church, he instantly seized the writing, read it, and alighted on the word *acquisivit*, at the same time dissembling that he had so done. At length he said, rising,

“‘Depart, and either recant, or never return into my sight.’ I therefore withdrew, believing firmly that I should never dare to return, since I had more strongly resolved never to recant, unless better instructed. I omit to mention a rumour that permission was given by the Father General, for me to be apprehended, and put in irons, unless I recanted. I remained nevertheless in Augsburg that day; it was Friday.

“Let your highness now judge what more I should have done, or ought now to do. In the face of so many dangers of life and death; in opposition to the advice of all my friends, I made my appearance, when even now they acknowledge that I was under no obligation to appear; and then rendered an account of my doctrines before the most reverend lord legate. I might with rightful liberty have answered in a single word, that I would enter into no examination; especially since my resolutions had been presented and made known to the supreme pontiff, so that the cause no longer pertained to me, except that I should await my sentence. For I had rested in the decision of the church, transferring it from myself, yet out of veneration towards the most reverend legate, I endured a still further examination. I was not deceitful, but evaded violence from most just apprehension. I think I have omitted nothing but the six letters *REVOCO\**.

“Wherefore, illustrious prince, lest, on my account, any evil should befall your highness, (which is most remote from my intention,) I leave your dominions, to go whithersoever the merciful God pleases, committing myself to his divine will in every event. For there is

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“Das weiss ich, dass ich der allerangenehmst und liebste wäre, wenn ich diess einig Wort spräche: *revoco*, das ist: ich wiederrufe. Aber ich will nicht zu einem Ketzler werden mit dem Widerspruch der Meinung, durch welche ich bin zu einem Christen worden; *ehe will ich sterben, verbrannt, vertrieben und vermaledeyet werden.*”—*Ep. 85. to Carlstadt.*

nothing I desire less than that any mortal (not to say your highness) should on my account incur either malice or danger.

“Wherefore, illustrious prince, I reverently bid farewell to your highness, and heartily salute you, rendering perpetual thanks for all your favours towards me. In whatever region of the earth I may be, I shall never be unmindful of your highness, but shall always pray sincerely and gratefully for the happiness of you and yours.”—  
*Ep. 95.*

We are bound, however, to remember that it is not a biography of Martin Luther which is now attempted, but simply a notice of his correspondence; we shall, therefore, pursue no further the chronological order of his epistles, but remark, in a desultory manner, upon some of the striking points of character which are illustrated in these volumes. From the extracts already made, we find ample reasons for retaining the opinion which has been universally received, of the imperturbable resolution and heroic intrepidity of this Christian champion. To form a proper estimate of this, it must never be forgotten that the authority of the papal court was at this time unquestioned, and the anathemas of the pontiff invested with an awful sanctity. It was long after this that Luther was clearly convinced of the futility of ecclesiastical denunciations. He distinguished, indeed, between the pope and the court of Rome, but was still in the dark with respect to the real presence, the authority of councils, the doctrines of penance and purgatory, and the invocation of saints. As late as 1522, he holds such language as this concerning the last mentioned point.

“On the worship of the saints, I am surprised to find that the world is still solicitous that I should make public my opinions. I desire that this inquiry should be untouched, simply because it is unnecessary, and will move many questions, as Paul says, without end. It is the work of Satan to draw us away from faith and charity by superfluous and unnecessary debates, that he may, in an unperceived way, insinuate new sects and heresies. It is unwise to labour in unimportant matters, to the neglect of those which are necessary. The invocation of saints will fall of itself, without any efforts of ours, whenever it shall appear to be useless, and Christ shall be left alone upon Mount Tabor. It is just in this manner that such worship has ceased with me. I know not how or when I desisted from prayer to the saints, having become satisfied with Christ and God the Father alone. Therefore I cannot approve those who absolutely condemn such as worship the saints.”—  
*Ep. 403.*

With all these remains of ignorance, he was still undaunted in his opposition to whatever he plainly saw to be corrupt or

false. He was equally bold in speaking of his temporal as of his spiritual superior. To *Spalatin*, who was a courtier as well as an ecclesiastic, he wrote, June 1516, "there are many things pleasing to your prince (the elector) and dazzling to his eyes, which are displeasing and abominable in the sight of God. Not that I would deny that he is the wisest of men in secular pursuits, but in those which pertain to God, and the salvation of souls, I consider him almost seven times blind." What must have been thought of the man who, as early as 1520, could thus address the pontiff:

"Therefore, Leo, my father, beware how you lend an ear to those sirens, who represent you as something more than mere man, as having some divine mixture, so as to command and enforce whatever you will. It will not be so, nor can you prevail. You are the servant of servants, and, beyond all mankind, placed in a station wretched and perilous. Be not deceived by those who feign that you are lord of the world, who allow none to be a Christian without your authority, and who prate concerning your power in heaven, hell, and purgatory\*."—*Ep.* 264.

This confidence was far removed from unthinking temerity. It was deeply founded in the conviction, that as he was bound to surrender all to God, so God would preserve and deliver him as long as he chose to use his services.

"I am," says he, in the year 1518, to his friend *Link*, "like Jeremiah, a man of strife and a man of contentions, daily vexing the Pharisees with what they call new doctrines. But as I am conscious that I teach only the purest theology, so I have long ago anticipated that it would be to the righteous Jews a stumbling-block, and to the wise Greeks, foolishness. Yet I hope that I am a debtor to Jesus Christ, who says, it may be, to me also, *I will show him how great things he must suffer for my name's sake.* The more they rage, the greater is my trust; my family is provided for, my possessions, house, and substance are disposed of; my fame and glory is already torn to pieces. All that remains is this frail and broken body, which if they take away, they may make me poorer by one or two hours of life, but cannot take away my soul. I sing with John Reuchlin, 'he who is poor, fears nothing, can lose nothing, but is settled in good hope, for he hopes to gain.'—I know that the

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\* "Darumb, Mein H. Vater L., wollist je nit hören deine sussen Ohrensinger, die do sagen: du seyest nit ein lauter Mensch, sondern gemischt mit Gott, der alle Ding zu gebieten und zu foddern habe. Es wird nit so geschehen; du wirst auch nit ausführen, &c." This specimen of Luther's antique German may serve to entertain philologists.

genius of the word of Christ has been this from the beginning, that he who is willing to bear it in the world, must, like the apostles, do so, abandoning all things, and living every hour in expectation of death. If it were not so, it would not be the word of Christ. It was purchased by death, published by death, maintained by death, and now must be preserved by means of death."—*Ep.* 73.

This was the same contempt of danger which had led him to say, in the year 1516, when the plague was raging at Erfurt, "you advise me and brother Bartholomew to take our flight to you. Whither shall I fly? I hope that the world is not in danger of perishing, even though brother Martin should perish. If the plague make progress, I shall disperse the brethren in all directions; as to myself, being placed here under obedience, it is not lawful for me to fly, unless commanded by the same duty. Not that I am above the fear of death, (for I am not the apostle Paul, but only a student of the apostle Paul) but I trust that from this fear the Lord will deliver me." In a subsequent epistle, numbered clxv., he expresses his firm conviction, that although weaker Christians might fly from pestilence, it was the duty of ministers of the gospel to abide with the flock.

Many anecdotes might be related which exemplify the same fearless spirit. In the year 1525 a Polish Jew was despatched to Wittemberg, with the promise of two thousand gold pieces, on condition that he should procure the death of Luther by poison. He was discovered, with his accomplices. The event is thus coolly mentioned in a letter to Spalatin. "You will learn to-morrow what you have desired to hear, that the Jewish prisoners who were seeking to poison me, would perhaps have revealed the names of those by whom they were employed. As however they would not do this voluntarily, I was not willing that they should be put to the torture, but procured their discharge, although I am very certain that this is the person concerning whom my friends warned me, as all the marks agree."

It was the fervour of unfeigned piety which was, in this holy man, the moving principle; a piety which breathes in all his correspondence, and in some instances with an engaging simplicity which goes at once to the heart. His childlike trust in God, his love for the body of Christ, his unconditional self-dedication, his jealousy for the honour of pure religion, make his confidential writings a treasury of instruction for the private Christian. He writes thus to the provincial of his order, *John Staupitz*, for whom he entertained a filial reverence :



“The case is serious; Christ himself seems to suffer. Even if heretofore it was right to be silent and concealed, yet now when the blessed Saviour who gave himself for us is made a reproach throughout the whole world, shall we not contend for him? Shall we not lay down our necks for him? My father, the danger is greater than many suppose. Here the Gospel begins to apply, *whosoever shall confess me before men, &c.* Let me be accused as proud, avaricious, an adulterer, a murderer, an anti-pope, as guilty of all crimes, but of impious silence let me never be accused, while our Lord suffers and says, *I looked upon my right hand, and beheld, but there was no man that would know me;* I write the more earnestly to you because I greatly fear that you hang in neutrality between Christ and the pope, although you see them to be in the greatest degree opposed to one another. Let us therefore pray that the Lord Jesus would destroy this son of perdition with the breath of his mouth.”—*Ep.* 291. *Feb.* 9, 1521.

There could be no situation more likely to afford temptations to pride than that in which Luther was placed, surrounded by multitudes who regarded him as their great spiritual leader and defender. He was nevertheless enabled to inculcate the duty of humility upon others, and to practise it himself:

“I wrote to the prince respecting your case, but your letters were not pleasing to me, savouring of I know not what spiritual presumption. Do not glory in your readiness to do and suffer many things for the word. Let him who thinketh he standeth take heed lest he fall. You have not yet grappled with death; the thing is not so easy, however easy it may be to talk about it. Walk in fear and self-contempt, and pray the Lord that he would work all in you, that of yourself you may do nothing, but rest in Christ, (*sis sabbatum Christo.*)”—*Ep.* 395. *To Zwilling, May* 1522.

“It is the infelicity of this most wretched life, that our admirers and friends are the more injurious, the more nearly they are attached to us. The favour of God recedes, in proportion as the favour of man approaches. For God is either our sole friend, or not at all. The evil is increased by this, that if you abase yourself, and refuse applause and honour, by so much the more are you pursued by applause and honour, that is to say, by danger and perdition. O how much more salutary are the hatred and calumny of all, than their praise and love!”—*Ep.* 28.

“When therefore I gave a universal challenge,” he says in accounting to the bishop of Brandenburg for his attack upon indulgences, “and still no one came forward in reply, and I saw my disputations spreading more widely than I had desired, and regarded everywhere, not as disputable, but as asserted positions; I was forced,

contrary to my wishes and intentions, to expose my puerility and ignorance to the world, and to publish the proofs of these faults, esteeming it better even to incur the disgrace of unskilfulness, than to suffer those to err, who perhaps suppose that my propositions were asserted as undoubted truths"—“Had not these things been so, I should never have been known beyond my own corner.”—*Ep.* 66. 1518.

No fault has been more frequently charged upon Luther than the harshness and virulence of his controversial works, and the keenness of his language, approaching often to vituperation. The temper of the man, the spirit of the age, and the high provocation which impelled him, must be regarded in judging of this charge. That hardihood in projecting, inflexibility in conduct, and constancy in execution, which made him the powerful defender of the truth, were united, as they must be in almost every individual of choleric temperament, with occasional manifestations of abruptness, impetuosity and violence of passion. Such a soul, in the course of energetic operation, could not so readily brook the opposition of malice and imposture, as the more gentle spirit of such an one as Melancthon. The controversies of the day, moreover, were not conducted with the studied deference and decorum which public sentiment now demands. If there was a fault in the asperity of Luther's writings, it was the fault of the age, and he is by no means an unhappy exception, standing out amidst a host of refined and courtly combatants. He felt himself pressed in spirit to unmask the imposture of a system which was leading its thousands to perdition. His whole soul was in a glow of ardent zeal, which suffered not a thought to be expended upon the courtesies of life. He could not pause to adjust his expressions, when his business was to pluck brands from the burning. There was, besides, not a little design in his adopting this style of controversy, as will appear from the following extracts:

“Almost all condemn my acrimony, but my own opinion, like yours, is that in this very manner God is probably pleased to discover the impostures of men. For I observe that, in our age, those things which are gently handled presently fall into oblivion, no one regarding them. The present age judges amiss; posterity will form a more just opinion. Paul, likewise, denominates his opposers, ‘dogs,’ ‘concision,’ ‘vain speakers,’ ‘false workers,’ ‘ministers of Satan,’ and the like, and reviles to his face the ‘whited wall.’”—*Ep.* 251. *To Wenceslaus Link*, 1520.

“Erasmus,” says he in another place, “thinks that all matters

are to be discussed courteously, and with a certain polite kindness; but *Behemoth* cares not for this, and is no whit the better thereby."—*Ep.* 337. 1521.

It is not to be dissembled that there is frequently manifested in the productions of this reformer a fierceness which seems scarcely compatible with Christian charity. Yet when we come to take a survey of his whole character and life as developed in his most confidential effusions, we are convinced that he has been grossly misapprehended. Towards whatever he deemed erroneous or sinful, he knew not how to be tolerant; but it must be firmly denied by all who are conversant with the general tenor of his feelings, that there was in him any destitution of forbearance, meekness, and even tenderness of heart. He was as ready to forgive, as he had been to offend; he was often precipitate in his very confessions, and he never withheld the tear of sympathy from the afflicted. Among the charges brought against him, he was never accused of conniving at persecution. In this respect he was singularly elevated above his contemporaries. What can be more sweetly consolatory than this word of Christian advice to a bereaved husband, whom he had never before known?

“Remember the words of Job, *The Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away, blessed be the name of the Lord*; and thus shall your Grace sing praise to a true and living God, who gave you so faithful and dear a consort, and has now taken her again. She was his before he gave her to you; she was still his, after he had given her to you; she is no less his, now that he has taken her away, as we all are his. Therefore when he causes grief, and takes from us what is his own, the heart should take still higher comfort in his most excellent will, than in all his gifts. For how immeasurably is God better than all his gifts! So that it is even in this case better to abide his will, than to possess the best and noblest wife.”

The *naïveté* and childlike simplicity of the original German is lost in this version, yet it shows a heart not inaccessible to the gentlest emotions. And even in controversy, Luther often sighed for peace. “I wrote” says he, “to Erasmus, wishing for peace and concord, and desiring the end of this pompous tragedy. In this I pray that you may concur, if you have any influence. There has been on both sides enough of conflict and contempt; at last there ought to be some place for Christ, some yielding of Satan to the Holy Spirit.”—*Ep.* 593. *To Oecolampadius.*

In close connexion with the interests of vital piety, the early

reformers always placed those of genuine learning. Of the latter there was scarcely a semblance in the Romish church at the time that Luther arose. The influence of such men as Petrarch, D'Ailly, Clemange, Valla, Reuchlin and Erasmus, had been as yet felt only in their own circumscribed spheres. In the schools of philosophy, the whole strength of the intellect was concentrated upon the puerilities of the scholastic logic. As has been observed, the assault was early made upon this citadel. Let us hear the sentiments of Luther upon the subject, as addressed to his friend Spalatin, in 1518:

“ You inquire how far I consider dialectics useful to the theologian; in truth I see not how dialectics can fail to be injurious to the genuine theologian. Grant that the study may perhaps be important as an entertainment or exercise for juvenile minds; still in sacred learning, where simple faith and divine illumination are sought for, the whole of syllogistic argument is to be abandoned; as Abraham, when about to sacrifice, left the lads with the asses. This is what John Reuchlin affirms fully in the second book of his *Cabbala*, that if any dialectic discipline is needed, that natural, innate reason may suffice, whereby man compares belief with belief, and thus concludes upon the truth. I have often conferred with my friends, as to the amount of profit which appeared to have accrued to us from such anxious pursuit of philosophy and dialectics, and truly we have with one accord wondered at and lamented the lot which befel our minds, in finding no utility, but an ocean of mischief. If therefore you will confide in my judgment, whatever dialectics may otherwise profit you, in theology they will be injurious. I have attended to the discipline and rules of scholastic theology, but when I endeavoured to apply them to the holy scriptures and the ecclesiastical fathers, I have shrunk back alarmed as from tartarean confusion.”—*Ep.* 72.

There seems therefore to be some correctness in the remarks of *Stäudlin*, upon the character of Luther's systematic theology, although he scarcely does justice to the views of the reformer. “Luther,” says he, “reformed the church rather than theology, and wrote more for the necessities of the times than for science and system. He acquired the philosophical, exegetical and historical knowledge which he needed, in order to undermine the papacy, and raise another structure, and introduced this kind of knowledge also among his followers. He operated, in other respects, far more by means of genius, sound understanding and eloquence, than of profound and extensive learning and accomplishment. As he excluded *philosophy* wholly from theology, and made faith of divine origin,

the central point of his system and his whole religious and theological views, he had no recourse to scientific and recondite divinity\*.”

In the great work of translating and expounding the scriptures he exhibited a depth of research, and a justness of apprehension which may well astonish those who consider how he was oppressed with public labours. In his commentaries, he treats with contempt the ancient anagogical and tropological method of interpretation, and pursues the simple and safer path adopted in modern times. He was led in the commencement of these studies to appreciate the importance of the original languages of scripture, and espoused with zeal the cause of the persecuted Reuchlin. In 1518 he concerted with Spalatin a plan for the introduction of these branches into the University of Wittemberg, and his subsequent correspondence with this friend is enriched with innumerable discussions of exegetical difficulties. His accuracy in translation was truly wonderful, when we reflect upon the rapidity with which he laboured. He even went so far as to procure specimens of all the precious stones which could in any way aid him in the version of the names of ancient gems. The sentence in Gen. ii. 18, remained long unfinished until his fastidious taste could determine between the expressions *neben ihm*, *für ihn*, and *umb ihn*. His first proposal to translate the New Testament was made December 18th, 1521. On the 13th of January 1522, he thus writes to Amsdorf :

“I am translating the scriptures, though I have undertaken a work above my strength. I now see what it is to interpret, and why it has hitherto been attempted by no one who was willing to give his name. I dare not attempt the Old Testament, unless with your presence and assistance. If it were possible for me to have a private chamber with you, I would come at once, and translate the whole from the beginning, that there might be a version deserving the perusal of Christians : for I hope that we shall present a better one to our Germany than the Latins possess. This work is great, and deserves the labours of us all, since it is for the public, and for human salvation.—*Ep.* 357.

In March he writes that Matthew is completed; in April that he has proceeded as far as John; in July that the work is half done, and finally, that the New Testament was fully completed on the 21st of September 1522.

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\* Stäudlin Geschichte der Theol. Wissenschaften. Vol. I, p. 154.

In the meantime he was far from undervaluing general and polite learning:

"I am persuaded, that without the accomplishments of literature, pure theology cannot be sustained; as up to the present time it has in a lamentable manner fallen and languished, whenever this has been the case with letters. But I observe that there has never been made any signal revelation of the word of God, for which the way was not prepared by the revival of languages and letters as its precursors. Nothing is further, indeed, from my wishes, than that our youth should neglect poetry and rhetoric. My desire certainly is that as many as possible should become poets and rhetoricians, since by these studies, as by no others, men are wonderfully fitted both to receive, and in a dexterous and felicitous manner to handle sacred truth. Wherefore I pray you, that in my name (if it avails any thing) you would urge your youth to apply themselves vigorously to poetry and eloquence. I frequently lament that on account of the times and the state of society, I have no leisure for poets and orators. I had purchased Homer that I might become a Grecian.—*Ep.* 478. *To Eobanus Hess*, 1523.

It was the same conviction of the importance of human learning which led him to say to a correspondent, some months after, "I pray you that you would urge upon those around you the cause of education. For I see that the greatest ruin is impending over the gospel, if the education of boys is neglected. This thing is of all others the most necessary."—*Ep.* 596.

The following parts of letters, taken almost *ad aperturam libri*, are introduced for the single purpose of exhibiting this interesting man in the amiable character of an ordinary friend.

"MAY 26, 1522.

"*To Philip Melancthon, Theologian, Doctor of the Church of Wittemberg, my dear brother in Christ.*—I am reluctantly answering James Latomus, for I had composed my mind for quiet study, yet I perceive it to be necessary that I should reply to him. To this is added the wearisome task of reading what is written in so bad and prolix a manner. I had determined to give in German the expositions of the epistles and gospels, but you have not sent the printed discourses.

"I send the psalm (68th) sung upon those festivals, which if you judge it proper, you may print, dedicating it to whom you will,—provided that the types are unemployed. If you think otherwise, present it to my friends, and give it to Christian Aurifaber or Amsdorf to be perused.

