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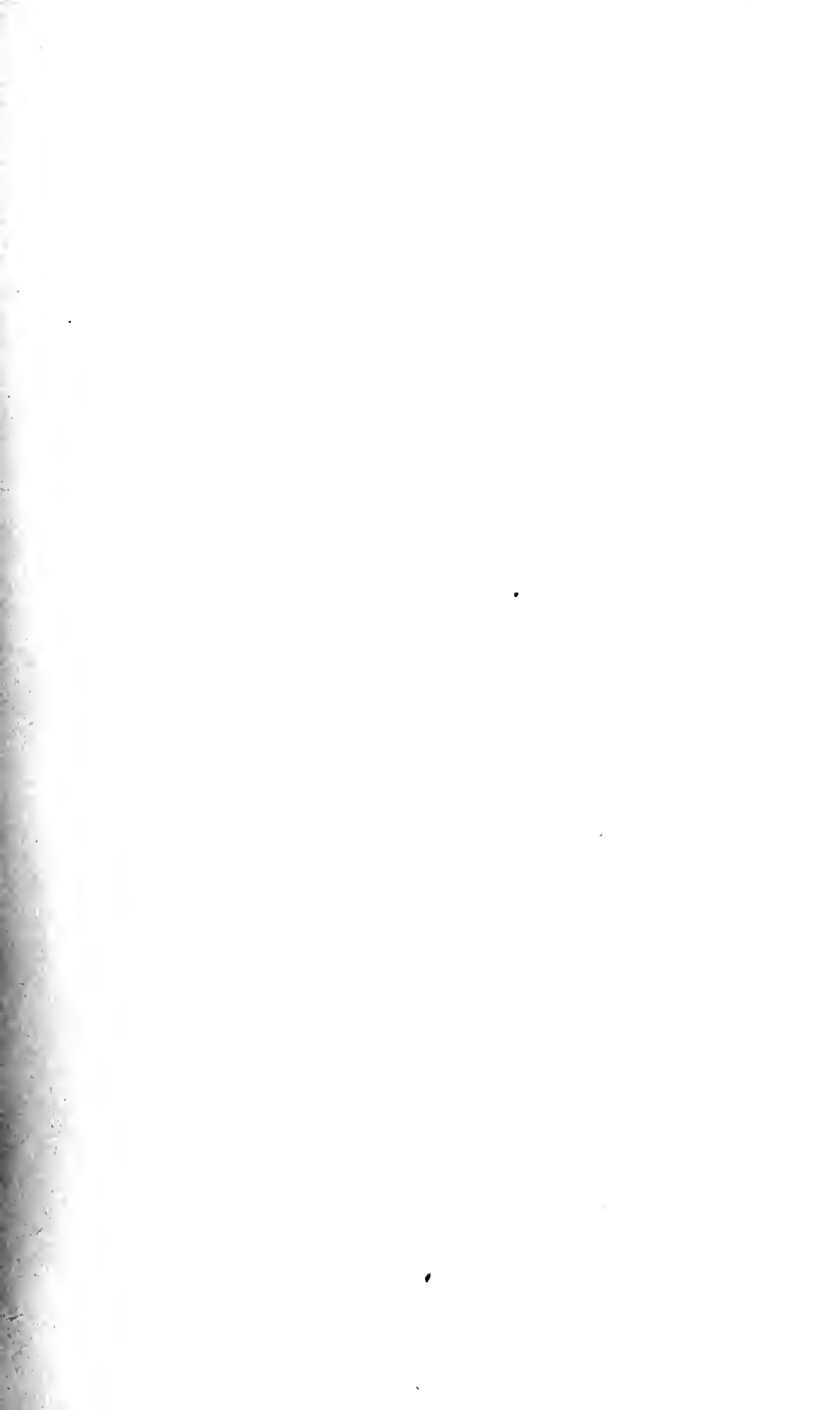