"I rejoice that Lupinus [Radhemius] has had a happy departure

out of this life, in which I would that we also lived no longer. So great is the wrath of God, which every day I deliberately observe more and more, that I am in doubt whether, with the exception of infants, he will preserve any from that kingdom of Satan : for thus hath our God departed from us. Yet his decease has affected me not a little, beholding that passage of Isaiah—*The righteous perisheth and no man layeth it to heart, and merciful men are taken away, none considering, &c.*

“The recent marriage of Feldkirch fills me with surprise, since he fears nothing, and is so expeditious even amidst these tumults. The Lord direct him, and mingle satisfaction with his bitter herbs ; which indeed will take place without my prayers. I am disappointed because your *Methodus* [Loci theologici] has not been received, as far as it is printed. I wish to know who reigns in my pulpit ; and whether Amsdorf still slumbers and indulges. The Lord preserve and increase what you mention concerning the prosperity of letters. Amen.

“Beware lest you be disheartened ; sing to the Lord in the night the psalm which is enjoined, I also will sing with you ; only let us be zealous for the word. Let him who is ignorant, be ignorant ; let him who perishes, perish ; for they cannot complain that we have been wanting towards them in duty. Suffer the men of Leipsick to glory, for this is their hour. As for us, it is our part to forsake our country, our kindred, our father's house, and for a season to be separated in a land which we know not. I have not abandoned the hope of seeing you again, yet in such a manner as to leave God to do what is good in his sight. If the pope should assail all who are of my opinion, Germany will not be free from tumult ; and the sooner he attempts it, the sooner shall he and his adherents perish, and I return. God stirs up my mind, and even the hearts of the populace in such a manner, that it seems improbable to me that this thing can be suppressed ; or if it begin to be suppressed, it will be to increase tenfold. Your sadness is my greatest evil ; your joy is mine also. Therefore I salute you in the Lord, to whom you commend me in your intercessions, as I trust ; I also, according to ability, am not unmindful of you. Preserve the church of God, in which the Holy Ghost hath made you bishops, not the images of bishops. Written among the birds sweetly singing in the branches, and praising God day and night, with all their strength\*.”—*Ep.* 321.

The second is a letter to his father, of date November 21, 1521, written upon the occasion of declaring himself free from his monastic vows, and appears to have served as a dedication to his book *De votis monasticis*.

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\* Written during his retreat at Wartburg.

“*Martin Luther to Hans Luther, his beloved father.*—I have inscribed this book to you, my dear father, not that I may make your name renowned through the world, which would be, contrary to the Apostle Paul’s teaching, to seek honour after the flesh, but because I had reasons for presenting to the Christian reader, by a preface, the occasion, the contents, and a specimen of this work. And to begin with this, I will not conceal from you that your son has now gone so far as to be convinced and assured that nothing is to be esteemed more honourable, nothing more spiritual, than the commandment and word of God. But now you will say ‘God help thee, hast thou ever doubted of this, or now learned it for the first time?’ I reply, that I have not only doubted, but have never even been aware that this was taught. And what is more, if you will suffer me, I am ready to make it plain that you also have been in the like ignorance.

“It is now nearly sixteen years since I became a monk, into which state I entered without your knowledge or consent. You entertained much solicitude and fear for my weakness, because I was a youth of twenty-two years, [*ein jung Blut bei 22 Jahrn*] that is, as Austin says, it was yet idle boyhood with me; and you had learned, from many examples, that monkery has made many wretched, and were also desirous for me to enter into an attachment by rich and honourable wedlock. This your fear and anxiety and reluctance proved for a time unalterable, notwithstanding the counsel of all friends, who told you, that when you made an offering to God, you should give him what was dearest and best. God did indeed speak to your heart that verse of the Psalms, *The Lord knoweth the thoughts of man, that they are vanity*, but you hearkened not. At last you yielded, and submitted to the will of God; not, however, laying aside your fear and anxiety. For I still remember but too well, how kind you were towards us again, and that you spoke with me, and that I told you how I had been called from heaven by a dreadful apparition. For I was never willingly or of choice a monk, still less from any sensual motives; but being encompassed with the dread and anguish of impending death, I entered into a forced and reluctant vow. You likewise said, ‘God grant that it be not a deception and diabolical ghost!’ That word, which God probably spake by your mouth, soon penetrated and sunk to the bottom of my soul, but I closed and hardened my heart, as well as I could, against your counsel. There was yet another incident: while I, as a son would do towards a father, deprecated your anger, you were disgusted, and retorted upon me in such a manner that I have scarcely in all my life heard from man’s lips a word which so touched and pierced me. For it was this—‘Ah! hast thou not heard, then, that one should be obedient to his parents?’ I was,



however, entrenched in my own piety, and heard and contemned you as no more than a man. Nevertheless I could never banish that word from my heart. Now, therefore, what think you of it? Will you now rescue me from monkery? For you are still my father, I am still your son, and all these vows are stark naught. On your side is the command and power of God, on my side the trifles of man; for the celibacy, which the papists laud so extravagantly, is nothing without obedience. Celibacy is not commanded, obedience is commanded. Therefore I am now a monk, and at the same time no longer a monk, but a new creature of Christ, not of the pope. For the pope also has his creatures, and is a creator, but only of stocks and idols, like himself, mere masks and puppets. I therefore send you this book, in which you will perceive with how great signs powers and wonders Christ has freed me from the monastic vow, and with how great freedom he has favoured me, making me the servant of all men, and yet subject to none, but to himself alone. For he is alone, so to speak, without the intervention of any, my Bishop, Abbot, Prior, Lord, Father, Master; besides him, I know no other. If the pope should strangle me, and lay me under a curse, and transport me beyond the grave, yet he is unable to raise me up again from the dead, that he may strangle me afresh. As to my banishment and excommunication, my wish is that he should never give me absolution. For I hope that the great day is near, when the kingdom of abomination shall be broken and destroyed. And would to God that we were worthy to be strangled and burnt by the pope, that our blood might cry aloud, and accelerate his judgment, that he might come to an end. As, however, we are not worthy to testify with our blood, so let us leave him to himself, that we may supplicate for mercy, and with our lives and voices declare and witness, that Jesus Christ alone is the Lord our God, blessed for ever. Amen. And until you are saved by Him, dearest father, and my mother Margaret, and all our kindred, receive my greetings in Christ the Lord."—*Ep.* 348.

It only remains to mention very briefly the valuable labours of De Wette in preparing this first complete edition of the correspondence of Luther. The remarks which have been offered above, have principal reference to the first two volumes. Five have already been published, and the work is still unfinished; the original expectation was that it would be comprised in about eight octavo volumes. The statement which follows is in substance that of the editor himself.

None of the preceding collections have embraced all the letters which are extant. Walch indeed gave, in his edition, all those which the earlier works of Aurifaber and Buddens contained; but great additions have since been made by Schütze,

Strobel, and Faber. But after all these attempts, some of the letters already in print, and a multitude of those which exist in manuscript, have been entirely overlooked. De Wette appears to have done all that was possible in order to furnish a complete work, examining the archives of Weimar, the libraries of the universities, and other public and private collections, thus bringing to light more than a hundred epistles before unknown. He has had recourse to the most unexceptionable sources, consulting the autographs or the earliest impressions, in every case, and scrupulously noting the different readings of the text. The letters had so frequently been translated from German into Latin, and *vice versa*, that it became important to determine the original language in which each was written, which has been carefully done, and the ancient orthography and phraseology have been restored.

This work is so arranged as to constitute a copious journal of Luther's life. Each volume is prefaced with a chronological table of the principal events of the period to which it belongs. The strict order of time has been observed in the relative position, and each letter is preceded by a brief but comprehensive introduction and sketch of its contents. The volumes are moreover enriched with a likeness of the reformer, engraved after the portrait by Kranach, his contemporary and friend, and numerous facsimiles of his hand-writing.

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#### REVIEW.

1. *Memoirs of John Frederic Oberlin, Pastor of Waldbach, in the Ban de la Roche. Compiled from authentic sources, chiefly in French and German.* London, 1829. Pp. 352, 5 plates.
2. *The Life of John Frederic Oberlin, Pastor of Waldbach, in the Ban de la Roche. Compiled for the American Sunday School Union, and revised by the Committee of Publication.* Philadelphia, 1830. Pp. 140, 2 lithographic plates.

We are surprised that the abridgment of these "Memoirs," issued by the American Sunday School Union, should be the

only form in which the volume has been republished in this country. The biography of one of the earliest pioneers of the religious enterprise of the age has certainly more than ordinary claims upon the attention of the Christian community. As a stirring proof of what may be effected by the well-directed efforts of a single individual, this narrative speaks loudly to the pastors of every church, who are commonly more disposed to lament over the inadequacy of their powers to their opportunities, than to apportion their energies to the exigence of the times; who, whilst they long for the mission of more labourers into the harvest-field, are apt to neglect to do with their might, whatever lies to their hand.

The original Memoirs are compiled by an anonymous female, from several small narratives in French and German, not known in this country, and from some original papers communicated to her. These authorities and documents are well arranged and connected, and the style of the author, with some inconsiderable exceptions, is quite appropriate and interesting.

The region which the name of Oberlin has drawn from obscurity, is a canton that originally belonged to Germany, and lies buried in the mountains of the north-east border of France, between Alsace and Lorraine. The French call it the Ban de la Roche; their German neighbours the Steinthal. It contains only about nine thousand acres, and is divided into two parishes, the one Rothau, the other comprising the five hamlets of Foudai, Belmont, Waldbach, Bellefosse and Zolbach, the inhabitants of which are almost exclusively of the Lutheran denomination.

Waldbach, the most central village, stands on the Champ de Feu, supposed to have been a volcanic mountain, which is separated from the Vosges range by a deep valley, and rises to the height of three thousand six hundred feet above the sea. The village is about half way up the mountain. The site of the whole district is represented to be highly romantic, though wild and insulated. The summits of the mountain remain covered with snow for a large portion of the year, whilst the valleys, which alone can be cultivated to any advantage, enjoy an Italian atmosphere. The population, so late as 1750, were in a state of comparative barbarism. Secluded in their rude recess from the polished countries adjacent, and deprived of communication by the want of roads, they appear to have surrendered themselves to sloth and ignorance, frequently suf-

fering for want of sustenance on account of their repugnance to agricultural or other labour, and rapidly degenerating to the lowest grade of humanity. They had indeed a minister among them, who, it is probable, was not much above the common level, as it is mentioned that he had been twenty years without a Bible, and his parishioners had no other idea of the volume than that it was "a large book that contained the word of God." Under these circumstances it was of little avail to them, that by the decree which incorporated the district with the kingdom of France, liberty of conscience was guaranteed to them, and the privilege of professing their original Protestant faith: a license, however, of which they afterwards enjoyed the full blessing.

In the year 1750, Mr Stouber, a Lutheran clergyman, undertook the civilization of this forsaken community. It does not appear whence he came, or by what authority, but we conclude he was a voluntary missionary from Strasburg, which lies within a few miles. He found the principal school under the care of a superannuated swine-herd, who professed to teach "nothing," confessing that he "knew nothing himself." The office of schoolmaster, indeed, had fallen into such disesteem, that those who were best qualified for the station, that is, the few who could name the letters, disdained the employment as ignoble. Stouber overcame their scruples by an ingenious expedient. He abolished the illfavoured title of schoolmaster; and instituted that of *messieurs les régents*. By the adoption of this euphemism, instructors, such as they were, were obtained, school-houses were erected, and the parents were prevailed upon to send their children, though at first they viewed the elementary syllables as cabalistic symbols. Their progress, under the supervision of the pastor, was so self-recommendatory, that the elder children, and even some of the parents, emulated their progress, and Stouber was encouraged to establish an adult school, which was taught during part of Sunday, and in the evenings of winter. He cut fifty French Bibles into one hundred and fifty portions, which he bound and distributed. They were received with incredulity and distrust, but soon were generally perused, and found their way into many Roman Catholic families. Stouber was beginning to reap the reward of his labours, when, in 1756, he was removed to another parish; in four years, however, he obeyed a powerful impulse which summoned him back from a comfortable living to the wilderness of the Steinthal, and to the great joy of the villages re-

sumed his office. In 1764 he lost his wife, at the age of twenty; three years afterwards he was called to a church at Strasburg, and upon accepting the invitation, prevailed upon Mr Oberlin to become his successor.

John F. Oberlin was born at Strasburg, of a very respectable family, on the 31st of August 1740. He was one of nine children, who were carefully and well educated by their father himself. Several instances of a very early display of the generosity, philanthropy and amiableness of his disposition are given, which indicate an unusual bent to the law of kindness. He was religiously instructed by his pious mother, and became the subject of conviction in his childhood. These impressions were confirmed by attendance upon the preaching of a Dr Lorentz at Strasburg, after he had become a member of the theological class in the university. At the age of twenty he entered into a formal covenant, on the plan, and nearly in the words, of that recommended by Dr Doddridge in the "Rise and Progress," and solemnly renewed the engagement ten years afterwards, at Waldbach. After his ordination he served seven years as tutor in the family of a distinguished surgeon, where he acquired considerable knowledge of medicine, which he turned to good account in his after-life.

Oberlin had agreed to accept a chaplainship in the French army when he was urged by Mr Stouber to take his place in the Ban. He acceded to his solicitations and removed to Waldbach in March 1767, being then in the 27th year of his age. The condition in which he found his parish, improved as it had been during the ineumbency of his predecessor, is thus described by the biographer.

"They were alike destitute of the means of mental and social intercourse; they spoke a rude *patois*, resembling the Lorraine dialect, and the medium of no external information; they were entirely secluded from the neighbouring districts by the want of roads, which, owing to the devastation of war and decays of population, had been so totally lost, that the only mode of communication, from the bulk of the parish to the neighbouring towns, was across the river Bruehe, a stream thirty feet wide, by stepping-stones, and in winter along its bed; the husbandmen were destitute of the most necessary agricultural implements, and had no means of proeuring them; the provisions springing from the soil were not sufficient to maintain even a scanty population; and a feudal service, more fatal than sterile land and ungenial climate, constantly depressed and irritated their spirits."

He saw the necessity of becoming their civil as well as spiritual leader, and of directing their attention to secure the commonest blessings of social life. His plans were unacceptable to the idle and ignorant part of his people, some of whom even resolved upon personal violence in resisting them. Their designs were only frustrated by his courage and decision, and the conspirators became the foremost of his coadjutors.

In 1768 Oberlin married a young lady of Strasburg, to whose judgment and co-operation he was much indebted in his subsequent enterprises. In his matrimonial, as in all his other projects, he deferred to the will of Providence, and acted only upon what he supposed to be a direct intimation of the Divine will. But his biographer, we are inclined to believe, has done him some injustice in ascribing his conduct, on some previous occasions of the kind, to expectations of interference, which are certainly unwarrantable.

The first active project devised by the new pastor was the cutting of a road to communicate with the main road to Strasburg, by means of which a vent might be found for the commodities of the peasants, and a general intercourse encouraged. The people heard the proposal with amazement, and made every plea to avoid conscription in such an impossible enterprise as it seemed. "Let all" said the undaunted reformer in concluding his proposal of the scheme in a general meeting, "let all who feel the importance of my proposition, come and work with me," throwing at the same time a pick-axe over his shoulder and proceeding to the designated spot. The example was stronger than all his arguments, and he soon had an efficient force.

"He presently assigned to each individual an allotted post, selected for himself and a faithful servant the most difficult and dangerous places; and, regardless of the thorns by which his hands were torn, and of the loose stones by which they were occasionally bruised, went to work with the greatest diligence and enthusiasm. The emulation awakened by his conduct quickly spread through the whole parish. The increased number of hands rendered an increased number of implements necessary; he procured them from Strasburg; expenses accumulated; he interested his distant friends, and, through their assistance, funds were obtained; walls were erected to support the earth, which appeared ready to give way; mountain torrents, which had hitherto inundated the meadows, were diverted into courses, or received into beds sufficient to contain them; perseverance, in short, triumphed over difficulties, and, at the commencement of the year 1770, a

communication was opened with Strasburg, by means of the new road, and a neat wooden bridge thrown across the river. This bridge still bears the name of '*Le Pont de Charitè.*' "

He established, simultaneously with these works, a depository of tools and agricultural implements, to be lent in emergency. He sent the most suitable boys to Strasburg to be instructed in the various useful trades, who on their return exercised their handicrafts and taught their own apprentices. Under his advice and direction they improved their dwellings, which had been generally miserable cabins, hewn out of the rocks or sunk in the mountains. Agriculture had shared the fate of the other arts, and scarcely sufficient ground was cultivated to supply the wants of the population. With his usual tact, Oberlin, instead of inviting new opposition from his parishioners by proposing the systematic tillage of the soil, resolved to give them visible proof of its advantages. With his own hands, assisted by a single servant, he planted in his garden, through which lay a path continually used by the public, and in a soil notorious for its poverty, nurseries of trees, which, under his scientific culture, soon attained a flourishing condition, beyond what had ever been seen in that barren region. The taste was soon diffused; orchards and gardens in time surrounded the cottages, and the face of the country assumed a new aspect. Various grasses and vegetables were introduced by him, and the soil by proper process brought to a fertility which long disuse had diminished. He finally formed an agricultural society, on an extensive and useful plan.

By dint of persevering zeal he succeeded in establishing a school in each of the villages. In promoting his schemes, Oberlin had to encounter every discouragement which the ignorant prejudices of his people could offer; but so soon as the difficulties of the beginning were overcome, he received their hearty concurrence. With funds entirely insufficient for the purpose, he undertook, as a direct act of faith, the erection of suitable school-houses.

"He was convinced," as he often said, "that if he asked for any thing with faith, and it was really right that the thing should take place, it would infallibly be granted to his prayers. When, indeed, are our plans more likely to succeed, than when we enter upon them in humble and simple dependence upon God, whose blessing alone can render them successful?"

Having succeeded in erecting the buildings, the people came

forward voluntarily to assume the expense of conducting the schools.

But his system of education was not yet complete. Whilst the greater portion of the young population were occupied as pupils in the common schools, or preparing to become teachers, the smaller children were left at large. Struck with the waste of time which was thus suffered, he hit upon the expedient of establishing *infant schools*, which became the model of those instituted in Paris, and now in Great Britain and this country. At his own expense he organized an infant school in each commune, appointing two conductresses for each, to instruct the little pupils (who were from the ages of two to eight) in elementary education, and to sew, knit, &c. Their amusements consisted in listening to the recitation of scripture incidents, or illustrations of natural history, accompanied with pictures, in lessons of geography from maps, and singing moral and religious songs. The teachers were particularly careful to correct the barbarous *patois* which they learned from their parents—a tongue more similar to the French language of the twelfth century than to the modern idiom. Whilst the more immediate instruction was delegated to intelligent teachers, Oberlin superintended all the schools, reserving as his peculiar province their religious tuition. In order to do this more effectually, he founded *Sunday schools*, to be held at each village in rotation, where the children assembled at the church to sing the hymns and recite the religious lessons they had committed during the week, and receive the advice of their “dear papa,” the common appellation by which he was addressed by his parishioners. A meeting of all the schools was held weekly at Waldbach, where the systems pursued by the different teachers could be estimated by comparing the proficiency of the pupils.

Oberlin was now enabled to maintain and extend his plans by pecuniary assistance, received from his friends in Strasburg. He accordingly established a library for the children, and a book-society for the adults, had some rudimental works printed for their exclusive use, made a collection of indigenous plants, purchased philosophical apparatus, founded prizes for the emulation of the scholars, wrote and published a useful almanac, &c. The children of twelve or fifteen years of age were taught the principles of agriculture and botany, to domesticate plants, and copy them from nature. The parents



now willingly consented to pay a certain sum for the support of the schools. The children were early taught the duty of contributing their share to the public good; and to impress this upon their minds, they were required, at a certain age, to produce a certificate that they had planted two young trees in a spot laid out for the purpose. In these and all other duties they were urged to act with a supreme regard to religious motives. The example and doctrine of the pastor, in the smallest circumstances, constantly pointed to this; and it is mentioned that he would take a stone out of the road on the principle of love to his neighbour.

In 1782 Oberlin established a religious association under the name of the "Christian Society," the members of which (one hundred and thirty in number) met for prayer, religious conversation and charitable devices. For their use he drew up a number of heads and matters for reflection, and rules for conduct. The opposition to this society, by those to whom its exercises were not congenial, threatened to create so unfortunate a division in the parish, that he felt compelled to dissolve it, after an existence of eighteen months, but not without issuing an address on the occasion, defending its excellence, earnestly urging its opponents to repentance, and requiring that a copy of the rules should be suspended in every cottage. Among these rules was one that every member should, on the first Monday of every month, make the success of missionaries the special object of their prayers; which was in long anticipation of the monthly concert of prayer. There was also the following direction:

"Besides habitual 'watching unto prayer,' every individual, if he be able, shall prostrate himself in mind and body, every Sunday and Wednesday, at five o'clock in the evening, to ask of God, in the name of Jesus Christ—

"1. That every member of this society may be saved, with all his household, and belong to the Lord Jesus Christ.

"2. Every member shall add to the list all the friends of God of his acquaintance, and pray for them.

"3. Every member shall include in his prayer all the children of God, in general, upon all the earth, of whatever religion they may be, supplicating that they may be united more and more in Christ Jesus.

"4. Every member shall pray that the kingdom of Satan may be at length destroyed, and that the kingdom of God, and of our Lord Jesus Christ, may be fully and generally established among the innumerable Pagans, Turks, Jews, and nominal Christians.

“5. Every member shall pray for school-masters, superiors, and pious magistrates, of whatever name or rank they may be.

“6. For faithful pastors, and male and female labourers in the vineyard of the Lord Jesus, who, being themselves devoted to his service, desire, above all things, to bring many other souls to him.

“7. For the youth, that God may preserve them from the seducing influence of bad example, and lead them to the knowledge of our gracious Redeemer.

“Every Saturday evening all the members shall ask God to bless the preaching of his Holy Word on the morrow.”

In 1784 an overwhelming affliction befel the pastor in the sudden decease of his amiable wife, leaving him with seven children. To this, after the first uncontrollable anguish, he offered the most exemplary resignation. It had been the subject of his prayers that the interval between their deaths should be short, and it now became one of his most cherished desires “that the world in which God would re-unite him to his beloved wife would soon open to him.” He had experienced all his life, he says in one of his papers, “a desire, occasionally a very strong one, to die, owing, in some degree, to the consciousness of my moral infirmities, and of my frequent derelictions.” “Millions of times,” he says again, “have I besought God to enable me to surrender myself with entire and filial submission to his will, either to live or to die: and to bring me into such a state of resignation, as neither to wish, nor to say, nor to do, nor to undertake any thing, but what He, who alone is wise and good, sees to be best.” That he knew how to estimate properly the influence of affliction on the heart of a Christian is evident from the subjoined illustration, contained in a letter written to a lady suffering under several successive bereavements:

“I have before me two stones, which are in imitation of precious stones. They are both perfectly alike in colour; they are of the same water, clear, pure, and clean; yet there is a marked difference between them, as to their lustre and brilliancy. One has a dazzling brightness, while the other is dull, so that the eye passes over it, and derives no pleasure from the sight. What can be the reason of such a difference? It is this. The one is cut but in a few *facets*; the other has ten times as many. These *facets* are produced by a very violent operation! it is requisite to cut, to smooth, and polish. Had these stones been endued with life, so as to have been capable of feeling what they underwent, the one which has received eighty *facets* would have thought itself very unhappy, and would have envied the fate of the other, which, having received but eight, had un-

dergone but a tenth part of its sufferings. Nevertheless, the operation being over, it is done for ever: the difference between the two stones always remains strongly marked; that which has suffered but little, is entirely eclipsed by the other, which alone is held in estimation, and attracts attention. May not this serve to explain the saying of our Saviour, whose words always bear some reference to eternity: 'Blessed are they that mourn, for they shall be comforted?' Blessed, whether we contemplate them apart, or in comparison with those who have not passed through so many trials. Oh! that we were always able to cast ourselves into his arms, like little children—to draw near to him, like helpless lambs—and ever to ask of him, patience, resignation, an entire surrender to his will; faith, trust, and a heartfelt obedience to the commands which he gives to those who are willing to be his disciples. 'The Lord God will wipe away tears from off all faces.'—Isa. xxv. 8."

The care of his family now devolved on Louisa Schepler, a pious orphan, who had been eight years a member of his household, and one of the most active and useful of the infant school conductresses, in which service she had impaired her health by unsparing exposure to the severity of the winters. The spiritual and practical piety of this woman, her life of active and modest usefulness, and her sacrifices in the cause of religious philanthropy, render her name worthy of record in company with the most venerated characters in female biography. The same eulogy may be bestowed on several others of her sex in the Steinthal, whose lives furnish models of female usefulness.

The subjoined extract from the journal of a French gentleman who visited Waldbach in 1793, furnishes an interesting picture of the pastor at home:

"During the space of nearly thirty years, in which Mr Oberlin has been Christian pastor of this canton, he has completely changed it. The language is, from an unintelligible *patois*, altered into pure French; the manners of the people, without degenerating, are civilized; and ignorance is banished without injuring the simplicity of their character. Many of the women belonging to his parishes, trained for the purpose under his parental care and instruction, (and called *conductrices*,) assist him in his occupations. They teach reading, writing, and the elements of geography, in the different villages where they reside; and through their medium the children are instructed in many necessary things, but, above all, have the seeds of religion and morality sown in their hearts. The excellence of these schools is so well established and appreciated, that girls of the middle ranks are sent to him from distant parts, and the

title of a scholar of pastor Oberlin is no less than a testimonial of piety, cleverness, and gentle manners. His countenance is open, affectionate, and friendly, and bears a strong impress of benevolence. His conversation is easy, flowing, and full of imagination, yet always adapted to the capacity of those to whom he is speaking. In the evening we accompanied him a league on his way back to Waldbach. We had a wooded hill to ascend; the sun was just setting, and it was a beautiful evening. 'What sweet thoughts and pious sentiments you have uttered, during this interesting walk,' said Mr Oberlin, in a tone of confidence; for he considered us as friends to religion, and servants of God. Our hearts were indeed in unison; and he related to us the circumstances of his past life, and spoke of his views and ideas, and the fear and love of God, in a most touching manner. Sometimes we stood still to admire the beauties of nature, and at others to listen with earnest attention to his impressive discourse. One moment was particularly affecting; when, stopping about half way up the hill, he answered in the softest tone to our question—'Ja ich bin glücklich,' ('yes, I *am* happy.') These words are seldom uttered by an inhabitant of this world, and they were so delightful from the mouth of one who is a stranger to all the favours of fortune—to all the allurements of luxury—and who knows no other joys than those which religion and benevolence impart, that we longed to live like him, that we might also participate in the same happiness.

"The moon rose in all her majesty, and night drew on, before we recollected that the time to return was approaching; when pastor Oberlin exclaimed, 'If five years are necessary to bring a ray of light from Sirius to this world, though travelling at the rate of twelve millions of milés in a minute, how much swifter must the communications of spirits be! (Dan. ix. 21.) What is so swift as thought?' and he then imaged to us the facility with which he apprehended we should approach one another in a future state.

"The following morning we set off to return the visit which he had paid us on the preceding day. We found the worthy pastor in his morning gown; it was plain, but whole and clean. He was just on the point of concluding a lecture; his pupils had, like their master, something soft, indeed almost heavenly, in their look.

"The house stands well, and has, from the garden side, a romantic view; in every part of it that kind of *elegance*, which is the result of order and cleanliness, prevails. The furniture is simple; yet it suggests to you that you are in the residence of no ordinary man; the walls are covered with maps, drawings and vignettes, and texts of scripture are written over all the doors. That above the dining-room door is, 'Blessed are they which do hunger and thirst after righteousness: for they shall be filled.' And over the others

are texts enjoining love to God and our neighbour. The good man implicitly follows the divine command to write them over the door-posts\*. On our first entrance he gave us, each, as a welcome, a printed text, 'Abide in me, and I in you,' 'Seek those things which are above,' &c. His study is a peculiar room, and contains rather a well-chosen, than numerous, selection of books in French and German, chiefly for youth. The walls are covered with engravings, portraits of eminent characters, plates of insects and animals, and coloured drawings of minerals and precious stones; it is, in short, literally papered with useful pictures relative to natural history and other interesting subjects.

"The dinner commenced with a blessing. His children, two maids, and a girl who receives her instruction there, were at the table; there was a remarkable expression of softness in all their countenances.

"Oberlin has a peculiarly happy method of improving occurrences, under the form of similes; and we are mistaken in supposing him a mystic. 'The gospel,' said he, 'is my standard. I should be afraid of trusting myself alone without it.' He then related to us many of the difficulties he had to encounter, and the sacrifices he had to make, at the commencement of his career in the Ban de la Roche. 'But now,' continued he, checking himself, 'let me observe, it is as great a fault to talk of our own virtues as of the faults of others.'

"It is surprising to witness the sound sense, refinement, and superiority of mind, evinced by these simple peasants; the very servants are well-educated, and are clothed with that child-like spirit, which is one of the truest tests of real religion. One of them, who is a widow, made many good remarks to us on the duties of married life. 'In order to introduce and preserve domestic peace,' said she, 'let us turn to Him who is peace.'

'I am writing this at his table, whilst he is busy preparing leather gloves for his peasant children. His family are around him, engaged in their different avocations; his eldest son, Frederic, is giving a lesson to some of the little ones, in which amusement and instruction are judiciously blended; and *cher papa*, without desisting from his employment, frequently puts in a word. He took me this morning into his work-shop, where there is a turner's lathe, a press, a complete set of carpenter's tools, also a printing-press, and one for book-binding. I assisted him in colouring a quire of paper, which is intended for covers of school-books. He gives

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\* See Deut. vi. 6, 7, 8, 9, and xi. 18, 19, 20.

scarcely any thing to his people but what has been, in some measure, prepared by his own or his children's hands.

"He will never leave this place. A much better living was once offered to him—'No,' said he, 'I have been ten years learning every head in my parish, and obtaining an inventory of their moral, intellectual and domestic wants; I have laid my plan. I must have ten years to carry it into execution, and the ten following to correct their faults and vices.'

"Pastor Oberlin is too modest and generous not to bear testimony to the worth of his predecessor, who had begun to clear this wilderness, and to raise the superstructure, which he has so beautifully completed.

"Yesterday, I found him encircled by four or five families who had been burnt out of their houses; he was dividing amongst them articles of clothing, meat, assignats, books, knives, thimbles, and coloured pictures for the children, whom he placed in a row according to their ages, and then left them to take what they preferred. The most perfect equality reigns in his house; children, servants, boarders, are all treated alike; their places at table change, that each in turn may sit next to him, with the exceptions of Louisa, his housekeeper, who of course presides, and his two maids, who sit at the bottom of the table. As it is his custom to salute every member of his family, night and morning, these two little maids come very respectfully curtseying to him, and he always gives them his hand and inquires after their health, or wishes them good night. All are happy, and appear to owe much of their happiness to him. They seem to be ready to sacrifice their lives to save his. The following reply was made by one of his domestics, on his questioning her about her downcast looks during some trivial indisposition: 'I fear, dear papa, there will be no servants in heaven, and that I shall lose the happiness of waiting upon you.'

"Oberlin appears to be looking forward to his eternal home with holy confidence and joyful hope."

The biographer adds:

"The following are specimens of the texts referred to in the preceding letter. They were printed by Oberlin himself. He always kept a large supply of them, and distributed thousands and tens of thousands of them to his friends and visitors, often writing a few appropriate words on the back of the paper, or some short sentence expressive of his affectionate remembrance.

"Ma mère et mes frères sont ceux qui écoutent la parole de Dieu, et la mettent en pratique.—Luc. viii. 21.

"Et veillons les uns sur les autres, afin de nous exciter à la charité, et aux bonnes œuvres.—Hébreux x. 24.

“ Sometimes, instead of a text a few verses were inscribed on the cards.

“ Mon Dieu ! pour être heureux !  
 Tu me mis sur la terre.  
 Tu sais bien mieux que moi,  
 Quels sont mes vrais besoins ;  
 Le cœur de ton enfant  
 S'en rapporte à tes soins ;  
 Donne moi les vertus,  
 Qu'il me faut pour te plaire.”

“ Oberlin's house was, as the writer of the preceding letter remarks, literally papered with pictures, inscriptions, verses from the Bible, and directions for missionary and other prayers; and on the door of one of them the Moravian text-book was fastened. The inscription placed on that of another will give some idea of the cordial and warm reception with which he always greeted his visitors, and formed, indeed, throughout, the law by which they were governed :—

“ ‘ Constante bonté.  
 Douceur ferme.  
 Charité mâle et inaltérable. ’ ”

In 1793 he lost his eldest son in one of the first battles of the French revolution. The religious persecutions attendant upon that event did not extend to the Ban, but the people suffered from the general stagnation of business and the horrors of the times. Oberlin now declined to receive a stated salary, or contribution to the support of the various public institutions, leaving it to those who could afford it to bring to him whatever sums they could spare. The usual pastoral fees he had always refused. “ My people,” he used to say, “ are born, married and buried, free of expense, as far as their clergyman is concerned.” To supply the deficiency thus created he undertook the tutorship of ten or twelve pupils, the sons of foreigners; and he spared a large part of his revenue from this source for the good of the parish. He punctually devoted three tithes of all his receipts to benevolent uses: sharing them amongst the various objects of religious charity and education which required his care. Nor did he confine his liberality to his own limits; he sold the whole of his plate, with the exception of a single spoon, and contributed the proceeds to the French Missionary Society: a cause which had always his warmest support, and in which he at one time would have engaged, by coming to Pennsylvania as a missionary, had

not our revolutionary war prevented his departure. A description of the treatment of slaves in the West Indies so strongly affected his sympathy, that he abandoned for ever the use of sugar and coffee. The following record is a striking instance of his scrupulousness and illimitable benevolence:

“When the assignats lost their value, he feared that this would bring a curse upon France, and diminish the confidence that the people ought to have in the government. Convinced that it behoved every individual to use his utmost endeavours, as far as his influence or means extended, to prevent such a calamity, (leaving it to God to bless the example,) he made a public sale every year of agricultural implements and other useful articles amongst his parishioners, or rather offered them in exchange for assignats. By this means he managed to redeem, in the space of twenty-five years, all the assignats of the Ban de la Roche, and of some of its environs.

“I possess one of these assignats purchased by Oberlin. It is dated Waldbach, May 9, 1798, and has this superscription upon it in his own handwriting:

“‘Ainsi graces à Dieu ma nation est encore déchargée d’une manière honnête de cette obligation de 125 francs.’

“He gave texts of scripture, as a receipt for the assignats, and generally wrote on the back of the card:—‘Assignat de ——— reçu de M. le ministre O.’ with the date.”

We are compelled to pass over the interesting details the biography affords of the active and extensive operations of the Christian charity of this remarkable man and his parishioners, who were now excited to join him in all his undertakings. In the care of orphan children, the establishment of a Bible society, of associations to lend and read the Bible to the destitute and ignorant, his exertions were earnestly seconded by them; and thus encouraged, his plans ramified into every scheme of good which his heart could suggest. In the first, second and eleventh Reports of the British and Foreign Bible Society his services are honourably mentioned, and some interesting letters of his published.

Oberlin had now attained the age of seventy, and was revered as a patriarch by his people. The population had increased from eighty or one hundred families, to three thousand souls. The children kept his birth-day as a festival, and brought him garlands of flowers to testify their affection. His visits were received with honest pride, whilst his unassuming manners removed all constraint, but maintained his personal dignity. The general control of the affairs of the population was cheerfully submitted to him as their rightful head, and his



authority was undisputed, in whatever capacity he employed it. His children were now capable of assisting him: one son was pastor of Rothau; another had entered upon his theological studies; a daughter was married to the Rev. Mr Graff, who, in 1813, removed to Waldbach; another to the Rev. Mr Rauscher, of Barr; and a third to the Rev. Mr Witz, of Colmar. The arts of ribband-weaving, straw-platting, dyeing, and cotton-spinning were introduced with the comforts and refinements of civilization, whilst the primitive simplicity of rural manners and innocence was remarkably preserved.

The happiness of the "dear papa" was greatly promoted by the termination of a law-suit respecting a right to the forests, which had been pending for more than eighty years between the peasantry of the Ban and the demesne-lords. This suit had been a source of continual grief to Oberlin's heart, and in his characteristic style, he had for many years this prayer affixed to one of his doors:

"O Gott, erbarme dich des Steinthals, und mache dem prozess ein ende." [Oh God! have mercy on the Steinthal, and put an end to the law-suit.]

By his urgent pleas to his people, and the influence of his pacific disposition upon the prefect of the province, he at length succeeded, in 1813, in bringing the parties to an accommodation. The day on which this was consummated he declared to be one of the happiest of his life. In 1818 the Royal Agricultural Society of Paris, on motion of count de Neufchateau, honoured Oberlin with a gold medal, in acknowledgment of the services he had rendered to the agriculture of the kingdom, and in testimony of their veneration for his character. The decoration of the legion of honour had already been conferred on him by Louis XVIII. These distinctions were wholly spontaneous and unexpected. To his person all but his fellow-citizens and visitors were strangers, as he never went far from his settlement, and did not see Paris in the course of his life.

We must refer to the volume for numerous interesting anecdotes of this remarkable personage, as well as for copious accounts of his domestic and pastoral habits, as furnished from the journals and letters of some of the visitors who were attracted to his seclusion by the fame of his character. We have also to omit any reference to some of the more conspicuous inhabitants and coadjutors in the work of reformation, notices of whom abound in the pages of the interesting narrative. With

respect to the doctrinal opinions of Oberlin, we copy the statement of the biographer:

“ In most of his religious tenets, Oberlin was strictly orthodox and evangelical. The main doctrine that seemed to occupy his whole mind, was that God was his Father.—‘ *Our Father,*’ as he would not unfrequently say, ‘ and thus we may *always* feel Him.’ The doctrine of sanctification also held a high place in his creed, though, in his discourses, he principally dwelt upon the freeness of the gospel, the willingness of Christ to receive all who come to him in sincerity of heart, the blessed efficacy of prayer, and the absolute necessity of divine grace.

“ It may here be considered necessary, for the sake of biographical faithfulness, to observe, that upon some points he certainly held very fanciful and unwarranted notions, more particularly upon those relative to a future state. In the interpretation of John xiv. 2, for example, (‘ In my Father’s house are many mansions,’) he considered that there was an exact relation between our state here and the very mansion we should enter hereafter ; and this relation, or proportion of happiness, he seemed to himself to have so accurately ascertained, by the help of types drawn from different parts of the Temple, beginning with the outer court of the sanctuary and ending with the Holy of Holies, and from expressions denoting the state of the redeemed in the Book of Revelations, as to be able to draw a map of the other world; and this map he printed and hung up in his church. He also held the doctrine of an intermediate state, which he supposed to be one of continual improvement, and likewise believed that we shall become progressively holy in heaven. He seemed to hope that the passage, 1 Cor. xv. 28, where it is said that ‘ all things’ shall be subjected unto the Almighty, and the Son also himself shall be subjected, ‘ that God may be all in all, ’ might include not only the little flock of Christ’s immediate followers, but, ultimately, at some almost indefinite period, through the boundless mercy of God, and the blood of Jesus, which was shed for the sins of the *whole* world, all the race of mankind. And he was strengthened in this belief by understanding in another than the ordinary sense, that as in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall *all* be made alive. It is needless to say of these doctrines that they are fanciful and mistaken, and not to be defended by an accurate application of scripture. But, whatever hold they had upon Oberlin’s mind, they appeared very little in his preaching, and did not at all interfere with the plainest statement of the doctrine of justification by faith in the merits of our Redeemer, and sanctification by his Spirit, and of the absolute necessity of both the one and the other to meetness for the heavenly inheritance.

“ Oberlin was accustomed to preach very alarmingly on the judg-

ment to come, and the punishment of the wicked; though, at the same time, he held out the fatherly love of God to every returning sinner, who would seek him through Jesus Christ. These last mentioned doctrines may be said to have constituted the leading features of his ministry. He had a remarkable reverence for the Bible, and especially for the Books of Moses, and the Gospels. He was led to adopt many of the laws of Moses, because, he said, although the ceremonial law is rejected, the object of that law, the glory of God and the good of man, remains, and therefore the law itself ought to be retained. The subjoined note marks a number of passages from the laws of Moses, which Oberlin adopted, and which he applied with great force and interest in his own conduct, and in his instructions to his people\*.”

Of his preaching we have the following account:

“In his sermons, Oberlin was simple, energetic, and affectionate, continually speaking to his people under the appellation of ‘*mes chers amis*.’ He appeared to study a colloquial plainness, interspersing his discourses with images and allusions, which, had they been addressed to a more refined audience, might have been deemed homely, but which were particularly adapted to the capacities and wants of his secluded villagers. He would frequently introduce biographical anecdotes of persons distinguished for their piety; and the boundless field of nature furnished him with striking illustrations to explain spiritual things. But the Bible itself, ‘*la chere Bible*,’ as he exclaimed with tears of gratitude a short time before his last illness, was the grand source of all his instructions. It formed the

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\* *Alms*. Deut. xiv. 28, &c. xv. 7. Mat. iii. 10.