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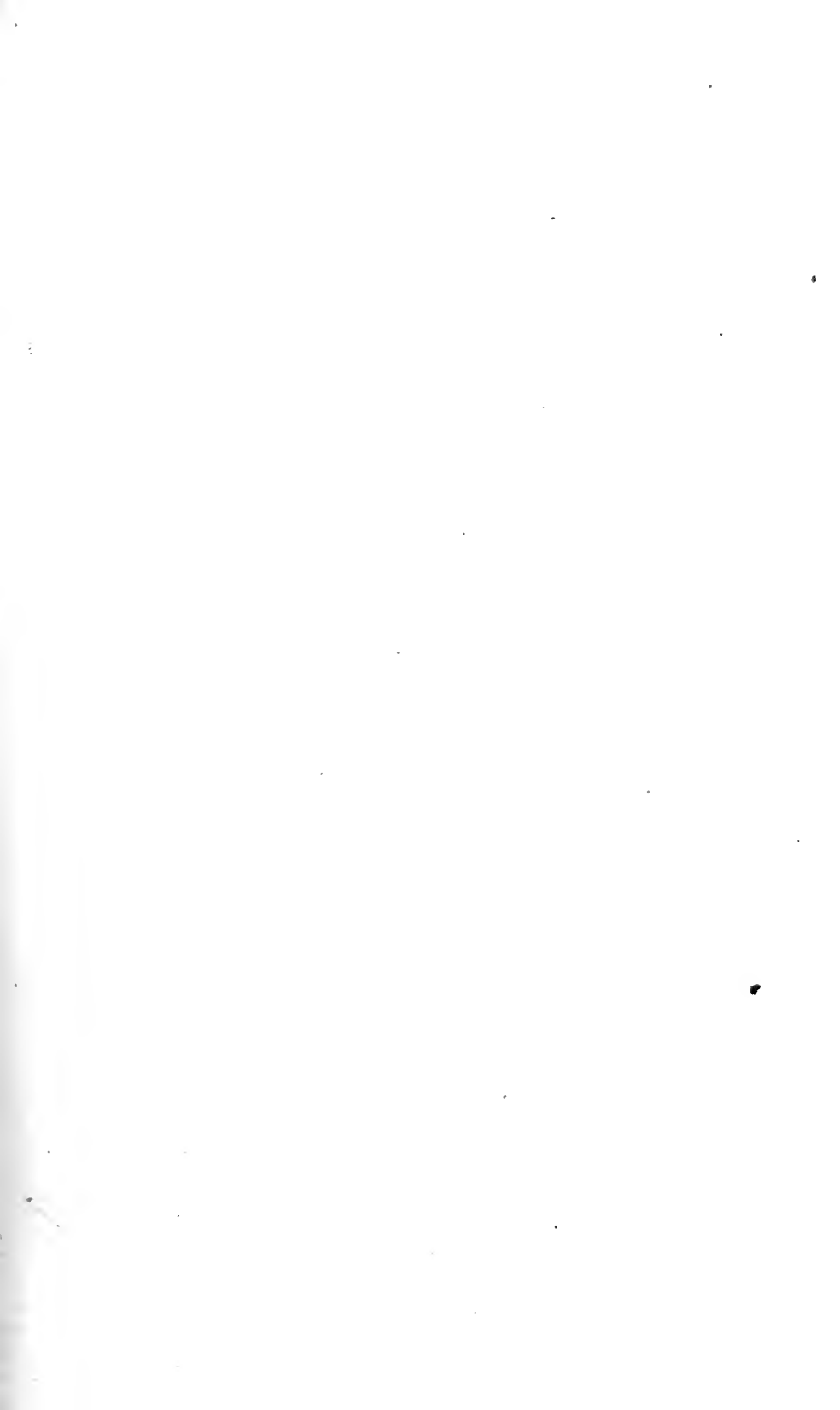