*Prevention of Dangers*. Deut. xxii. 8. Exod. xxi. 33.

*Strangers*. Exod. xxii. 21. xxiii. 9. Lev. xix. 33, 34. xxiv. 22. Num. xv. 14. Deut. x. 18, 19. xxiv. 14, 19. xxvi. 12. xxvii. 19.

*Also for Strangers*. Exod. xii. 19. Num. ix. 14.

*Solomon appointed a court for Strangers*: 2 Chron. vi. 32. This court the avarice of the Jews suffered to become a market, and from this market Jesus drove the buyers and sellers.

*Fertility*. To make a country fertile, it must be guarded from bad seasons, dearth and famine. Lev. xxvi. 3, 14. Deut. xi. 13, 16. Mal. iii. 10.

*Politeness*. Rom. xii. 10. 1 Cor. xiii. 4, 5.

*To protect ourselves from the evil of war*. Lev. xxv. 18, 19. Deut. xxxiii. 28, 29. Prov. i. 33.

*Doctors*. Exod. xv. 26. 2 Chron. xvi. 12.

*Law-suit*. Matt. v. 39, 40.

*First fruits*. Exod. xxii. 29. Deut. xv. 19.

*Payment*. Lev. xix. 13. Deut. xxiv. 14. Jer. xxii. 13. Rom. xiii. 8. Mat. v. 25.

*Health*. Exod. xv. 26. Mal. iv. 2.

*Prolonged life*. Deut. iv. 40. v. 32, 33. vi. 2. xi. 9. xvii. 20. xxx. 17, 18. xxx. 20. xxxii. 46, 47.

study of his life, and, as he said, constituted his own consolation under all trials, the source of his strength, and the ruling principle of his actions:—how, then, could he do less than to recommend it to others? He was in the habit of citing very largely from it, from the conviction that the simple exposition of the Word of God was the best means of efficaciously interesting his flock. His sermons were almost always composed with the greatest care; and when unable, for want of time, to write them out at length, he made at least a tolerably full outline. In general, he committed them scrupulously to memory, but in the pulpit he did not confine himself to the precise words, and would indeed sometimes change the subject altogether, if he saw that another was apparently better suited to the circumstances of his auditory.”

The biographer furnishes a few specimens of his discourses. One is taken from a sermon preached in Waldbach the day after the decease of his son Henry, which occurred in 1817. The text was John v. 24; the last words of which (“from death unto life !”) were frequently repeated by him in his expiring moments. The style is eminently plain, but animated and eloquent. He recited the sonnet of Drelincourt:

“Le voici le beau jour, le jour tant désiré.”

Another extract is given from a sermon preached two years afterwards, when nearly eighty years old, in which he illustrates, in a very lively manner, the analogy between the changes of insects through the chrysalis state to forms of beauty and splendour, and that of the human body and soul, incorporating however some fancies which go beyond “what is written.”

Besides his Sunday and catechetical schools, and prayer meetings,

“Every Friday Oberlin conducted a service in German, for the benefit of those inhabitants of the vicinity to whom that language was more familiar than the French. His congregation on a Sunday consisted, on an average, of six hundred persons, but on a Friday of two hundred; and Oberlin, laying aside all form, seemed on such occasions more like a grandfather surrounded by his children and grandchildren, to whom he was giving suitable admonition and instruction, than the minister of an extensive parish. In order that no time might be lost, he used to make his female hearers knit stockings during the service, not indeed for themselves or their families, but for their poorer neighbours, as he believed that this charitable employment need not distract their attention, nor interrupt that devotional spirit which generally pervaded the Friday evening assemblies. When he had pursued for half an hour the train of his reflec-

tions upon the portion of scripture which he had just been reading, he would often say to them, "Well, my children, are you not tired? Have you not had enough? Tell me, my friends." To which inquiry his parishioners generally would reply, 'No, papa, go on;— we should like to hear a little more,' though on some occasions, with characteristic frankness, the answer was, "Assez, nous pensons, pour une fois;" and the good old man would leave off in the midst of his discourse, or wait a little, and presently resume it, putting the same question again at intervals, until he saw that the attention of his congregation began to flag, or until they, perceiving that he spoke with less ease, would thank him for the things he had said, and beg him to conclude.

"Oberlin's tolerance," says a clergyman who visited him, "was almost unbounded. He administered the sacrament to Catholics, Lutherans and Calvinists at the same time, and because they would not eat the same bread, he had, on the plate, bread of different kinds, wafer, leavened and unleavened. In every thing the same spirit appeared: and it extended not only to his Catholic, but also to his Jewish neighbours, and made him many friends among them all."

He was in the habit of addressing circulars and addresses to his parishioners, either on such topics as were not appropriate to the pulpit, or making direct appeals to their consciences in regard to particular duties. This was sometimes done in the form of questions, to which they were expected to return exact answers. He was regular in his pastoral visits, and kept private memoranda of the moral and spiritual state of individuals, that he might be better able to adapt his conversation and preaching to their wants.

The infirmities of age at length made their inroads on the frame of the good father, and he was obliged to surrender the active duties of the charge to Mr Graff, his son-in-law. In his retirement he employed himself in unremitting prayers for his flock, and that no one might be omitted, he used in the morning to take the baptismal register, and at stated intervals pray separately for each there recorded, as well as for the community at large. Several essays, found after his decease, are supposed to have been written at this period: amongst which was a refutation of Cicero "De Senectute." On Sunday, the 28th May 1826, he was seized with his fatal illness. The symptoms were so violent, that he had but little opportunity of expressing the feelings of his heart in the prospect of dissolution. He was often heard to exclaim, "Lord Jesus, take me speedily! nevertheless, *thy* will be done!" After he had lost the use of his speech, and his extremities had become lifeless, he recovered strength enough to remove his cap, join his hands,

and raise his eyes to heaven, "his countenance beaming with faith, joy and love." He died on the 1st of June. We must leave untouched the pathetic recital of the sensation created by this event, of his interment, and a more particular view of his character and talents. The following is his own estimation of himself:

"A strange compound of contradictory qualities. I do not yet exactly know what I am to make of myself. I am intelligent, and yet possessed of very limited powers: prudent and more politic than my fellow-clergymen; but also very apt to blunder, especially when in the least excited. I am firm, yet of a yielding disposition; and both of these, in certain cases, to a great degree. I am not only daring, but actually courageous; whilst, at the same time, I am often in secret very cowardly. I am very upright and sincere, yet also very complaisant to men, and in a degree, therefore, insincere. I am a German and a Frenchman; noble, generous, ready to render service, faithful, very grateful, deeply affected by the least benefit or kindness, which is ever after engraven on my heart; and yet again flighty and indifferent. I am irritable to a formidable degree. He who treats me generously soon gains the ascendancy over me; but opposition creates in me an astonishing degree of firmness, especially in matters of conscience. I have a lively imagination, but no memory, properly speaking. The histories which I have taken pains to impress on my mind remain with me, but dates and the names of persons I often forget the next day, notwithstanding all the pains I have taken to remember them. I used to speak Latin fluently and even elegantly; but now I cannot utter three or four words together. I make selections from books, and instruct others in some branch of science for a long time; but a few years after, my scholars, even if they know nothing more than what I taught them, may in their turn become my teachers, and the books from which I made extracts (with the exception of those of a certain description) appear wholly new to me.

"I habitually work my way through my studies till I obtain clear ideas; but if I wish to penetrate deeper, every thing vanishes before me. I have a great talent for removing difficulties in order to render every thing smooth and easy to myself, and to every body else. I am so extremely sensitive, tender, and compassionate, that I can find neither words nor expressions corresponding to my feelings, so that the latter almost overpower me, and occasion me acute pain. I am always busy and industrious, but also fond of ease and indolence. I am generally quick in resolving, and equally so in executing. I have a peculiar esteem for the female sex. I am a very great admirer of painting, music, and poetry, and yet I have no skill in any of them. Mechanics, natural history, and so forth, constitute

my favourite studies. I am very fond of regularity, and of arranging and classifying, but my weak memory, added to constant employment, renders it difficult to me. I am given to planning and scheming, and yet endeavour, in my peculiar way, to do things in the best manner.

“I am a genuine soldier, but I was more so before my bodily powers were so much weakened; I was formerly anxious to be the foremost in danger, and the firmest in pain, but have now lost that desire. From my childhood I have felt a longing and preponderating desire for a higher state of existence, and therefore a wish for death. I am the greatest admirer of military order and subordination, not however in a spirit of slavery, but of that noble affectionate attachment which compels the coward to show courage, and the disorderly to be punctual. I feel no obstinacy or disinclination to yield to strong internal conviction, but on the other hand a fervent heart-felt joy in yielding to both great and small, high and low, gentlemen and peasants, children and servants, and thence a willingness to listen and an inclination to suffer myself, if possible, to be convinced. But when I feel no conviction I can never think of yielding. I am humorous, and a little witty or satirical, but without intentional malice.”

The little work which we have named in the second place, at the head of this article, is a comprehensive abridgment of the various accounts which have been given in France and England of this distinguished man. Much judgment is manifested in the selection and arrangement of facts, and the reader will find in its contents all the leading events and prominent characteristics of its revered subject. Being primarily designed for the Sunday School Library, it combines brevity and perspicuity with chasteness and propriety of style and diction. It is compendious, simple and unornamented. We have seldom laid down a biographical memoir with more lively sentiments of interest and surprise. A more forcible exemplification could not be presented of the power with which the exertions of a single benevolent individual are invested. It is truly observed of Oberlin by the compiler, “that he seems to have been led by moral instinct, to originate, in his secluded parish, all the great plans of modern religious enterprise, which many years and many minds have slowly brought into existence in more favoured parts of Chistendom.”

It is our hearty desire, that the American Sunday School Union may receive ample encouragement in the laudable undertaking of diffusing such works, from able pens, through our whole community.

## REVIEW.

1. *An Address delivered at Bloomington, October 29, 1829. By the Rev. Andrew Wylie, D.D., on the occasion of his Inauguration as President of Indiana College. Published by order of the Board of Trustees. Indianapolis. Pp. 30.*
2. *A Discourse on Education. Delivered before the Legislature of the State of Indiana, at the request of the Joint Committee on Education. By A. Wylie. Published in pursuance of a vote of the House of Representatives, Jan. 17, 1830. Pp. 23.*

In these discourses we have not observed any remarkable novelties in the theory of education; but what is unquestionably far more valuable, a condensation of clear, just, and practical remarks and arguments, upon the liberal culture of youth, adapted to the western meridian. The population of Indiana has increased with astonishing rapidity since the report of the last census, and it is gratifying to learn that the appropriations of the state legislature have borne some fair proportion to the rising greatness of the people, and the consequent demand for instruction. They may congratulate themselves upon having obtained for their literary institution a gentleman well qualified, if we may judge from these productions, to guide their youth in the safe path of tried and sober discipline. We have heard enough of newly discovered and compendious methods of acquiring knowledge. Greatly as the field of science may be enlarged, and widely diffused as the experiments in communicating its fruits may be, education itself abides the same. Knowledge is the same in its general aspect, and in its relations to the mind of man, which is also unaltered. The royal way to learning has not yet been discovered.

The scope and argument of the Inaugural Address may be expressed in the language of the introductory sentence: "*Of what advantage is a college to the community?*" A grave and interesting question in any country, but above all in a newly-settled state, where the forming hand of academic institutions must mould the future destinies of the commonwealth. The subject is treated in a manner worthy of the



cause. There is observable in these compositions a natural and simple arrangement of the topics discussed, which is peculiarly admirable as contrasted with the lumbering pomp of too many harangues *ex cathedra*. Dr Wylie has command of a style which is not only lucid and unaffected, but vivacious and even piquant. If, in a few cases, he sacrifices the staid dignity of established form to the earnest desire of adducing forcible examples from common life, his illustrations are always appropriate, and often new; and the whole current of thought, though by no means recondite, indicates a source enriched and purified by maturity of learning.

The importance of education to the physician, the jurist, and the preacher, is shown by a happy representation of the demands which society in such a state as is now presented must necessarily make. Upon the much disputed question of a learned ministry, the doctrine of our author is as follows:

“The warmth of feeling and the evidence of knowledge, like heat and light in the rays of the sun, are blended in religion. The attempt to separate them is both foolish and wicked. Monkish teachers once took away the light; and a night of superstition followed, in which imposture played off its tricks, undetected, before the ignorant multitude. The neologists, more recently, have taken away the warmth, and have given, for day, moonshine, in which no glow of holy feeling can be experienced, nor any great and noble enterprise performed. The philosophers of the last century attempted at once to put out both the light and heat of religion, and to supply their place by the fire of their own torches; and, after they had ‘encompassed’ themselves with sparks of their own kindling, and ‘walked’ for awhile in the light of their unhallowed fires, they and their followers sunk down together in the shame and sorrow of an everlasting disappointment. Let no man think of repeating these, or any of these experiments.

“It is most deplorable that persons should be found, in this age of the world and of the church, to decry human learning, as they call it, as unnecessary in him who undertakes to deliver instructions publicly on the subject of religion; and more deplorable still, that they should be kept in countenance by the extravagance of those who run into the opposite extreme, and, in examining the pretensions of candidates for the sacred office, require evidence of human learning, but none of the grace of God. With the latter, however, I have no concern at present. To the former I would say, If your object is to preserve the purity of religion by preventing men under the influence of unhallowed motives from intruding into its most sacred functions, why favour the pretensions of the weak and igno-

rant? Are not they the most ambitious, and fond of display, as well as most liable to be imposed upon by their feelings? What sacrifices do they make, what prospects of advancement in the world do they renounce, what humiliating services do they undertake, from love to the souls of men? Is not God the God of order? What kind of order is that where ignorance teaches and weakness rules? Is it reason, or is it madness, to suppose that the Author of those beautiful and magnificent arrangements, which we every where behold in the works of nature, should connect the supernatural influxes of the Divine Spirit with the hallucinations of idiocy? Who can endure, that the magnificent conceptions and idiomatic phrases of Paul, of Isaiah, or of Asaph, should come under the examination of a critic, who, one while, mistakes a piece of irony for direct affirmation, and, another, substantiates a proof from the fancied analogies of a parable?"

After a copious induction of particulars serving to exhibit the advantages of human learning to the minister of Jesus Christ, a similar argument is introduced to show the necessity of colleges, to furnish for the community a sufficient number of teachers for academies and common schools. If our limits did not forbid, we should gladly extract the paragraphs which contain this discussion—so opportune at the present time. Other classes of society are also directed to the high privilege of literary and scientific instruction, and the influence of education upon the popular happiness is exhibited in the conclusion of the Address.

The *Discourse on Education* was delivered before the legislature of the state of Indiana, during their sessions of the current year. It treats rather more in detail the general topics which are afforded by this comprehensive subject, and bears the stamp of the same practical and enlightened observation. The ingenious and feeling apology with which it opens contains a pledge of the reverend author to devote himself to the interests of his newly chosen state. The physical, intellectual and moral education of youth is made to pass under review, and that specific form of instruction which is adapted to our peculiar institutions and circumstances is indicated. Upon the subject of physical discipline we may perhaps be opposed by the current of popular sentiment, yet our impressions have been well expressed and considerably deepened by the following remarks of the speaker:

"Gymnastics sorted well with the ancient order of things; and the institutions in which they were performed, were in a style of magnificence, which accorded with the supposed importance of the

object. They were immense establishments, furnished with halls and porticos, dressing-rooms, and anointing-rooms, and baths, and gravelled squares, in which the exercises were performed, when the weather was fine, and *xysti*, or covered ones, to be used when it rained. They had their stadiums, too, which were semicircles, of vast extent, provided with seats for the accommodation of spectators, after the manner of a theatre. That at Athens was constructed of white marble, and of such stupendous size, that at some distance, according to Pausanias, it had the appearance of a white mountain on the banks of the Ilissus. Besides, there were groves and sheets of fresh water, which gave variety and a refreshing coolness to the scene. Athens had no less than three of these establishments, the Lyceum, the Academy, and the Cynosarges. In these her philosophers delivered their instructions, and the *paedotribæ*, and other officers of the establishment, attended upon their various duties. The whole was under the severest regulations, and the punishment of death attached, in certain cases, to their violation; and, in order to give the necessary degree of excitement, public games were celebrated, in which *the educated* contended with each other in the various athletic exercises; and the victors were crowned and extolled to the skies by the assembled multitude. Such were the gymnastics of the ancients—not the contemptible, unmanly, and ridiculous things which, in modern times, have assumed the name. And if *we* are to have gymnasia, let them be somewhat in conformity with the ancient model. But we need them not. We want our young men to become neither boxers, nor wrestlers, nor runners, nor charioteers, nor universal champions; much less do we want them to learn how to climb a rope, or to go through the other futile manœuvres of modern gymnastics. A sound mind, in a healthful body, ought to be our motto. To ensure this end, by a system of bodily exercises, such as shall not retard the student in the progress of his intellectual pursuits, such as shall be productive in a pecuniary point of view, and may comport with the general purposes of education in modern times, requires a plan different from any that has yet been put into execution. The public mind is awake on the subject, and important improvements will doubtless be made.”

There is something striking in the defence of polite literature:

“ Things are viewed, by a person of cultivated taste, under a different aspect from that in which they are presented to an ordinary beholder. The grandest scenes in the universe are lost to the dull peasant. The glories of the opening day summon him to toil; the soft and mellow tints of the evening sky, as they fade away into night, invite him to repose. The ground and trees, clothed in fresh ver-

ture, the singing of birds, the flowery meadows, and the numerous rills on every side, glittering in the sun, are so many signs that it is spring. The harvest-field, waving with golden grain, he looks upon only as a source of profit. 'The sear and fallow leaf' of autumn, and the soft, sweet, melancholy aspect of that delightful season raise in his mind no peculiar emotions. The thunder-storm of summer, and the scowling blasts of winter, are to him simply disagreeable. He would, like Marius, use a tablet of Phidias for a trencher; he would convert the harp of Sinus into a mouse-trap! Nor let me be told that the pleasures of a cultivated taste conduce to no valuable purpose. Utility and beauty are always combined; and, if it were not so, beauty would itself be utility. It is only the rude who admire gewgaws and tinsel. A good education will confer a manly taste: and, to this end, nothing contributes more, than an intimate knowledge of those productions of genius which have commanded the admiration of every enlightened age, and which will remain, and be studied, as models of future imitation, so long as excellence shall be admired among men."

The concluding remarks are such as deserve to be well pondered by the statesmen to whom they were addressed:

"If these things are so, no further argument is necessary to demonstrate the interest which the state has in the cause of education. The truth is, the state *must* have educated men, and the only question is, whether they shall be of foreign or domestic growth and manufacture. Those who are able *will* educate their sons; and if they have not the means of doing it within their own state, they will send them abroad, and, with them, the money necessary to accomplish the object. On the other hand, the means of a good education will attract hither the generous and gifted youth of other states, who will not only bring along with them a portion of their wealth to be expended among us, but, what is of much more importance, their talents and enterprise. Already there are several of this character in your seminary from the distance of seven hundred miles, and we hear of others preparing to come from other parts. Extreme mortification awaits us, should their expectations not be realized. We have many things to encourage us; a healthful situation; teachers in the prime of life and full of the ardour of literary pursuits; opposition has ceased; the resources of the country are daily offering new fields to enterprise; improvement of every kind is going forward; and, what is more encouraging still, the youth of our country are of a character which presents the very best materials to the forming hand of education. They have not been encrusted by luxury, nor brought up in idleness. They have been habituated to subordination, and understand its value. Their genius is not less, and their energy is greater, than what we usually find in older settlements.

There is, moreover, if I am not mistaken in the observations which my short residence in the state has allowed me to make, *that*, in the public sentiment of this country, which is highly congenial with the feelings of young men possessing that generous pride of character which scorns to take what it does not merit, and seeks to render itself worthy of the confidence and estimation after which it aspires. People here look at men apart from all appendages. The pompous fooleries of rank are unknown. Wealth without character cannot command respect. Talents and moral worth are alone regarded. Opulence and fashion must doff their plumes when they come to the standard. This state of things will not permit a combination of envious knaves to put down an honest man, and shelter the proceeding under the strength of party interest, or the plausibility of sacred names. Elsewhere there may be more of the polish and refinement which wealth bestows; but here there is more of the honest simplicity of nature, and a greater abundance of those generous qualities of the head and heart, that constitute a soil in which every excellence belonging to the human character promises to obtain, like the trees of our own deep forests, the largest and stateliest growth."