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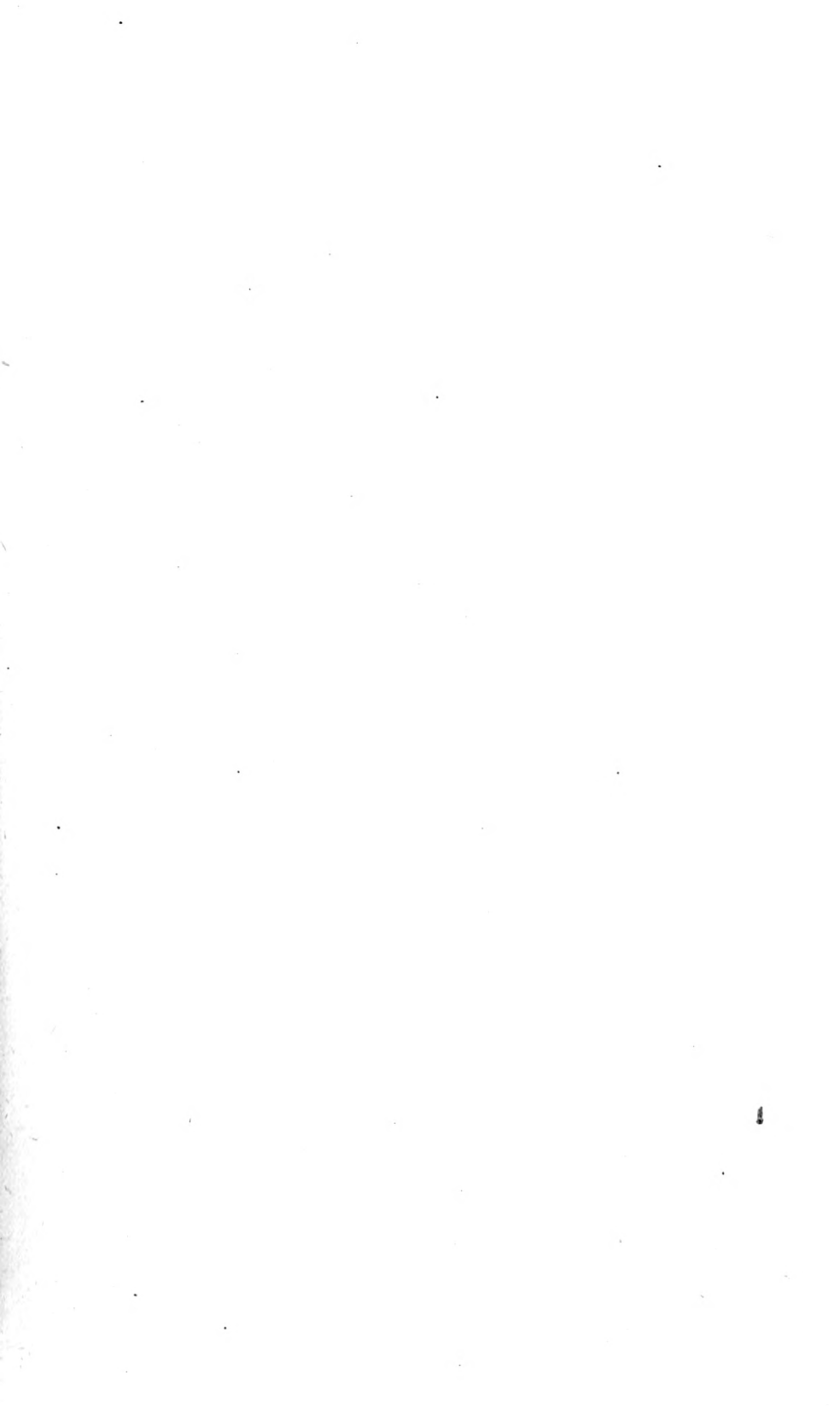
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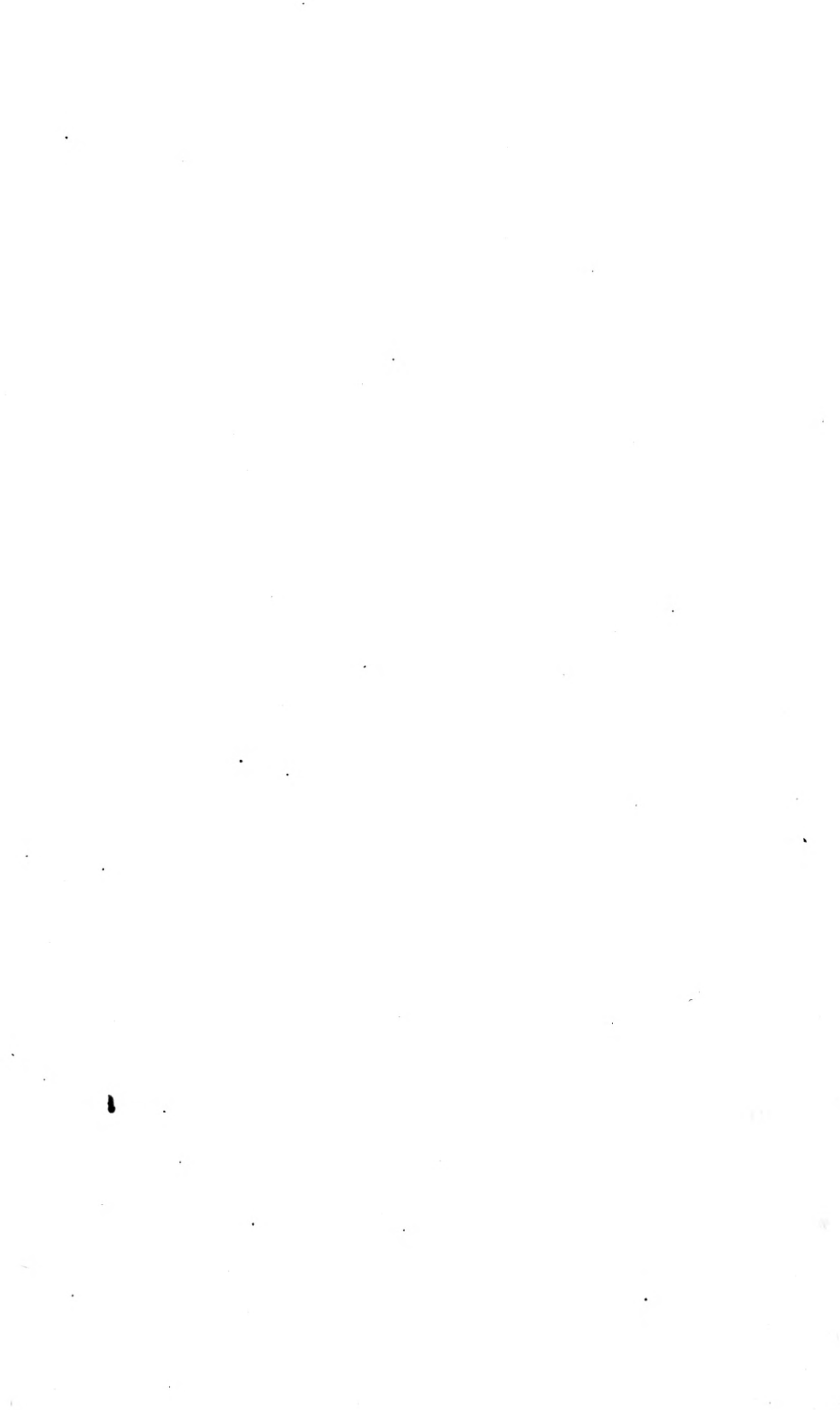