We have reserved until the last the few words which we have to say respecting classical learning, the importance of which is so strongly questioned, as well as the proper method of pursuing the study. In these points president Wylie speaks from experience, and like most who do so speak, has given us sound and authorized opinions. This estimate of the study of language is thus forcibly expressed:

"Interest is excited in the mind by novelty, by grandeur and beauty, by sympathy with whatever is felt to belong to our common nature, by whatever is believed to conduce to our personal welfare, and by perception of the correspondences and analogies of things. Besides, the mind feels an interest, arising from the consciousness of its own powers, as soon as they begin to be exercised with success in the pursuit of knowledge. For these reasons, I know of no excuse for the powers of the youthful understanding more *engaging*, as well as more variously beneficial, than that which is afforded in acquiring a knowledge of the learned languages. If the study of these is dull, depend on it the fault is not in the study. The mere ability to translate a word out of one language into another is a contemptible affair: and *that* were all the advantage to be gained from the study, the cause of education would not suffer, if all the Greek and Latin classics were collected into one pile, and all the dull boys and learned pedants that were ever vexed in the use of them, were permitted to make a bonfire of them to-morrow. It is because of the new thoughts, the noble sentiments, the beauti-

ful images, the striking illustrations, the sketches of character, in which the ancient classics abound, as well as of the regular structure of the language in which these things are conveyed, that they possess such power to engage the attention, and constitute so useful an exercise to the powers of the juvenile understanding."

Taking this in connexion with the observations contained in the Inaugural Address, we consider the argument in favour of this discipline to be fairly stated. It is well observed that the very language of science has incorporated into it a large body of the ancient tongues. It was the venerable and witty Dr Nesbit (if we remember aright) who used to say to his pupils, that if they would understand scientific discussions in English, they must either learn the Greek and Latin, or be content to carry a folio of Johnson's dictionary in each coat-pocket. We have access to a manuscript letter of Dr Nesbit, addressed to the late Rev. James Waddell of Virginia, in which he advances, in substance, the same opinion. Speaking of his pupils, he says "Without the knowledge of these languages, not only every branch of philosophy, but almost every book that has been written in the English language, will be utterly unintelligible to them. In order to understand any science whatever, we must comprehend the terms which are made use of in teaching it; and you know very well that the very names of the sciences, and every term used in them, are Greek and Latin; that the sciences can speak no other tongues than these. Besides, the knowledge of human nature and the history of the human mind, are to be learned to the greatest advantage in the classic authors. They make us acquainted with a race of men, in comparison with whom the moderns are mere insects. They contain many maxims of morals and good sense, and contribute equally to the improvement of the understanding, the imagination, and the heart. They likewise contain the rules of just criticism, and the best examples of composition. The very terms in which they have delivered the history of human nature are the best and fittest that have hitherto been discovered. In my philosophical selections, I make great use of their testimony, and I know no books in the world, the holy scriptures only excepted, which contain more just notions of men and things. There is the more need of recommending the classics in this country, on account of the alarming progress of infidelity and scepticism, which have become the *established irreligion* of the leaders of the people. Almost all the infidel writers are smatterers; and those who

are not, are enemies to the study of the classics, and the diffusion of moral knowledge and good sense among the people.

Some allowance is to be made for the classic enthusiasm of a veteran in this department, of whom tradition tells us that he had, in his very boyhood, committed to memory the whole *Æneid* of Virgil: yet the sentiments are such as bear a rigid scrutiny, and are no less seasonable now than they were in 1790. Upon the same subject, and with the same views, Dr Wylie observes:

“ People complain of public instructors in the arts and sciences for writing and speaking a language which nobody but the learned can understand: whereas, in truth, the difficulty lies in the things to be taught, not in the terms by which a knowledge of them is communicated. The ideas are uncommon: they lie beyond the range of ordinary thought, and the terms by which they are indicated must lie, consequently, out of the compass of ordinary language. Philosophy, which, in its most extensive signification, means all kinds of knowledge that are valuable, except that which pertains to the common concerns of life, and which nobody has any occasion to learn, has, and must have, a language of its own. If the appropriate terms in which it is now taught were laid aside, others must be invented to fill their place, or ordinary words must be used in a new signification. Such a mode of communication would be tedious, doubtful, and embarrassing to the learner in a much higher degree than that which adopts the beautiful, terse, and comprehensive language in which philosophy delights. To use learned terms on common topics is pedantry. But learned themes it is next to impossible to discuss in colloquial style.”

Next to the folly of totally rejecting the ancient writers, we deprecate the hasty and time-saving methods of communicating them which are gaining public favour. It is not merely the systems of instruction which turn out polished scholars in eight, sixteen, or forty-eight lessons, and which are advertised in the same column with the lozenges, panaceas, and catholicons of pseudo-pharmacy, against which we exclaim. Our academies and colleges are not exempt from the Utopian scheme of thus building without a foundation, and forsaking the beaten path of safe experience. Professors and instructors have been found to advocate the easy modes of over-leaping dry grammars and laborious rules, and skipping into learning by the aid of translations, interlineary or oral, or the rapid and perfunctory reading of works without syntactical analysis. It would seem to have escaped the notice of these neophytes in classical literature, for we hesitate not to say that among their

ranks is found no practised scholar, that the principles of grammar which they thus undervalue must, necessarily, be acquired at some period of the literary progress. The understanding of a given sentence depends upon the dissection of its clauses and the knowledge of its construction, and this upon the accurate discrimination of those particular inflections which occur; and this is what the principles of grammar inculcate. In the art of war it is a maxim, that fortresses are never to be left unsubdued in the rear. *Mutatis mutandis*, it is a maxim in every walk of life. The question then arises, shall the principles which are necessary to the enucleation of every sentence be learned at the outset, or shall they be acquired by piecemeal at the moment when they are needed? Shall the grammar be mastered in its simple form, with its parts in beautiful connexion, or the scattered members of its harmonious arrangement be picked up by the way disconnected, with the inevitable evil of mistaking exceptions for rules, and anomalies for established usage? This is to revert to the condition in which learners were placed before the formation of grammars. It reduces the scholar to the labour of doing for himself, at immense pains, and with doubtful success, what able philologists have long since provided to his hand. Under pretence of saving toil, it rejects the labour-saving machine, and returns the learner to the sorrowful process of unassisted nature. For although the new system purports to be in analogy with the mechanical improvements of modern physics, it is every thing else, and upon close inspection the lucid, brief and symmetrical grammar is the very appliance which we need.

In these strictures, we do not wish to be understood as including the many ingenious methods which faithful teachers and private scholars have found useful in varying the monotony of philological pursuits, or exciting the enthusiasm of the learner, or adapting the mode of special inculcation to the subject. The minds of men differ, and a thousand minor systems have been devised, all, let it be observed, founded on a sense of the indispensable necessity of labouring the preliminary discipline. Erasmus acquired his knowledge of Greek by laborious translations into Latin. The ancient grammarians recommended the practice of translating and retranslating into the original; a method recommended and adopted by Sir William Jones. Henry de Nismes tells us, that he could, while at school, "repeat Homer from one end to the other." Wyttenbach repeated each paragraph of the author whom he stu-



died, and then each book, and finally each volume. These and various methods which might be cited are not unlikely to be useful to individuals; but how far do they agree with the newly-discovered plan of giving by wholesale what the laborious scholars of other times took years to accomplish by wearisome steps?

It is, therefore, much to be desired, that those under whose auspices the education of the next race of men is to be conducted, should be above the danger of mistaking these specious lights of false learning for their guides in the path of instruction.

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*Travels in Turkey, Egypt, Nubia, and Palestine, in 1824, 1825, 1826 and 1827. By R. R. Madden, Esq. M.R. C.J. In two volumes. London, 1829.*

Voyages and travels, unlike most other books, are becoming every day more interesting. Mere curiosity might, perhaps, have been sated long ago; but the character and circumstances of the age have created a demand for information not so easily supplied. The great schemes of philanthropy, which form so prominent a feature in the present aspect of the Christian world, give an importance to the most minute details respecting distant countries, which intrinsically they do not possess. Every new light that is thrown upon the character and manners of Mohammedans and Pagans, facilitates the access of religion and civilization, and puts new instruments into the hands of those who are employed in pulling down the strong holds of the adversary. Neither missionaries nor their patrons, nor the christian public appreciate aright, before experiment, the infinite importance of an accurate acquaintance with the state of society in heathen lands, the specific influence of different false creeds, and the methods of attack upon their prejudices most likely to produce effect. Many a well meant effort has been met with disappointment, and many a promising design abandoned in despair, from an unfortunate neglect of these minutiae, on the part of those who formed the plan or under-

took to execute it. One error of this kind, which has produced such effects in particular abundance, it may be well to specify. The habit of despising those less civilized, becomes so fixed in all the natives of enlightened countries, that they come at last to imagine that the objects of their scorn entertain the same views. Our own understandings are so strongly impressed with the advantages which we enjoy, that we scarcely think it possible for those less favoured not to feel their humiliating distance. We go among them, therefore, with an expectation that they will at once recognize us as superiors, and accept of us as masters. Mortifying experience soon undeceives the traveller. He soon becomes acquainted with the obvious fact, that those among whom he finds himself, not only feel no disposition to do him reverence, but despise him heartily. When the first paroxysm of wonder is subsided, he discovers that the degree of their contempt is greater even than his own for them, and is indeed in exact proportion to their inferiority in knowledge and refinement. It is in vain that he sets before their eyes the circumstances which to his mind are demonstrative of their inferiority. He learns too late that the value of such advantages can be estimated only by those who have enjoyed them, and that the exhibition of his gifts and graces to the semi-barbarian or savage, is a wasteful casting of pearls before swine.

Such, we believe, has been the mortifying experience, more or less, of all ancient and modern travellers, whatever may have been their character and previous preparation, or the scene of their adventures. In no part of the world, however, has this mishap befallen travellers with such provoking uniformity and to so galling an extent, as among the Mohammedans, Arabs, Moors, Persians, and particularly Turks. Besides the contempt for foreigners already spoken of, as characteristic of all nations, in proportion to their ignorance and want of cultivation, there comes in this case into play, religious prejudice and the very quintessence of bigotry. The Gentoo worshipper of Juggernaut, and the African adorer of the Devil, may regard the Christian as heretical, because he will not join them in their orgies; but he bears this stigma in common with all others who dissent from their religion. The Moslem, on the contrary, is taught contempt and hatred of the Christians as an article of faith, and learns to curse them when he learns to pray. He execrates them, not because they are not Moslems, but because they are Christians; his antipathy is not a

general one against all unbelief, but a specific one against the gospel. According to the Koran, they are *Cafirs* or Infidels, *par eminence*, and the zealous Musselman cannot vindicate his orthodoxy more triumphantly than by spitting in the face of every Frank whom he encounters in the lanes of Constantinople, or on the wharves of Alexandria. The first Christian travellers in the east had, therefore, a twofold difficulty to encounter, one resulting from the imperfect civilization, the other from the religious prejudice of the nations whom they visited. The first circumstance which wrought a change in the views of the orientals, was their inevitable discovery of the superior value of European manufactures. When they had once allowed themselves to be convinced, that for fire-arms, cutlery, and many other articles of luxury and convenience, they must be indebted to the Franks, they began to court their intercourse; but it is curious to observe how they continued to do it, without abating a tittle of their orthodox contempt. Europeans found more favour in their eyes, but it was the favour shown to craftsmen and mechanics, and the Turkish Aga, while he bargained for a pair of pistols or a shirt, made no scruple of spitting on the beard of the vile *giaour* who offered them for sale. The notion now prevailed, that all Europeans were manufacturers and pedlars, an opinion which gained them freer access to those countries, but by no means added greatly to their dignity. A second discovery soon followed. The residence of one or two physicians from the west, in Egypt and the Levant, opened the eyes of the inhabitants to a new trait of superiority in the *unclean dogs*, as they politely call us, and one of more moment than all others previously known. The gift of healing is valued every where beyond all price, but no where so extravagantly as in those countries where disease abounds, and medicine is only known by name. A few simple cures performed by surgeons to the European factories, or by travelling physicians, spread like wildfire through the miserable population of the west of Asia. The Russels of Aleppo received every thing but an apotheosis, and many an awkward operator whom necessity had palmed upon the French and English factories in Asia as their medical advisers, acquired a reputation never earned by the most successful practice in the wards of the Hotel Dieu and St Bartholomew's. Every Frank was now a doctor. The most solemn disavowals were unable to rescue the most unpretending stranger from this honourable imputation. Natu-

ralists, traders, soldiers, missionaries, all received a medical degree, on getting into Asia; but the multitude of their patients, the unreasonableness of their demands, and the moderation of their fees, made it a dear bought honour.

This false idea of the sanative abilities of all Christian travellers, annoying as it has been in its effects to many individuals, has opened a new source of information with respect to oriental countries. Domestic society among Mohammedans is, like their dwelling-houses, protected on the outside by a uniform dead wall. Nothing can be seen upon the surface. To know any thing about them you must get inside; a privilege which none but a physician can enjoy. So long as the Mohammedans retain their present views, with respect to female character and manners, the harem must be kept inviolate from all but necessary visitors. And it is only there that the real disposition of the individual appears to be revealed. The uniform monotony of character exhibited by Turks and other Moslems when abroad, is obviously constrained and artificial; it is only in domestic privacy that those distinctive traits which mark the individual become apparent. It seems probable, therefore, that for many years to come, medical men must be relied upon for information of this kind; a circumstance which has suggested the propriety of travellers and missionaries furnishing themselves with some degree of skill in that profession, if for no other purpose, merely as a passport, and the surest means of conciliating favour. That this device will prove successful there can be no doubt; for nothing can exceed the confidence reposed in European therapeutics by the orientals. It seems as if their extreme religious and political antipathy to Franks and Christians, as such, had reacted to produce an opposite extreme of superstitious admiration of their merits in a medical capacity. And yet it is amusing to observe here, as in a former case, with what facility this reverential awe is made to coalesce with a cordial detestation of the same men as unbelievers, and a profound contempt for them as savages. A curious example of this kind is given by Mr Madden. His Greek drogueman had been applauding, in no measured terms, the skill of his employer, at a coffee-shop in Constantinople. After some extravagant falsehood of this kind, "one turned up his eyes and said there was but one God; another praised my skill and cried, 'Mahomet is the friend of God!'" The latter gentleman held out his wrist to have his pulse felt, and said in a very civil tone of voice,

'*Guehl giaour*,' 'Come you dog!' This endearing epithet Turks consider ought not to give an infidel offence, because it is more a man's misfortune than his fault to be born 'a Christian, and consequently a dog.'" The fact indeed is, that they attribute the immense superiority of European doctors to their dealings with the evil one, and consequently view their persons with the same admiring horror which the vulgar among us would entertain for an accomplished conjurer. Those who travel in the east must, therefore, still prepare themselves to be despised and abhorred, while they are wondered at and lauded. Most travellers, it is to be presumed, will have philosophy enough to face this danger, and few will probably neglect hereafter to provide themselves with so useful a recommendation and protection as the medical profession undoubtedly affords.

It seems to have been a consideration of the great advantages enjoyed by medical men in oriental travel, that induced the writer of the book before us to record his observations for the public eye. We know nothing of him further than his book reveals, and that amounts to this, that he is an English surgeon, led to travel in the east by a desire to pursue the *study of the plague* in the countries where it rages. From his style, and the tone of his reflections, we should infer that he was quite a young man, of good sense, and tolerable education, but neither very strict in his principles, nor refined in taste and sentiment. We know not whether to consider it a virtue or a fault, that he is wholly free from any tincture of romance. He sees nothing with a poet's eye\*. Most travellers, whatever their profession, have exhibited some symptoms of enthusiastic temperament, at some point of their progress. So natural, indeed, is it to look for this in travellers, that even Mr Madden tries occasionally to support the character by loud declamations in "*Cambyses's vein*" upon the lapse of time, the mutability of earthly things, &c. These flights, however, are most evidently not expressions of strong feeling, but set speeches. The only subject upon which the author seems at all enthusiastic is the plague, a circumstance which might have been expected from his profession, the primary object of his travels, and the fact that he has written "a volu-

\* We do not regard as an exception the poetic mood in which he found himself while at Jerusalem. His enthusiasm there, as elsewhere, has a very factitious aspect, and his lyrics are, as he justly terms them, "feeble verses."

minous work," to use his own expression, on that scourge of the Levant. The reader must not conclude, however, that our author is a dull, dry, matter-of-fact proser. We have seldom read a book more uniformly lively and amusing. In all circumstances, even the most irksome and appalling, at sea, in the desert, in the pest-house, he would seem, from his own account at least, to have maintained his spirits unimpaired, according to his own maxim, that *cheerfulness and a fearless heart will do more to preserve the traveller from disease than all the prophylactics of Currie or of Moseley*. But though this light-heartedness undoubtedly adds interest to his narrative, there is something in it which we do not like. It is too professional. He describes the horrors of the oriental lazaret with too much sang froid and levity for ordinary readers. The same spirit runs through the whole book. We look in vain for kindly feeling, sympathy, and moral sensibility. The author's fortitude and cheerfulness are too exclusively of that sort which may be acquired by long familiarity with scenes of misery, without the operation of a moral principle. The following description is undoubtedly a graphic one; but is its tone agreeable?

"The plague daily increased in violence, eighteen a day of the natives perished, and few days passed over without the death of Europeans. For so small a population as that of Alexandria, say sixteen thousand souls, the mortality was considerable: every house was shut up, the servants were not suffered to go out, money was passed through vinegar before it was touched, letters were smoked, papers were handled with tongs, passengers in the streets poked unwary strangers with their sticks, to avoid communication, people thronged round the doctors' shops to know how many died in the night, the plague was discussed at breakfast, contagion was described at dinner, buboes and carbuncles (*horresco referens*) were our themes at supper. The laws of infection were handled by young ladies in the drawing-room; 'a cat could communicate the plague, but a dog was less dangerous; an ass was a pestiferous animal, but a horse was non-contagious. Fresh bread was highly susceptible, but butcher's meat was non-productive.' If you looked at a man, he felt his groin; if you complained of a headache, there was a general flight; if you went abroad with a sallow cheek, the people fled in all directions; if you touched the skirt of a Christian's coat, you raised his cholera; and if you talked of M'Clean, your intellect was suspected to be impaired. Heaven preserve you from a quarantine in Egypt! It is not the death of one's neighbours which is so overcoming, I am now accustomed to coffins; I can hear of a

case next door without a sympathetic pain in my axilla ; but it is the horror of eternally hearing of plague ; it is the terror of contagion, which is depicted in every face ; it is the presentation of pestilential apparitions and discourses to the eye and to the ear, morning, noon, and night, which make a house in quarantine a lazar domicile, for the anticipation of death and the anatomy of melancholy."

When we add that Mr Madden is habitually flippant and too fond of saying piquant things, even at the expense of decency, as well as prone to embellish and exaggerate in matters that concern himself, we have indicated nearly all the faults which injure the book as a whole. Its merits are considerable. Mr M. is obviously a man of sense, who takes clear and just views, *when unprejudiced*. On subjects which he understands from personal investigation, he avoids the weakness of retailing the cheap common-places of his predecessors, by expressing his own views. The following paragraph contains, in a few words, an excellent description of the Koran:

"It unfortunately happens, that the study requisite to attain a competent knowledge of Arabic or Turkish, to make a translation of the Koran, is so intense, that men appreciate the value of the volume they interpret, by the labour it has cost them to comprehend it. Hence Sale's translation of the Koran is, of all, the most correct and literal as to the text, and yet the most erroneous in the commentary. In every absurdity (and there are not a few in 'the perspicuous book') he points out a beauty. In every contradiction (and they abound in the first five chapters) he reconciles the difference. In every monstrous doctrine (and most abominable ones pervade the volume) he makes an allegory of what is lustful, and deprives sensuality of half its grossness. In short, Sale was the apologist of Mahometanism, and gives by far too favourable a view of the religion, as Maracci does an unworthy and a vile one of it. I had the patience to read over the Koran twice, and I am disposed to think the term '*fade*,' applied to it by Volney, was extremely appropriate. The Korish dialect, in which it was written, is now only known to the learned, and much of the boasted beauty of its poetry is unintelligible even to them. In our translation there has been no attempt to preserve the jingling terminations of the original, which is similar in style to some of the ancient sacred songs of the Jews. Every alternate passage is a repetition of the former ; in every alternate page you have a recurrence of the injunction to exterminate unbelievers. The promise to the faithful, 'of a garden of delights, with a river flowing through it,' sickens with its frequency ; and the threat to the Christian, 'of a couch of hell fire, and a grievous couch it shall be,' is doled out till the reader is cloyed with the repetition. It would be difficult to put together a greater tissue of

puling absurdity, and nothing would be easier than to compress all the precepts of the whole book into a small duodecimo."