Geo. I. Smith.









TEXT-BOOK

OF

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.



Enoch Bond.

Geo. G. Smith.

A HISTORY

OF

GOD'S CHURCH

FROM ITS ORIGIN

TO THE PRESENT TIME.

BY

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PROFESSOR IN THE THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY, BANGOR, ME.



ZIEGLER & McCURDY,

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P R E F A C E.

WHEN I commenced giving instruction in ecclesiastical history in the seminary at Bangor, I used, for several years, Murdock's translation of Mosheim as a text-book: not that I was entirely satisfied with it; but I could find nothing better. Some of the more recent German histories were too large to be used as text-books; and all were so contaminated with the transcendental philosophy, and so destitute of the spirit and principles of evangelical religion, as to render them unsuitable for my purpose. A history of God's Church should be, to some extent, a *religious book*, imbued with the spirit, and in sympathy with the great truths and facts, of the gospel; but such a history—in other respects suitable—I could not find. After waiting in vain for years for the appearance of such a work, I resolved to attempt something myself. Accordingly, I sat myself down to the labor of preparation; and the pages which follow are the result.

In preparing this work, though I have sought information from every accessible quarter, I have not recurred extensively to what may be called original sources. This did not seem to me to be necessary, after what has been done by Gieseler, Murdock, and others, in their notes. In these notes, the original sources are pretty fully laid open; and every reader can consult them for himself.

Neither have I thought it necessary to burthen my pages with a long succession of footnotes and references. I might have made a show of learning in this way, as others have done before me, but with little credit to myself, or profit to the reader. In short, if I have done little to aid profound scholars in the matter of church history, I trust I have done as little to offend them.

If in writing I have adopted too freely the language of any previous author; that author is probably Mosheim; since, by long use of his work in teaching, I have become so familiar with his phraseology, that I may, in some instances, have unconsciously employed it. For any examples of this kind which may be discovered, I crave the indulgence of the reader.

In preparing the early history of the Reformation in Germany, I am much indebted to the first two volumes of D'Aubigné's "History."

No one can be more sensible than I am of the imperfections of the work here presented to the public; and it is not without many misgivings that I have yielded to the solicitation of pupils and other friends in regard to its publication. My hope is that it may help to render familiar to the ministers, the Christians, and youth, of this generation, the facts and principles connected with the history of God's Church on the earth; and that the fruit of such knowledge may abundantly appear.

ENOCH POND.

BANGOR, June 20, 1870.

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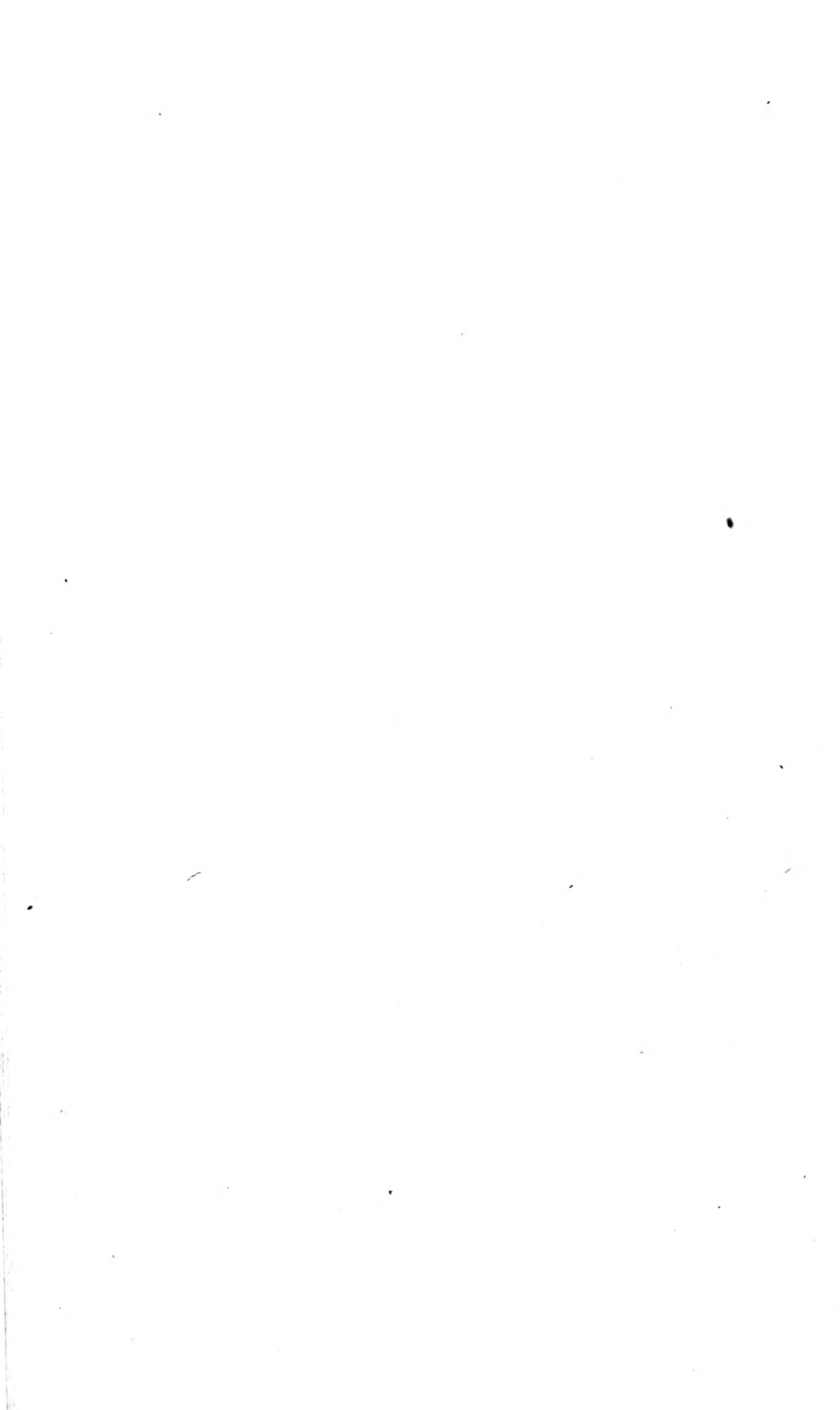
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ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

PART I.

HISTORY OF GOD'S CHURCH BEFORE THE COMING OF CHRIST.



ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.—THE PHILOSOPHY OF HISTORY.

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY, in the full sense of the terms, is the history of God's Church on the earth, from the beginning to the present time. God had a Church in the world long ages before the coming of Christ. He began to have a Church as soon as there were any pious people of whom to compose it; and he began to have a *visible* Church as soon as these pious people became in any way organized so as to render their calling and their piety visible.

The earliest form of ecclesiastical as well as civil government was the *patriarchal*. The father of a family, the ancestor of a tribe, was acknowledged as both its ruler and its priest. We have examples of this form of government in Noah, in Abraham, in Melchisedec, and in Job. The Church before the Flood was patriarchal, and had, at least, two visible rites, or ordinances,—the weekly sabbath and bloody sacrifices. At the time of Abraham, another significant rite was added, viz. circumcision; and a formal covenant was given. At the time of Moses, various other rites were instituted, all of them of symbolical or typical import. At this time, also, the ancient patriarchal form of government was exchanged for the theocratic and national. The Jehovah of Israel condescended to become, not merely the covenant head of his people, but their civil ruler and governor. In the language of the prophet, he was henceforth to be "their judge, their lawgiver, and their king" (Isa. xxxiii. 22).

At this period, the Church may be said to have entered upon a new dispensation, exchanging the patriarchal for the Mosaic. Under this dispensation, it continued till the death of Christ.

The history of God's Church previous to the coming of Christ is chiefly to be found in the Old-Testament Scriptures; and it is this which is now to engage our attention. Before directly entering upon it, however, it will be necessary to consider some introductory topics, which will occupy several chapters. And, first, let me call attention to what has been called the *philosophy of history*.

The transcendental view of the philosophy of history may be stated as follows: This living world, which is the proper subject of history, is one vast *organism*, in which every thing is moving on, *developing*, according to established laws. This organism is from a germ, like the animal or vegetable, and, like them, is replete with life. One tells us that "it is a *process of life*, which springs from within, and which remains, in all its course, identical with itself; as man, through all the stages of his life, still continues a man." Another calls it "a living, moral development. It is, in its own sphere and kind, as much of the nature of a living principle as the breath of life in the nostrils." In this view, history is not the detail of outward occurrences, connected together as cause and effect; but it is a constant *living growth* in one direction or another, each event growing organically out of that which precedes it, and giving birth to that which follows it, just as the man grows from the infant, or the oak from the acorn, or the leaves and the flowers of spring from the opening buds.

This philosophy of history originated with the transcendentalists of Germany, and dates back to the beginning of the present century. "It was brought out," we are told, "with peculiar emphasis and freshness by the genial Herder. The more mature and philosophical conception of it, however, and the impulse which it gave to a deeper and livelier study of history, are due especially to the philosophy of Schelling, and still more to that of Hegel. With Hegel, all life and thought are properly *development*, or a process of organic growth."