This, though somewhat exaggerated in expression, is a just judgment, and evidently not derived from the report of others. The same commendation is due to many other views expressed by Mr Madden upon oriental subjects. We are also gratified to find him professing uniformly his belief in revelation; and often making use of his opportunities for observation to defend and elucidate the scriptures. He does not, it is true, exhibit any intimate acquaintance with biblical archæology, as taught in books, and therefore sometimes brings forward as original suggestions what has long been familiar to the better read at home. But his intentions are good, and some of his observations striking. Mr Madden's book is also valuable as recording the experience of a medical man upon the surest method of preserving health, and gaining access to the people in the east. These subjects possess so much interest, in reference to missionary enterprizes, that we shall endeavour to compress into a few short sentences the substance of the twenty-fourth letter, addressed to a Mr Davidson, who had in view a visit to the east.

The frequent death of oriental travellers is to be attributed partly to incaution, and partly to their treating their own ailments as they would at home, without regard to the difference of climate and circumstances:

"The people of India suffer not from diseased liver. The Egyptians very seldom are attacked with bilious remittent fever; and dysentery is by no means common amongst the Arabs. In fact, the diseases from which we suffer in the east are attributable, in most cases, to our own excesses."

Animal food is injurious to travellers, for two reasons: because their digestive functions are disturbed by the change of climate, and because the meat in hot countries is in itself bad. Rice is the most wholesome and palatable food in hot countries.

Englishmen seem to suffer most in travelling, and Frenchmen least, because the former will not accommodate themselves to circumstances like the latter.

The oriental costume is decidedly best adapted to the climate, and as a matter of prudence, is highly advantageous. It protects from insult, and gratifies the natives, whereas our dress is considered by them as indecent.

Instead of linen, the traveller should wear the silk crape



used by the natives, and in the desert should expose it daily to the sun.

The cold bath should be carefully avoided. The vapour bath will be found both pleasant and salubrious. While actually journeying the traveller should be more abstemious than usual. He should indulge in the use of water only after sunset.

The ordinary allowance of a Bedouin does not exceed twelve ounces daily of black bread and salt cheese, with a few dried dates. There is scarcely any disease among them. The bad water in the desert is apt to produce bowel complaints and typhoid fevers. Many Europeans use brandy to correct it. Mr M. recommends powdered charcoal.

The animalculæ which abound in the water of the Nile are made an excuse by many for the intemperate use of spirituous liquors. Mr Madden tells us that no ill effects are to be feared from any quantity of these animalculæ, the gastric juice destroying them almost immediately, whereas the use of spirituous liquors is incompatible in such a climate with a healthy liver. "All Dr Currie's theoretical arguments are as a feather in the scale, when opposed to the opinions of those who derive their knowledge from local acquaintance with the climate, and personal experience of its maladies."

The heavy dews of the summer nights are to be avoided, as the most frequent causes of ophthalmia and dysentery.

Generally speaking, the traveller would do well to respect the opinions, and even the prejudices, of the natives, touching what is wholesome and what is not.

The six diseases which the traveller in Egypt and Arabia has to fear are plague, dysentery, ophthalmia, bilious remittent fever, ague, and inflammatory fever: for the treatment of all these Mr Madden gives directions, repeating that the mortality among travellers has in a great measure arisen from their own mismanagement of their disorders.

We should be pleased to lay before our readers some specimens of the new and curious information which this book contains on the subject of oriental manners, and the civil condition of the people. It is difficult, however, to select from such a multitude of minute particulars in such a way as to interest the reader, without larger extracts than our limits will allow. We observe, too, that a republication of the work has been announced, which will probably place the facts that it contains within the reach of almost all our readers. We shall,

therefore, merely quote a few passages, and then limit our remaining observations to two points more particularly relevant to the design and scope of our own work.

The state of feeling between Greeks and Roman Catholics may be gathered from the following:

“The hatred existing here between Greeks and Catholics, exceeds any intolerance to be met with elsewhere. It appears, the nearer religions approach, the greater is the enmity between their followers. I suppose it is on the same principle, that neighbouring states are more jealous of one another, than those which are more remote. I had a curious illustration given me a few days ago, of the animosity of the Greeks towards their Catholic fellow slaves. A young Greek, an only son, of respectable family, took it into his head to become a Mahometan. In a few days after this event, he was seen parading before his father's door, with his *Koran* slung across his shoulder, his *yatican* at his side, and his pistols in his bosom: all the miserable vanity of a Greek was gratified; he was as happy as his unfortunate father was miserable. The poor old man would receive no comfort; his friends preached patience and resignation to him in vain: his neighbours feared he would go mad; they sent the Papas to him to offer consolation; his reverence was a Spartan; he resolved to adopt a mode of consolation which no Greek could resist: ‘My good Christian,’ said he to the unhappy father, ‘you are indeed afflicted, and have reason to be dejected at the first view of your misfortune: but, cheer up! though you grieve that your son has turned a Turk, how much more reason have you to rejoice that he has not become a Catholic!’ The old man acknowledged he had reason to be thankful, and dried up his tears. I vouch not for the truth of the story; but I am sure most Greeks would have felt as the old man did; and most Levantine Catholics would have preferred to see their infants circumcised, rather than witness their baptism at the Greek altar.

“Greeks have repeatedly said to me, ‘Why do you go to the house of that abominable Catholic?’ and a Catholic lady has given me warning to quit her house, because I associate with schismatic Greeks! I have often said to them, ‘Why are you so anxious to cut one another's throats, for trifling shades of difference in doctrines, which neither of you understand? I have questioned you both about your religions, and neither of you can tell me the tenets of your own. Each of you indeed talk about the blasphemy of using leavened or unleavened bread at the altar; and for this distinction, you forget that you are both ambitious of being called Christians; and endeavour to arm the vengeance of your common enemy, the Turk, against the bosoms of each other.’”

The miserable effects of despotism on the Christian population of the Turkish empire is vividly described by Mr M.

“During the Greek revolution, the *Rayahs* in Constantinople who escaped the first massacre, could not refrain from returning to the city that was yet reeking with the blood of their families. A friend of mine met two of the principal Greeks of the *Fanal*, walking with great composure in Pera, the evening of the day that their houses had been broken into to drag them to death; they had escaped through a window: and this gentleman offered to put them aboard an English vessel, disguised as sailors, and thus ensure their safety. They refused; they could not bring themselves to leave the shores of the Bosphorus: they were both beheaded next day. Others went away for a few days and then returned, owning it was impossible to live out of Constantinople, though they knew they had been denounced, and every one of them was taken and put to death. I had instances of this kind within my own experience.

“I have known them, when they acquired a little property, indulge in all the pitiful vanity of their nation; line their caftans with ermine, cover their divans with velvet, smoke argilles of gold, eat their pilaw off silver dishes, and invite the Moslems to witness their magnificence. When I have expressed my wonder at thus tempting the rapacity of the Turks, I have been told that it was ‘better to live like a prince one year, than to exist fifty years like a beggar.’”

“Nothing throughout Turkey surprised me so much as the inconceivable apathy of the Greeks and Armenians, on occasions where life and property were at stake, and where both might have been preserved by a practicable flight. There is not a Turk in the smallest hamlet, as well as the largest city, where a *Rayah* is to be found, who does not either extort money from him, frequently by threats, or wheedle him out of loans, which he repays by flattery, and thus compensates his Moslem pride for having recourse to subsequent perfidy. In short, the Turkish population of all large towns derive their subsistence from no ostensible means, but have hitherto lived on the industry of the Christian *Rayahs*. That resource avails no longer, at least to any thing like the extent to which it once did. All the Greeks of the *Fanal* have been massacred; the lower classes have been diminished likewise, all over the empire; they were formerly the source of wealth, they are so no longer: the Greek merchants are no longer to be found in Turkey; the Armenian bankers have been plundered; their numbers are every day decreasing; the revenues of Greece and of the islands are irretrievably lost; and the Pachas of Syria send the complaints of the wretched people to the Porte instead of tribute.”

The following we believe to be a just and striking representation:

“I know not in what history to seek a parallel for the sudden aggrandizement of the Turkish nation: as Aaron Hill has quaintly expressed it, ‘swallowing up at a morsel the conquests of Macedonian Alexander, and outdoing the stupendous victories of the successful Jews!’ And neither do I know in what history to seek a picture of national declivity so striking as that of Turkey. A century has sufficed to strip her of her glory, and to wring from her more than half her conquests. The pompous titles of her boundaries: the Pontus, the Propontis, the Egean, and the Adriatic, are now vain words; the Crimea, Circassia, Georgia, Bulgaria, Bosnia, Greece, and her rich isles, are lost. Arabia, to the walls of Mecca, is in the hands of the Wahabees\*. The Druses, the Metualis, and the Maronites of Syria suffer no Turk to enter their country five miles from Jerusalem. The Arabs acknowledged no allegiance, and are no longer subject to the Sultan. Egypt, indeed, pays a precarious tribute; but Tunis, Algiers, Tripoli, and Morocco, are independent states. When the dismemberment is to end, I pretend not to determine; but as all the world has had a pluck at the proud bird, I suppose it is reserved for Russia to snatch the last feather.”

The Pacha of Egypt, who has acquired so brilliant a factitious reputation, is thus pourtrayed by a personal acquaintance:

“The Mamelukes were angels, in the estimation of the people, compared to the present Pacha. The depredations of the former were partial in their extent, and easily defeated by the craft of the peasant; the plunder of the latter is reduced to a system, and not to be avoided by the cunning of the victim: he farms out the land, of the whole of which he is the proprietor, at a few piastres the *feddan*; and every thing that is grown he takes at his own price. The starving *fellah* dares not appropriate a grain of rice to his own use. The price that he gives hardly pays the expense of cultivation, and the payment of that small pittance is given in an order on the treasury; and here a second order is given on a merchant, who never pays more than half the amount in money, and the other moiety in goods. I have bought cloth from the unfortunate peasant, so received, at one-half the prime cost.”

“How the Pacha acquired so much fame with Franks is to be attributed solely to the favour he has shown the Christian merchants. His avarice is stronger than his bigotry; and, in his relations with European merchants, he treats them less like Caffres than they were accustomed to be considered; and he who knows him best, from

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\* In June 1827 the Pacha of Egypt had to send a strong reinforcement to Mecca, the Wahabees having again appeared before the walls of the Holy City.

his official situation here, has declared to me, that in the event of the Sultan declaring a religious war, our negotiations with him are to be conducted with all the caution which Turkish perfidy demands. His intercourse with Franks has indeed given him the show of civilization; his interest as a merchant has rendered the protection of the Franks a necessary duty; his mildness towards the Greeks, who sought a refuge in Egypt, is creditable to his policy. His monopoly of every thing whose little traffic gave a morsel of bread to his people, even of the dung which is collected in the streets, is a proof of his commercial spirit."

"Because he is not wantonly cruel, like his ferocious son; because he only murders his guests when the policy of the state renders it expedient; because he talks of European customs with our travellers, when his affability is made subservient to his interests, Europeans are fascinated with his breeding; they are no longer mindful of the Beys; and more governments than one, in Christendom, put confidence in his faith. If he were the hero his parasites proclaim him, why did he not seek his independence? If he were the liberal minded Moslem he is reputed, why did he waste his treasures in a war which had naught to recommend it to him but Christian bloodshed? The reason is obvious and simple; it is because he is too much of a Turk *in petto* to cast off the allegiance he owes the successor of Mahomet. He endeavours to steer a middle course between the *giaours* and the Sultan; and, whenever his interests require him to be treacherous to the former, his moderation and his civilization will vanish into thin air.

"The *hyæna* is not to be trusted, because his timidity makes him apparently tame at noon-day; and though the Pacha smiles when he receives our envoys, it is not to be forgotten he can 'murder with a smile;' and, to use an Arab proverb, 'the rage of the lion is most deadly when he shows his eye teeth.'"

We quote the following, as the latest information respecting the mysterious people called the *Druses*:

"The *Sheik Bechir*, also, whom Burckhardt describes as having all the effective power of Mount Lebanon in his hands, and as being superior even to the Emir Bechir, no longer exists; he was defeated and slain by the Emir; his wife and family are now in the hands of his enemy.

"Lady H—— S—— told me, the only part she ever took in the political affairs of Syria, was in the preservation of the *Sheik Bechir's* wife and children, just before the last battle, in which the *Sheik* was defeated: her Ladyship got intelligence from one of those secret emissaries which she has in every *Pachalik* of Syria, that the *harem* of the *Sheik* was to be surprised by the Emir's people, in two hours, at the village where they were awaiting the event of the battle, and that the Emir had resolved on putting the children to death.

Her Ladyship had just time to despatch a trusty servant, to give notice to the wife of the unfortunate Sheik, and the *harem* as accordingly removed to a place of security, where it remained for some time, till the Emir's rage subsided, and terms were offered by him to the wife.

"The *Sheik Bechir* was a Druse, and greatly beloved by his people. The *Emir*, whose jurisdiction now extends over all Mount Lebanon, is of a noble Turkish family, from Mecca, which has continued from the time of the famous Fakardine to give rulers to Lebanon. The Emir, however, whether from policy or conviction, has turned Christian, and has married one of his daughters to a converted Druse, of the Maronite Catholic Church: he affects, however, to fast the *Ramazan* in the presence of Turks; and, like the Druses, pretends to be a Mussulman when in Mahometan society.

"Perhaps his chief motive for embracing Christianity is to attach to him the Christian population of Lebanon, which is more numerous than that of the Druses; the latter are again superior to the *Ansari*, who are the descendants and followers of the celebrated "old man of the mountain;" and to the *Metaweli*, who, like the Persians, are of the sect of Ali. Of the religion of the Druses very little is known. The only facts I could confirm of former statements, or ascertain myself, were that the secular part of the community is called *Djahels*, and the ecclesiastics, *Akals*. The latter wear a white turban; they marry not the daughters of laymen; they eat not with strangers; they affect to despise riches; they all profess *Islamism*, which literally means, "abandoning one's self to God:" but they pray not as Turks; they eat pork in private; they generally have but one wife. They smoke not, swear not, and believe that there are many Druses in England: from which circumstance and some others, they have been considered by some authors as descendants of the Crusaders. The people are hospitable, but vindictive: the avenging of blood is a sacred duty.

"From *De Sacy's* account of their books, it appears they call themselves Unitarians, and pay divine worship to their lord, *Hakem*, Caliph of Egypt, of Ali's race, born in the year three hundred and seventy-five of the Hegira; their doctrines are a jargon of Judaism, Christianity, Mahometanism, and Paganism.

"The Jesuits affirm that in the towns of Bagelin and Fredis there were gold and silver statues of their god *Hakem*. But in all the inquiries I made concerning the adoration of a female figure, as represented by Volney, I met with no proof of any such practice; but I was frequently assured, that they paid divine honour in their churches to the image of a calf."

The strange mixture of insolence and servility which Europeans must encounter in their intercourse with Turks, is well illustrated in the following anecdote:

“I had a good specimen of Turkish insolence and pusillanimity at Surur's grand entertainment. A Turkish officer who stood behind me, when we were all crowding round the jesters to witness their buffoonery, took occasion to pull off my turban without being perceived; I put it on again, thinking I had not secured it properly before: a second time it was pulled off, but I took no notice of it, determined to be on the alert and seize the hand which did it the next time. I had no sooner put it on again than off it went, as before; I turned round with such quickness that I seized the fellow's hand before he had time to withdraw it. *Marass*, *Kelp*, and *Caffre* were the first gentle epithets that escaped my lips—invective, even in Arabic, is easily acquired. He endeavoured to release his hand, but I held it fast; he put the other on the handle of his pistol, but I gave him no time to draw it, he measured his length on the floor instanter. There was a general uproar; the two brothers of the consul were by my side in an instant. I informed them of the fellow's insolence, and to my great satisfaction I heard Yussuf Surur say to the prostrate gentleman, ‘The hakkim was wrong not to have shot you!’

“The other Turkish officers, instead of resenting such strong language, crouched like dogs to Surur, and begged of him, for God's sake, to tell the governor that the noise was occasioned by a man's slipping off the divan, on which he had been standing to see the jester. The fellow, who had just raised himself up, took hold of my hand in the most abject manner, entreating of me to forgive him, and not to tell the governor of what had happened, for he would certainly lose his head. I set him at ease by consenting to forgive him; and then prevailed on Yussuf Surur to pass over, likewise, the insolence which had been practised in his brother's house. There was such a crowd in the room at the time of this fracas, that the governor remained ignorant of the cause. Had I passed over this insult with impunity, the fellow would have despised me, but for having resented it he ever after honoured and respected me; if I met him in the street he *salaamed* me to the ground: if I saw him at the governor's, he was the first to greet me: in short, I observed in this instance what I had noticed in very many others, that the *argumentum ad hominem* is the only logic which a Turk can understand, or his proud heart be convinced by.”

The character of the independent Arabs appears to have impressed Mr Madden very differently. One little anecdote is very pleasing:

“Two days before our arrival here we were destitute of every thing; we could get no provisions in the villages. One evening I was begging to purchase a little milk; an old Arab observed that I had been refused; he took my companion by the hand, and said,

'Follow me; whatever I have, you shall have the half of it.' He gave us about a gallon of milk and a score of *douro* loaves. I offered him five or six piastres in return; a sum, in Upper Egypt, equivalent to ten times the amount in England; and he who knows the misery of the Arabs can best appreciate the hospitable feeling which could prompt the refusal of so large a sum. The old man stroked his white beard, '*La la! hawadgi,*' said he, 'I do not want your money; why should I take any for a mouthful of bread; does it not all come from God?'

"He pointed to heaven as he spoke; and, as this simple and beautiful expression passed his lips, I thought it gained additional impressiveness from the natural dignity of his manner, and the unstudied elegance of his Arab oratory."

The following brief parallel between Greek and Turkish morals, though perhaps too pointed, is no doubt substantially correct:

"The Turks are generally considered to be honester than the Greeks, and in point of fact they are, or at least appear so; they are certainly less mendacious, and are too clumsy to practise chicanery to advantage. Their probity, however, depends not on any moral repugnance to deceit, but solely on the want of talent to deceive. I never found a Turk who kept his word when it was his interest to break it; but then I never knew a Greek who was not unnecessarily and habitually a liar. He is subtle in spirit, insidious in discourse, plausible in his manner, and indefatigable in dishonesty; he is an accomplished scoundrel; and beside him, the Turk, with all the desire to defraud, is so *gauche* in knavery, that, to avoid detection, he is constrained to be honest."

The points which we have reserved above for further consideration, are, the light thrown upon the scriptures by this work, and the views expressed in it respecting missionaries and the missionary enterprise. Under the former head there is not much to be gained. We have already said that Mr Madden displays no intimate acquaintance with the subject of biblical antiquities. He seems indeed to have had no design of this sort in his travels and researches. The observations which he does make appear to have been forced upon him by his situation, and not to have resulted from systematic or habitual attention to the subject. It is not to be supposed, therefore, that his book affords any new and striking views. We shall merely bring together the few cases in which what he saw and what he says have a bearing on the scriptures.

We know not whether we should class among these passages the flippant one in which he asserts that he witnessed



all the plagues of Egypt, and makes such becoming applications of scripture as the following: "The plague of biles and blains I have seen with a vengeance; buboes and carbuncles have been familiar to my sight, and many people have I seen 'smote with pestilence.'" "As for 'darkness,' physical and moral, there is no lack of it in Egypt! *Ophthalmia* and despotism plague the land with darkness, 'even darkness that may be felt.'" This same sort of clumsy wit, turning on ludicrous allusions to the Bible, we have observed elsewhere in the book, and as in all such cases, have considered it a proof of the want both of taste and piety. An example which occurs to us, is his account of the crippled Copt, who expected in vain to be restored by the hakkim's skill. "I could not help being flattered by such confidence; but the poor man left Gourná, notwithstanding, in two days' time: 'he took up his bed,' but he did not walk." Such laborious attempts to be profanely witty it is easy to interpret.

In Nubia, the serpent is still found in an erect posture. Mr Galt saw one stand four or five feet from the ground, rolled in spiral circles. The testimony of all modern travellers seems to confirm the fact, that in every country the serpent is connected, historically or otherwise, with the system of religion. This fact is scarcely less significant and conclusive than the universal prevalence of sacrifices.

We have said, that Mr Madden made no efforts to obtain information of the kind to which we now have reference. From this statement we should except his tour to Suez, for the purpose of ascertaining where the Goshen of the Israelites was situated. His conclusion is that Goshen was the country between San (the ancient Zoan) and Salehies, now on the borders of the desert; but once, it would appear from the ruins scattered through it, a cultivated country.

At Suez Mr Madden devoted some attention to the passage of the Red Sea. We quote the account of his experiment, and his own inferences, without comment.

"One of my first objects at Suez was to ascertain if the sea was fordable opposite the town at ebb tide; the consular agent and the Levantine writers of the governor assured me that it was not; but I attached little importance to their assertions. I therefore desired my servant to find me out any Indian sailor who wished to earn a dollar by crossing the gulf: at eight in the evening a man made his appearance who offered to make the attempt. I explained to him the nature of the object I wanted to ascertain; I directed him to walk

straight across, as far as it was possible to do so, and to hold his hands over his head as he walked along. He was in the water forthwith, he proceeded slowly and steadily, his hands above his head, and in nine minutes he was at the other side of the Red Sea. On his return he told me what I knew to be a fact, that he had walked every step across, the deepest part being about the middle of the gulf, when the water was up to his chin. I proceeded now to follow his course; I gave him another dollar to cross over before me, and as I was nearly eight inches taller than my guide, where his chin was in the water my long beard was quite dry.

“The tide was now coming in fast, and by the time we reached the middle of the sea my Indian thought it imprudent to proceed farther, as I could not boast of being an expert swimmer. Had we remained ten minutes longer, we should inevitably have suffered Pharoah's fate, for the opposite bank was perceptibly diminishing; and at ten o'clock the sea, which was hardly more than the breadth of the Thames at London Bridge two hours before, was now from two to three miles broad. I returned perfectly convinced that the Red Sea, opposite Suez, is passable at ebb-tide.

“By a mark which I made on a perpendicular rock on the seaside, about eighty paces from the spot we forded, I found the difference between the ebb and flow to be six feet two inches. The fountains of *Moses*, above *El Naba*, are about seven miles from Suez by water, but by land the distance is double.

“Five miles to the north of Suez the sea terminates in a narrow creek and saline marsh, which it is necessary to wind round in going by land to *El Naba*. Niebuhr says he walked across this creek at ebb tide, and was only knee deep in water. The Bedouins do this daily, but I am not aware that any European before me ever attempted the passage of the sea opposite Suez: indeed, the very inhabitants considered it impracticable till I proved the contrary.”

“In short, there is no other point but that of *Suez*, from which so immense a body as that of the Israelites could have passed over the sea without the farther miracle of removing mountains. I do not hold the preservation of the Israelites to be one degree less miraculous, because the wind or the tide drove back the waters, to let them pass at *Suez*, and that the same natural causes were ordained by God to overwhelm the Egyptians.

“I believe that infinite wisdom in the operation of miracles is pleased to consider our finite faculties, and to make natural agents the instruments of his divine power.”

The *quails*, on which the children of Israel were fed, Mr Madden thinks, with bishop Patrick, were locusts. The bishop's argument, that to spread quails in the sun to dry, would only have been to make them putrify the sooner, is met by

Dr Clarke with Maillet's statement, that fish are so dried in Egypt. To this Mr Madden answers that they are always previously salted.

On the subject of manna, Mr Madden states, that from the tamarisks in the wilderness of Sinai, a gum exudes by night which the Bedouins call *mann*, and use it as we do honey. He adds in a note, that according to the statements of a celebrated botanist, there is a small thorny shrub which abounds in the desert of Arabia, and produces much more manna than the tamarisk.

The *hornets* of the scripture he believes to have been scorpions, and repeats Burekhardt's observation, that the *fiery serpents* which "the Lord sent among the people," would be more correctly rendered *serpents of burning bites*. These, he says, abound in the desert, and are objects of great terror to the Arabs.

It would seem, that the oriental Jews do not speak with the same certainty as European writers, respecting the location of Mount Sinai. When Mr Madden talked upon the subject to a respectable Hebrew at Jerusalem, he shook his head and said, "no one knows where Mount Sinai is: we know that Aaron is buried in the valley betwixt the Red Sea and Syria; we know that our father Abraham, and Jacob, and Isaac, sleep in Hebron, eight hours hence; we know the tomb adjoining Bethlehem is that of our mother Rachel; we know the splendid sepulchre by Siloa was constructed by Absalom; we know that yonder sepulchre is that of Samuel; but none of us know where Sinai stands or where Moses sleeps."

There is no subject in geography or history more awfully interesting than that monument of almighty vengeance, the Dead Sea. Few oriental travellers have failed, therefore, to include it in the range of their researches. Unhappily, however, there is much discrepance in the accounts of different visitors. We are always glad, therefore, to be favoured with additional details, and are pleased that Mr Madden was attentive and minute in his examination. He informs us, that contrary to the counsel of his guide, he bathed in the lake. The water was the coldest he had ever felt, and the taste of it most detestable, being that of nitre mixed with quassia. Its buoyancy he found to be far greater even than that of the Euxine. He tried in vain to sink. By an effort, he could plunge below the surface, but rose again instantaneously. His feet having been wounded on the rocks, before he went into the lake, the

poisonous quality of the water caused the wounds to ulcerate, in consequence of which he was confined a fortnight at Jerusalem, and apprehensive of gangrene. Having provided himself with a fishing line and baits, he spent two hours in catching bitumen, the only thing that came in contact with his hook. From this and other experiments, together with the testimony of the Arabs, he is fully persuaded that there is no living creature to be found in the Dead Sea, and that Chateaubriand was the dupe of his imagination, when he heard "legions of little fishes" jumping in the water.

The face of the surrounding country, Mr Madden states, has all the appearance of a volcanic region, and he expresses his belief that the Dead Sea covers the crater of a volcano, which divine wrath employed as its instrument in the destruction of the cities of the plain.

The famous apple of Sodom, which "turns to ashes on the lips," is treated by Shaw, Poëcke, and Burckhardt, as entirely fabulous. Mr Madden, however, had ocular demonstration of its actual existence. The only remaining fact which we shall notice is, that there is not a boat upon the lake, and probably never has been. This mysterious body of water seems to have been regarded with instinctive horror by the circumjacent tribes, as if to perpetuate by dim tradition as well as by revelation, the memory of the catastrophe by which it was produced.

We come now to Mr Madden's statements and opinions with respect to missions, which, for want of room, we must endeavour to despatch in a few words. While speaking of the foreign policy of England, Mr Madden makes the following remarks:

"With the expediency of the policy which makes us monopolists in civilization as well as in commerce, I have nothing to do. History may, perhaps, inquire into that expediency; but, at all events, the world will yet demand if the vast resources of England, her influence over nations, her power, and her wealth, have been employed in the melioration of mankind; and if the charity of her enlightened institutions be found to have been of that domestic nature which seldom stirs abroad, posterity will have little reason to rejoice in her prosperity!

"It is in vain to delude ourselves with the belief that we are largely contributing to the civilization of the east, by assisting the Bible Society in the 'conversion of the heathen.' The knight-errants of Christianity, indeed, pervade every corner of the kingdom. The scrip-

tures, indeed, have been *translated* into a hundred mutilated tongues ; and vast sacrifices of money and of truth have been made in the cause of eastern proselytism.

“ To convert, it is thought, is to civilize: in my apprehension, to civilize is the most likely method to convert. Our missionaries have been totally unsuccessful, for they commenced at the wrong end. I speak on this point from much observation and a long acquaintance with the subject. They relied on the abstruse dogmas of the church, rather than on the mild doctrines of Christianity, for persuasion. The Turk had to digest the Trinity before he was acquainted with the beautiful morality of the gospel. The Greek had to stomach the abuse of ‘ the holy fire,’ before he was made sensible of the advantages of a purer worship. The Catholic had to listen to the defamation of his creed before he was convinced of a more rational religion ; and if they were so successful as to shake him in his faith, he had then to decide whether he would be a Methodist, or a Presbyterian, or a Calvinist, or an English Protestant, or a German Lutheran ; for our missionaries in Egypt and Syria are of as many conflicting sects. But such is the perversity of the human heart, those wretched Arabs, morally as well as physically blind, continue to ‘ walk in darkness and the shadow of death,’ obstinately refusing the light we fain would force upon them ; and when they are reprovèd, they have the audacity to say, ‘ *We have the faith which our father’s followed, and we are satisfied with it.*’

“ A temporary provision has sometimes produced a temporary change ; but this is rare ; for the conversion of a Mussulman would necessarily consign the convert to the grave: but if, in secret, a proselyte be made, the event, under the magnifying lens of the ‘ Missionary Herald,’ makes a flourishing appearance. ‘ The conversion of the heathen,’ heads a chapter ; the Evangelical reviewers chuckle over ‘ the triumph of the book,’ and John Bull pays another year’s subscription to support ‘ the cause of *truth.*’ A Jew here, whom the Rev. Joseph Wolff ‘ left impressed with the truths of Christianity,’ showed me a splendid copy of the scriptures, which that gentleman had given him : I was astonished to find the New Testament had been torn out ; I begged to know the reason ; the man acknowledged to me that he had torn out the New Testament after Mr. Wolff’s departure. I accompanied one of the missionaries to the synagogue, who in the middle of the worship commenced distributing tracts. I saw some of them thrown down ; others were deposited, without a regard, on the forms : surely the zeal was indiscrete, which for any purpose disturbed the performance of religious duties ; and assuredly a Hebrew missionary would have been roughly handled by the beadle of St Paul’s, had he intruded himself on the Sabbath, between the congregation and their God, to distribute ver-

sions of the Talmud. In alluding to the many suppositious conversions which abound in Mr Wolff's book, I impugn not that gentleman's veracity; but I have good reason to know that he and his enthusiastic brethren are imposed upon by the needy and the vile: that these gentlemen are good and pious, I am well convinced: and I consider it an honour to have been acquainted with men of so much worth and amiability as the Reverend D. M'Pherson, Mr Nicolaison, and Mr Muller."

In another place, speaking of a Catholic missionary at Negade in Egypt, he proceeds as follows:

"I had scarcely entered when he commenced pronouncing an anathema on the Copts (the inhabitants of the village were principally Copts;) and I soon found out that the hostility of his reverence to his fellow Christians arose entirely from his missionary zeal. He failed in converting them, so he considered a superfluous malediction could not damn them a jot deeper: this is, at least, the most charitable construction I can put upon his fury. Strange as it may appear, this feeling of hatred to those who refuse our good offices is natural to most men. Do not imagine its excess is peculiar to the Roman Catholic missionaries. Those of all churches in the east, I am sorry to say, I have every where observed to be intemperate in the expression of their inveteracy against such as resist their good intentions.

"The German missionaries, the English missionaries, and the American missionaries, all are so enthusiastic in their endeavours to 'draw the nominal Christians,' (for such they call them) of these countries from 'ignorance and idolatry,' that I have seen some of them, by dint of reviling false doctrines, fall into the natural error of hating those who believed in them. Messrs M'Pherson, Muller, and Nicolaison are exceptions to this spirit of intolerance. I often wished, for the sake of the mild character of Christianity, that they had communicated a little of their gentleness and liberality to others."

Our only object in noticing these strictures is to satisfy the minds of those who believe in the obligation resting upon Christians to evangelize the world, but whose faith might be staggered, or their confidence impaired by this picture of the fruitlessness of missionary effort. The attention of all such we would request to a few particulars. In the first place, it is obvious from the passages just quoted, that the writer is a man who has no proper feelings on the subject of religion; who regards it as a lawful theme for witticism, and looks upon the conversion of the world (whether probable or not) as a matter far less interesting and important than the contagious or non-contagious nature of the plague. Now is not such a person totally incompetent to reason and conclude upon the subject?

And are not his conclusions vitiated by the evident indifference with which he treats the matter? We would no more waver in our faith respecting missions on account of the objections raised by such a *pocourante*, than Mr Madden would have suffered his opinions on the plague to be disturbed by the dogmas of the Mollah, who prescribed oil of wax for inflammation on the liver.

2. In the next place, it is very clear, that our author is not only indifferent, but pretty strongly prejudiced. There are intelligible tokens scattered through the book that the hakkim's judgment was apt to be a good deal warped upon matters in which he was not perfectly *au fait*. The depth of his theological attainments may be gathered from his gravely representing Presbyterians and Calvinists as *conflicting sects*, and his orthodoxy from his carefully distinguishing the doctrine of the Trinity, as an abstruse *dogma of the church*, from what he calls the *doctrines of Christianity*. Any reader may satisfy himself by glancing through the book, that Mr Madden was extremely prone to change his opinions upon most matters, but especially the character of individuals, as often as he changed his society and local habitation. In the dark picture which he gives above of the *odium theologium* existing on the part of eastern missionaries towards the unconverted, he excepts three individuals, and why? Because he had just been in their society. Well, follow him from Egypt into Syria, where he is entertained by the American missionaries, "whose hospitality all strangers have reason to acknowledge," and you will see this hospitality work wonders. You will learn with surprise that the intemperate zealots, who had "commenced at the wrong end," and by dint of reviling false doctrines come to hate those who believed in them, are only "frustrated in their benevolent intentions by the prejudices of the natives, and the bigotry of the Turkish rulers."

3. With respect to the old standing censure of evangelical missions as beginning at the wrong end, and reversing the natural order of civilization and conversion, we are not disposed to come over arguments so hackneyed, and meet objections so repeatedly exploded. We shall say nothing, therefore, about the matter upon general grounds. The few words which we mean to add, have reference exclusively to Mr Madden's own statements. We need scarcely say, that he has evidently no idea of a supernatural efficiency in Christianity to change and elevate the intellectual as well as the moral character; to

enlarge the understanding while it purifies the heart. With this contracted notion of the power of true religion, it is not surprising that he looks upon the efforts of the missionary as lost labour. To those who coincide with him in sentiment, his arguments must doubtless be conclusive. But with such the friends of missions have no community of views. They believe that, without a divine influence, no means will be available, but that as it pleases God to work by means, it is our duty to employ those which he has designated, however inefficient in appearance, and however unsuccessful in their first results.

But to turn the tables, we do seriously say, that the perusal of this book has strengthened our belief in the insufficiency of the method of conversion which its author recommends. We have sometimes been disposed to think, that if the rule of *civilization first, conversion afterwards*, were applicable any where, it might be so among Mohammedans, whose contempt for Christians appears conquerable only by a strong conviction of their own inferiority in learning and the arts. Mr Madden has disabused us, by showing that the Moslem world, regarded as a whole, is impervious to all extraneous influences, nerved by human strength. The Turk while he cringes at the feet of the physician, still hates him as a "cafir" and contemns him as a "dog." Immoveably fixed in the belief of fatalism, he fears no change for the worse, and desires none for the better; when forced to acknowledge the advantages enjoyed by Christendom in knowledge and refinement, he consoles himself by thinking on the day when "the infidel shall be down on his couch of fire, and drink rivers of hot water." This dogged resignation to all evils, whether curable or not, has never been more vividly portrayed than in the book before us. And does Mr Madden really believe, that upon such materials the mere love of knowledge and desire for intellectual and social enjoyment can be brought to act? What we value and admire in civilized society, has no charms but for those who are nurtured in its bosom. To borrow Mr Madden's own lively but exaggerated language, in the Turk's eyes, English science is but witchcraft, English liberty licentiousness, English modesty indecorum, English genius penknife-making! Where then are the implements with which we are to work? By what strange process shall the Mussulman be brought to regard as blessings, and implore as benefactions, what he learns from his childhood to laugh at and abhor? Before he can be taught to value civi-



lization, he must be civilized himself ; and civilized, we do not hesitate to say, by the influence of the gospel. Is it asked what are *our* means for achieving this great conquest? We reply, the very same which the infidel derides. *God has chosen the foolish things of the world to confound the wise, and the weak things of the world to confound the mighty.* There will no doubt be a rivalry and a fierce struggle between these two plans for the conversion of the world. But we have no fear for the event; for we know, and are persuaded, that *the foolishness of God is wiser than men, and the weakness of God stronger than men.*

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## THE CLAIMS OF FOREIGN MISSIONS.

If the church of Christ had been in any adequate measure pure in her spirit, and faithful to her trust, as the depository of the gospel for mankind, then the history of the church would have been the history of missions.

But on the contrary, the history of the church is in a principal degree the record of its corruptions in doctrine and in life: and when we would trace on from its rise to the present time, the pure stream of Christianity, instead of the "river of God," we find in many ages only a scanty brook, well nigh lost amidst the rubbish and dilapidations through which it wends its way.

The apostles of Christ defined with their own hands the *present* frontier-line of foreign missions; and what has since been done for the conversion of the world, has been the result more of natural causes, than of the spirit of missions. What they achieved in a few years, under divine influence, by heroic enterprise, was ignobly left by after ages to the work of time, and to the *indirect* influences only of Christianity.

Indeed, for several centuries before the days of Luther, the *church itself* was *missionary* ground. The religion of Christ lay expiring on its own altar, the victim of its professed votaries and friends. And when at the ever memorable reformation, "the spirit of life from God entered into her, and she again stood upon her feet," the servants of Christ found Pa-

ganism within the very recesses of the sanctuary. *They* had but little leisure for the cultivation of a foreign field, who were absorbed in purging out abominations from the very temple of God itself. Their hands were busied in breaking down the idols from the holy places, in casting out those that made merchandise of the truth, in overturning the tables of the money-changers, and in restoring to its purity the worship of God. And then, alas! almost before the work of reform had been sufficiently extended to give numbers and strength to Christianity, the spirit of contention and of schism arose; the progress of the holy cause was arrested by the fatal divisions of its friends; and the reformed church

“To party gave up, what was meant for mankind.”

The revival in latter days of the spirit of missions in Protestant Christendom, is a great epoch in the history of the church and of the world. We have no doubt that future generations, passing by the fading glories of this world, will regard this as the most brilliant characteristic of the age in which we live: and if we are faithful to God and man, it may become the first in a series of progressive movements, which, with the divine blessing, shall issue in the conversion of the world.

But if we would take the proper impression of the subject, and gird ourselves fully for the great and solemn service we have to perform, then must we esteem the work of missions for the conversion of the world as but just begun. For though, compared with the spirit and labours of some other ages, much is doing now for this noblest of causes, yet, compared with the vast extent of unreclaimed heathenism, with the bountiful compass of the divine command, or with what we can and ought to do, our achievements are matter much more of humiliation than of mutual congratulation.

The great body of professed Christians is not at all interested in foreign missions; even the ministers of reconciliation, as an order, are not roused or in action on this subject. The whole force of our missionaries abroad, if distributively given, would scarcely afford a *pastor* for a *nation*; and the points of their impression on almost a world of heathens, break at distant intervals on the view like

“Sunny islets on a stormy sea,  
Like specks of azure on a cloudy sky.”

These affecting and awful facts acquire an interest still more intense, as we descend from a general to a particular applica-

tion. Thus, for example, the missionary spirit and efforts of the age are almost restricted to the British and American Protestant churches. But the British churches greatly exceed our own in this labour of love; among the American churches, those of New England do almost all that is attempted in our country; and the Presbyterian church, to which we belong, (not to mention others), can scarcely be called an agent at all in the foreign field.\*

In view of these things we have thought it imperative on us at this time to address American, and especially Presbyterian, Christians in behalf of this injured cause.

*Every appeal on such a subject should begin with a reference to the authority of God.* But here the command is so full and clear, so frequently appealed to, and so familiar, (see Matt. xxviii. 18, 20. Mark xvi. 14, 20. Luke xxiv. 44, 52. Acts i. 3, 10.) that we need rather to be incited to regard it, than reasoned with in evidence of its obligation. It is important, however, in passing, to remark that the divine command to give the gospel to every creature, as it is a standing law, so it is a discriminating test of our fidelity and devotion to the Lord Jesus Christ. "If ye love me, keep my commandments," is his own affecting standard of Christian character. And how can we love him if we violate this last, this great command? To this he set the seal of his blood in death. To this he added the sanction of divine authority and power when he arose from the dead. In this all other commandments centre. The service it enjoins is in the direct line of the operation of providence, the work of redemption, and the glory of God. To this are appended the overwhelming conditions of heaven and hell; the decisive alternative of redemption or ruin: and when he ascended to the skies, he appointed obedience to his command as the standing token of his people's love.