On these views of history has been constructed the pretended science of *sociology*, which, if it shall succeed as its votaries anticipate, will, ere long, enable us to resolve all questions in history or prophecy with as much certainty as we now do problems in mathematics; will enable us as accurately to predict the course of nations, in given circumstances, as we now describe the orbits of the heavenly bodies. The Hegelians in Germany, or some of them, are expecting, at no distant day, to be able to dispense entirely with the ordinary books of history, and, by a purely *à-priori* process, to

lay open all the past and all the future, from the beginning to the end of time. This period is looked forward to as the very millennium of philosophy, when science shall take the reins in politics and religion, and subjugate all things to itself.

Such are the views entertained by not a few at this day as to the philosophy of history; and they look down upon those who follow the old methods as empirics and smatterers, who have not the capacity to scale the heights of transcendental wisdom, or penetrate the depths of a true philosophy.

My objections to a philosophy of history such as this are two-fold. In the first place, the grand assumption on which the whole fabric rests is *not true in fact*. It may pass in fiction, or as a figure of speech; but, in point of fact, it has no foundation. The world of mankind is not an *organism* in the sense here supposed. It has not organic parts and members. It is not pervaded by a common principle of life like that of the animal or the vegetable.

Swedenborg taught that all heaven is one "grand man," possessed of the human form and features, and animated by a common life; and he is very particular in describing what kind of characters from this world go into the different parts of "the grand man," — the head, the breast, the limbs, the feet.* Our transcendental philosophers would combine all the inhabitants of this world — past, present, and to come — into a "grand man," a vast organic structure, and give it life, growth, maturity, and decay. Now, such an idea, as I said, may do well enough in poetry, or in the hallucinations of a visionary enthusiast; but to lay it at the foundation of a system of philosophy, and demand that it be received as fact, is simple nonsense: there is no truth in it.

The human race is made up of millions, and hundreds of millions, of distinct beings, each having a soul, a life, of its own, and having no common life. To be sure, these myriads of men are all of them social beings, existing in groups, in families, in communities, and nations. They act as nations, and form national characters. But to fancy the immense multitude as constituting one vast, living, organic structure, all of whose movements are normal *outgrowths*, *unfoldings*, from a germ within, as much so as the leaves of the forest, and flowers of the field, is one of the strangest phantasms that ever entered the brain of a German transcendentalist. As I said before, there is no truth in it. It contradicts all that we know of ourselves and of one another; and to make such a theory the

* See Swedenborgianism Examined, p. 47.

basis of a vast philosophical system is simply to build a castle in the air.*

My second objection to this new philosophy of history grows out of its *pantheistic, atheistic, fatalistic tendencies*. This is admitted by its adherents in this country. "It is indeed true," says one, "that the idea of a living, organic development has been employed in an atheistic manner, and enters largely into all pantheistic methods." It is thus employed continually by the German philosophers who originated it and first launched it upon the world. It is not enough for these men to draw around the physical world the bands of law, so necessary, so changeless, that no suspension, no proper miracle, ever did or could take place; but the same bands must reach to the moral world, and to all the minutiae of social life, else the reign of law is not universal, and a necessity is left for a personal God: and all this the philosophy before us proposes to do. Social progress is subject to law as much as astronomy, — to the same kind of law; and the former moves on as irresistibly and as uniformly as the latter. The buds on the trees open in the spring, the leaves shoot forth, and, in due time, the blossoms and the fruit appear. This is *growth, development, normal development*; and, by a like progress of organic law, the movements of the moral and religious world are regulated.

Pantheism always runs into *fatalism*; and so we find it here. The organic laws of which we have spoken are not like God's moral law, which intelligent beings are free to obey or disobey; but, *volens volens*, they bear all created beings and things, actions and events, along with them, and nothing can be otherwise than it is: consequently they obliterate all moral distinctions, and render sin and holiness alike impossible.

* This strange idea is the staple of Dr. Temple's * Essay on the Education of the World, the first in a volume of Essays and Reviews recently published by clergymen of the Church of England. Dr. Temple begins by assuming that the whole human race is no other than "a colossal man," whose life reaches from the creation to the end of time. The successive generations of men are days in this great man's life; the inventions and discoveries of all time are his works; the successive states of society are his manners; while the creeds, the doctrines, the opinions, of the successive ages, are his thoughts. This hypothetical man, we are told, is growing not only in knowledge, but in visible size, just as we do; and is developing his faculties with great regularity. In the education of this monster man, the different races that have inhabited the earth have been playing their several parts. Thus the Hebrews trained his conscience, the Romans his will, the Greeks his reason and taste, and Asia his imagination. Dr. Temple does not tell us what the Chinese have done in this matter, nor what Egypt, nor what the swarming myriads of India and Africa, nor what the barbarians of Northern Europe and Asia, or the American Indians. The conclusion to which the author comes is, that his monster man has already outgrown Christianity; that the Bible is obsolete, and no longer worthy to be accepted as a rule of faith and life.