In fine, however our Lord may have borne with the ignor-

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\* It has been found on examination that out of \$107,000 received last year, by that noble organization, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, only about \$6000 was received from the Presbyterian churches west and south of New York, and including that state, only about \$21,000 out of New England, while in New England about \$86,000 were obtained. And what is true of our missionary money, is also true of our missionary men. We have scarcely been represented as a branch of the church of Christ in the foreign field, until within a very few years past.

ance and lethargy of other ages, now that channels for missionary charity to heathen lands are opened every day to our very doors, all disregard to this divine command is to be esteemed *a continued and wilful sin.*

*The spiritual state and prospects of the heathen stand next to the command of Christ, in the order of influential motives to a Christian people.*

In our attempts to assert the claims of foreign missions, we have too commonly taken for granted, that the great body of professed Christians was correctly informed as to the spiritual condition and prospects of those who have never heard the gospel. We forget that the objects of their compassion are out of their sight. They seldom hear of them. They seldom think of them. When they do, there is nothing definite or palpable before the mind as to their religious state. They feel a vague pity for distant and endangered nations, whose condition they would gladly better. But they hardly apprehend their exposure to eternal ruin: they scarcely believe it. And while they thus think and feel, perhaps the teachers of religion among them shrink with a false and fatal sensibility from the proper exhibition of the awful subject: or if they are faithful, the people too often view it with suspicion as a romantic cause, partaking of the nature of a religious crusade, and wasting without profit the treasures of the church.

But what is in fact the divine testimony on this question? The following propositions no Christian can, we think, consistently reject, viz:

1. That in all ages since the fall, the natural state of every man has been a sinful, and therefore a lost one.

2. Hence no man in any age or country can reach the kingdom of God without the interposition of Jesus Christ in his behalf.

3. God *may* interpose for the salvation of sinners, as he does in the case of those saved in infancy, and of those who received immediate revelations, before the written word was given.

4. But the decided intimations of the Bible are, that as a great fact, Jesus Christ is revealed to adult men, through the ordinary means of grace alone. "For whosoever shall call on the name of the Lord shall be saved. How then shall they call on him in whom they have not believed? And how shall they believe in him of whom they have not heard? And how shall they hear without a preacher? And how shall they

preach except they be sent? So then, faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the word of God." Rom. x. 13, 14, 15, 17. And that this is the clear import of this passage, none can doubt who will look at its connexion. According to the second proposition, all are lost who are not saved by Jesus Christ. And then the prospect of salvation to those who have not the gospel, is in proportion to the probability that Jesus Christ will save them by direct interposition. But there is no such intimation as this in the word of God.

5. A holy\* man has never been found on earth, so far as we know, since a written revelation was given, who had not been made so by the power of the gospel. No apostle, no foreign missionary has ever reported a single case of this character. And yet they have traversed every sea, explored every country, and in some age and form, offered the Saviour to perhaps every nation under heaven. Now allowing that men are made holy in heathen lands, without the instrumentality of the gospel, yet when that gospel is made known to them, would they not instantly receive it, and with spiritual relish adopt it as their own, as kindred sunbeams mingle into one?

But no such persons have ever been found, since a written revelation was given, unless indeed Cornelius the centurion be considered an example. Allowing him to be such, how sadly solitary is the specimen! But the apostle distinctly declares in his sermon on that memorable occasion, that Cornelius and his household were *already* acquainted with God's written revelation to the Jews; with the doctrine and baptism of John; and with the work and ministry of the Son of God. Acts x. 36, 39.

The inhabitants of the Sandwich Islands made perhaps the nearest approach to this. They abolished idolatry, though ignorant of Christianity. But when Christian missionaries came, they found them unholy and degraded men, having no taste for a spiritual religion, and like all other sinners, needing the renovating grace of God to fit them for heaven.

Again; if such cases of salvation *without* the gospel were numerous enough to justify the pleasing hope of an extensive redemption, surely out of hundreds of millions of men, and

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\* We use this word, of course, in the gospel sense; not to mean perfect, but religiously dedicated to God, and delivered from the dominion of sin.

through a series of ages, multitudes would be found exhibiting the evidences of having felt its influence. Such cases as Job, and Jethro, and Lot, and Melchisedec, and Abraham might be looked for in every land.

But no missionary or apostle, as far so we know, has been ever cheered by the discovery of a single case. While then the hope still trembles in our breasts, that some may be redeemed by the direct interposition of God through Christ, yet who that loves the Saviour or the souls of men would make this the exclusive ground, or in any degree the ground, on which to rest the redemption of the heathen? Or who that believes the word of God would suspend his own eternal life upon such a condition? With these overwhelming facts full in view, we are in some measure prepared to understand and feel the urgency of those motives which press us to send forth the gospel as "on the wings of the morning" to the uttermost parts of the earth. Here we may know the meaning of our Master when he tells us that he will require *their* blood at our hands if we neglect our momentous duty to them. Here, with the map of the world before us, we may survey whole continents immersed in pagan darkness, and count the innumerable millions of heathen population; and looking up into heaven and down into hell, may calculate the worth of all their souls by the value we set on our own. He who can look unmoved at such a spectacle, is not a Christian, nor a man!

Our next suggestion is, *that the best interests of the church of Christ at home (no less than the command of Christ, and the claims of the heathen) require the exercise and operation of a missionary spirit.* What we mean to say is, that the church, as well as the heathen, gains good from this spirit, and that it is even as necessary to the *healthful* life of the church as it is to the salvation of the heathen.

One of the most extraordinary facts in the history of the present age is, that a grave attempt has been made, in the name of religion, to prove that the church and the domestic field are in danger from an excessive issue of foreign missionaries. We regret that we cannot present in a tabular view, the number of evangelical ministers in the world who are labouring in what is called the domestic field, with the amount of their hearers on the one hand, and on the other the number of evangelical missionaries, with the amount of heathen population in the world.

By such a view, the disparity would be made to appear

unspeakably great and awful. By the scale it afforded us, more millions would be assigned to each foreign missionary, than the same number of thousands to each pastor at home. It would be found that the ministers of Christ were crowded into a few corners of the earth, while the wide field of pagan desolations was surrendered to the holy daring and generous self-devotion of a little band of foreign missionaries\*.

At the *present time*, therefore, there is no ground for the fear that we shall feel too much interest in the foreign field, or send so many ministers abroad as to damage the domestic work. The wonder only is that any one acquainted with the history of missions, should apprehend such a result even in a distant futurity. A blush of shame would seem a much more appropriate concomitant of such a history than idle and ill-omened auguries about the danger of excess in our efforts for the heathen. It is the great law of moral action in the kingdom of grace, "*that it is more blessed to give than to receive.*" It is promised alike to individuals, and to commu-

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\* The following remarks from the pen of the lamented and extraordinary youth John Urquhart are so admirable and appropriate, that we cannot forbear their insertion here in a note.

"Let us imagine, that instead of the world, a single country had been pointed out by our Lord as the field of action. And since we are most familiar with our own land, let us just suppose that the particular country specified was the island of Great Britain: and that instead of the command to go forth to all nations, and preach the gospel to every creature, the order had been to go through all the counties of this island, and preach the gospel to every inhabitant. I find that on a scale which would make the population of Great Britain represent that of the world, the population of such a county as Mid Lothian might be taken as a sufficiently accurate representation of the population of our own land."

"In order then to have a just picture of the present state of the world, only conceive that all who had received the above commission, some how or other, had contributed to gather themselves together within the limits of this single county. Imagine to yourselves all the other divisions of Scotland and England immersed in heathen darkness; and that by these Christians who had so unaccountably happened to settle down together in one little spot, no effort was made to evangelize the rest of the land, except by collecting a little money, and sending forth two or three itinerants, to walk single handed through the length and breadth of the country.

"I shall be told, however, that illustration is not argument; and so distorted have our views been on this subject, that you will be disposed to think this a perfect caricature of the matter. But I deny that this is an illustration at all. It is merely a representation on a reduced scale; and I believe you will find it to be a correct representation of the state of the world."

nities of Christians, "they that water, shall be watered also." To be good, is to do good; and to do good is to get good more abundantly. As well might the husbandman in time of spring withhold his seed from the fallowed earth, to rescue it from waste, as for us to look for injuries to the church from the sending forth of foreign missionaries. "If we sow sparingly, we shall reap sparingly." If we save the seed, we shall lose the harvest!

Did not the Jews lose their birth-right in the church of Christ by refusing to give their religion to the Gentiles? "I say, then, have they stumbled that they might fall? God forbid; but rather through their fall, salvation is come to the Gentiles."

It is a memorable fact that the corruptions of the primitive church increased in proportion to the decay of missionary enterprise. Nor is it less true, that, in our day, the revival of religion at home, appeared and grew in perfect harmony, and even exact degree, with the spirit and work of foreign missions. It is not necessary to determine whether this spirit be the cause or the effect of reviving religion among the people. If it be the uniform effect, then its absence denotes religious decay; if it be the uniform cause, then is it a blessing to the church. The truth is, it is at once the cause and the effect. As Christians awake to an increased regard for God and for their own souls, they acquire also an increased regard for the well being of other men; they feel a more tender and holy pity for the perishing heathen. An increased interest in their welfare produces increased efforts for their salvation; and every prayer they offer, every gift they bestow, every effort they make, returns into their own bosoms.

Thus every impression made abroad is felt with electric force at home, as Scipio raised the siege of Rome at the gates of Carthage: and thus a repercussive influence is constantly exchanged. Let those, therefore, who shelter their consciences against the claims of foreign missions, under the idle and fallacious adage "that we have heathen enough at home," henceforth remember that the church cannot *afford* to do without the foreign field; that the best way to carry on missions at home is to carry on missions abroad; and that all neglect of this great cause not only violates the last command of Jesus Christ, and endangers the souls of innumerable millions of our fellow men, but impairs the vital energies of the church itself.

We proceed to remark, *that a crisis appears now to have been arrived at, in the history of the world, in which it is*



*peculiarly important for the christian church to bear with all her resources on the conversion of the heathen.* In a somewhat inverted application of the apocalyptic symbol, a "voice" seems to "come forth from the temple of God saying, thrust in the sickle and reap, for the *time* to reap has come; for the harvest of the earth is ripe."

The spirit of the age is *ripe* for action, for it is a spirit of extraordinary enterprise. It is a *public* spirit also, and is ripe, if well directed, not only for action, but for *combined* action, on a scale of noble daring and sublime extent, hitherto unknown on earth. It is an age of revolution; and it is ripe not only for change, but for improvement too. While the God of Providence is thus shaking all nations, the *desire* of nations must be at hand. "While he removes diadem after diadem, and takes off crown after crown\*," *He* must be near whose right it is to rule. And then our facilities for the universal spread of the gospel are great and manifold, to a most surprising extent. By all the power of the press, by all the commerce of the nations, by arts, by arms, by the progress of improvement, by the spirit and growth of liberty, by the decay and deadening of the great rival systems of religion, and by the general state of the heathen world, as well as by all the provisions of the gospel, is the way of the Lord prepared before us, and our long delay reproved.

And then every step we take seems to be divinely seconded and sustained. Success beyond our faith, above our hopes, has attended our efforts, and beckoned us on to a more devoted and extended work of missions. That which seemed a rock has sent forth gushing waters when smitten by the rod of the gospel herald in the Redeemer's name. Nations have thrown away their idols to receive us, or have given them up at our bidding, while other nations are inviting us to come, and weep when a Christian sail appears bringing no Bibles and no missionaries. And a reproofing Providence, opening a way for the gospel to mankind, seems to say, in the voice of all its operations, "go forward, go forward" to the lingering, hesitating church.

We subjoin to this part of the subject only a single additional remark, *which has reference to our own country.* It is this: *that the genius of our institutions, and the concomitant spirit of the people, fit them in a peculiar manner to receive with favour appeals in behalf of missions.* There exists in the bosom of the people a constitutional sympathy

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\* Haggai ii. 7. Ezekiel xxi. 27.

for oppressed nations, and a fervid desire to impart to others the blessings which we enjoy. It is in this respect a nation of philanthropists; a depository of civil and religious liberty for the population of the earth. Here, then, we may successfully approach them as the guardians of the Bible for other lands. Here we have a national highway to the hearts of the people. The transition, though delicate, is not difficult, to a more elevated freedom; to more pure and enduring blessings.

We may say to them with a force which it will not be easy to resist, you, the people of this happy land, who, in the noble disinterestedness of freemen and of brethren, exult in the political independence of Spanish America, in the emancipation of injured Greece, and the rising liberties of France; you who welcome with enthusiastic hospitality the arrival on your shores of the oppressed Irishman and the persecuted Pole; you who pant and pray for universal freedom, and delight to impart the blessings of your national republican institutions to an admiring world; will you stifle the convictions which rise up in your breasts to plead for the rights of man? Can you withhold from heathen nations the covenant of their spiritual peace, and bury in your rusting coffers their heavenly citizenship and their eternal freedom?

But it is time that, omitting other thoughts, in the form of incentives to action, we turn our attention to the question, "WHAT IS TO BE DONE."

It is evident from the word of God, that if the conversion of the world is ever accomplished, it must be done by the *active* instrumentality of Christians. This plan of doing it is not already determined on, but if we may speak so, the divine veracity is pledged, and the divine honour committed, on the principle that men, Christian men, are to take the gospel to their fellow men. The divine influence must of course attend and bless human exertion and gospel means. But human agency is inseparable from the success of the arrangement. "*Go ye* into all the world, and *preach* the gospel to every creature; and *Lo! I am with you always*, even unto the end of the world!"

Now in all ages, since the apostles closed their illustrious labours, the grand difficulty has been to induce *men* to do their part in this great work. In the propagation of the gospel by his holy providence, it may almost be said of the Redeemer, that of "the people, there is none with him\*." If we subtract from the sum of what has been done for Christianity, all that the course of human affairs overruled by God

has done; all that natural generation has done; all that emigration and colonizing (with Christian population) heathen lands have done; all that the bringing of the heathen *to* the gospel has done; all that wars and revolutions, inventions and discoveries, and human enterprise have *unintentionally* done; in a word, if we subtract all the *indirect* influences of Christianity, and all the overruled events of the world, from what has been done for the cause of Jesus, then how much will remain?

Now by all these agencies, and indeed by the whole universe of agencies, is the great Head of the Church carrying on the work of redemption. But the tide of Providence, which steadily sets in with the final conversion of the world, is only the *stream* on which the "tall and goodly vessel" of the gospel floats: and to reach its desired haven, the navigator *man* must take the helm, as well as the spirit of Jesus fill the sail.

Heretofore, if we may so speak, the work of the Lord has been carrying forward the church, but the church is required to carry forward the work of the Lord. God demands of us that we give not only an overruled and indirect assistance (for that he extorts even from his foes), but that we should *co-operate with him in a positive, direct, and intentional instrumentality.*

To this end the church of Christ needs a DECIDED MISSIONARY SPIRIT. By this we mean a spirit of supreme devotion to the divine Redeemer; a spirit in unison with the end for which the Saviour died; a spirit which properly estimates the value of the soul; a spirit of generous love to man, and of holy pity to the perishing heathen. This is the spirit of Christian enterprise, which is attributed in ancient prophecy to a Christian people. "The people that know the Lord shall be strong and shall do exploits." It is this which burnt with holy and consuming ardour in the great apostle's breast, when he declared, "I am ready not to be bound only, but also to die for the name of the Lord Jesus." "I have strived to preach among the Gentiles, where Jesus was not named, the unsearchable riches of Christ\*." Under the influence of such a spirit as this, a new order of men and of movements would arise, altogether above the tame and long tolerated standard of the Christian church. Such men as Paul, and Luther, and Whitfield would reappear. The sons of thunder would again

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\* See Foster's Missionary Sermon, page 17.

fulminate upon the nations, and the sons of consolation again pour into the weary and heavy laden hearts of pagan men, the oil of gospel joy and gladness. The heroic heralds of the cross, clad in the might of God, and fired with the spirit of missions, would transcend all human calculations; impatient of delay, they would outstrip the tedious and timid expedients of human policy; they would hasten with the gospel to the dying nations, and fly through the earth as *avant couriers* of the approaching King of Kings. A few such men as these at home and abroad, would kindle the whole church of Christ into one broad blaze of light; would call out into action every spiritual energy, and every temporal resource; and cause a resistless enginery of gospel means to bear upon the entire destruction of heathenism.

It has been the uniform fate of all great enterprises to meet in their origin with resistance and even with ridicule from the weak, the selfish, and the over cautious. The ancients called profane, and even mad, the first brave mariner who ventured out to sea: Columbus was for almost an age an unheeded suppliant at the feet of European princes, though he only asked at their hands the permission to present them with a new world. Our own glorious revolution was, at its dawning, the wonder of one half mankind, and the derision of the other. So it has been with the missionary enterprise. Even at the present day, it is the by-word of "the wise and prudent" of this world; and a great number of professed Christians, preferring ease to self-denial, and thinking the state of the heathen so good, and the value of the gospel to them so small, regard every such attempt as in the last degree extravagant and wild.

We are aware that this spirit, like every other, is liable to abuse. We remember the crusades of one age, and the fanatical zeal of several others. We are no friends to religious knight errants, or crazy cosmopolites, who travel through the world "without wisdom to direct" in quest of adventures. It may be worthy of remark, however, that the very attention which such counterfeits excite, shows the fine impression that the true missionary character is fitted to make, when embodied in the persons of such men as Whitfield, Buchanan and Martyn.

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\* Acts xxi. 13. Romans xv. 20. Ephesians iii. 8.

† "Aut inveniam viam aut faciam," is the true missionary principle, when sanctified by divine grace.

But we are no advocates of extremes on either side. The extreme of indifference or of cowardice is criminal in itself; is more common, and perhaps more hurtful, than that of fanatical rashness. The extreme of mere worldly expediency and secular policy in missions is as evil as presumptuous enterprise. The system of the Jesuits was as fatal as the spirit of the crusaders to true religion. The author of the work entitled "For Missionaries after the Apostolical School," is on one extreme. He would storm the world, and spurn all helps, and outfits, and means, save only the vagrant and unfurnished missionary. This is quite excessive, and destined to live only in the fervours of his own warm but wild fancy. The work, on the contrary, entitled "Hints on Missions," is quite as extreme on the other side. The plan of operation which it suggests would be more disastrous in its consequences, because not speculative and impracticable like the other, (and consequently innocuous), but mainly secular, and requiring only secular men to promote it. The author would civilize and colonize the world into Christianity; he would make a mere business matter of giving Christianity to heathen nations; in a word, he would so adjust things, that the world should *grow up* into Christianity.

Now the medium between these extremes is the true gospel plan. No scheme abounds so much in practical wisdom, and powerful means, directly adapted to produce the intended end, as the gospel method of converting the world. And the spirit of missionary enterprise of which we speak, is that *divine influence* by which man is at once qualified and impelled to spread this salvation.

The great agents must be the ministers of reconciliation, sent out into all the world, under the supreme dominion of this spirit: the people of the Lord, who cannot, and ought not to go, yet if they possess this spirit will help them in heaven by their intercessions, and in heathen lands by their manifold and abounding charities. On such a spirit God will "shed his selectest influences;" a resistless power will attend every effort directed by this spirit; and to universal effort would succeed universal impression. Thus the promises of the gospel would travail in the birth of nations, and soon a renovated world would people the church, and a glorified church would people heaven.

We have pursued these suggestions so far that little room is left for the *particular* application which we had intended of this discussion.

The organization, the numbers, the character, and the influence of the Presbyterian Church in the United States have justified the expectation of a noble effort by her in the cause of foreign missions. *She has not met this reasonable hope.* She has not acted on this subject in a way worthy of her avowed allegiance to God, of her professed love to man, and of her pure and powerful witness to the truth at home. Her disregard of foreign missions has been in singular contrariety to the promptitude and effect with which she has sustained each great domestic enterprise in behalf of Christianity, as they have in succession presented themselves before her. At this moment every Presbytery in the Church (and they amount to almost one hundred) ought, on a general average, to provide one foreign missionary, and then to sustain him in the field of his labours. Whether our lethargy on this subject result from the want of missionary organization in the bosom of the Church, or from the still more distressing and criminal want of a missionary spirit, we have all a great public sin to confess and to forsake. *The Church has sinned; and we her ministers have sinned still more.* It is high time that we had all repented of this sin, and evidenced the soundness of our repentance by a due and deep reform. Then let every minister awake, and let every member awake, at the call of the divine Redeemer, to regard the claims of the dying heathen.

To the youth of our Church are we especially to look for that Christian enterprise, which, under God, shall rouse the energies of the Church; shall rescue her venerated name from reproach among men, and bear her heavenly charities to heathen lands.

To these young brothers in the Lord, who are standing on the threshold of the most elevated and most awful of human trusts, we would most affectionately say, "take not your standard of action from your fathers and elder brethren in the ministry. Shame covers our faces when we turn them towards the continents, where darkness and death eternal reign. Pause before you select a field of future labour, and survey these wide and awful desolations of many generations! Listen to the groans of dying millions as they ascend to heaven! Count not your own lives dear to you, in comparison of their eternal good! Come forth from your sacred shades of study and devotion to kindle our hearts anew in this great service! Come! not only to point us, but lead us to that field to which the finger of God directs you, and the wail of perishing nations calls you!"

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