* Dr. Temple is now Bishop of Exeter.

We do not say that all who have embraced this philosophy of history are pantheists or fatalists; far from it: but we do say that this is the natural tendency of the system, and that this view of it is actually taken by the propounders and advocates of it in Germany. Thus, in an English review of Hegel's "Philosophy of History," the writer says, "A certain tone of *fatalism* pervades his interpretation of history, as if men, by seizing its seminal idea at the root of all things, *could predict its future course*. In the primitive germ of existence, when first it arose out of nothingness, Hegel assumes a latent wealth of implicit power, which must ever, by the working of an inherent power, press outward into expression and embodiment, as the acorn expands organically into the oak."* No wonder that men, on this ground, "by seizing the seminal idea at the root of all things, can predict its future course." No wonder that moral freedom finds no place in such a system. What freedom is there in the growth of the oak from the acorn, or in the movements of social and political life, if these proceed on the same principle, and in accordance with the workings of a like organic law?

Some have thought that this new philosophy has been a prodigious gain to history. "The great change that has taken place within the present century," says one, "in the way of conceiving and constructing history, is owing to the adoption and use of a method that was foreign to the mind and the intellectual tendencies of the eighteenth century. One only needs to compare history like that of Dr. Robertson with history like that of Dr. Arnold, or history like that of Gibbon with history like that of Niebuhr, to see, that, from some cause, a great change has come over the department within fifty years." The supposed improvements in history here referred to are accounted for, not because of a better arrangement or a purer diction, but solely on the ground of the new philosophy; so much more being made of "the germs and dynamic forces of history" than was ever done before.

But, as to the alleged improvements in history on the ground of the new philosophy, I can only say that all men are not of the same opinion. To my own mind, the introduction of the principles, the method, and the peculiar phraseology, of the new philosophy into history, has been no improvement, but rather a detriment. To trace it only in the department of *church* history, the church historians of Germany, within the last fifty years, may

* See Eclectic Magazine for September, 1858, p. 12.

have excelled their predecessors, and perhaps all others, in profoundness of research; and yet their histories are soiled throughout, and half spoiled, with the minglings of the transcendental philosophy. Take, for example, the volumes of Neander, whose learning, whose candor, whose childlike simplicity of purpose, whose humble piety, we all admire; and yet his philosophy has shut these volumes out as text-books in most of our higher schools of learning, and *must* exclude them in all coming time. It is not enough for an historian of this stamp to tell us that a particular event occurred at a given time, and how and why it occurred, and what consequences resulted from it (all this would be shallow and empirical): but he must go into a long *à-priori* argument to show that such an event *must* have occurred at that time; that its development could not have been sooner or later. Nor is this the worst of it. If the actual course of things does not fall in with the course of development, then it must be broken in. Organic development is more to be relied on than the testimonies of history. The latter may be false; but the former must be true. It is on this ground that we find the transcendental historians, or some of them, throwing aside so many of the genuine works of the ancients,—some of the Orations of Cicero and of the Dialogues of Plato, and whole books of the Bible, with all its miracles. They do not develop right. Of course, they are un-historical, and must be discarded.

It will be seen that we repudiate this development-theory in its application to history as being false in fact, heretical in its tendencies, and positively injurious in its bearing upon the cause of historical literature and truth. The sooner we renounce it, and return to the simple natural methods of the Bible and of our fathers, the better will it be for all concerned.

But, if the theory which has been examined is not the true philosophy of history, what shall we say on the subject? Is there any philosophy of history? and, if so, what is it?

To this I answer, The philosophy of history, like all other true philosophy, has to do, not with theories or hypotheses, but with *facts*. Its province is, by a patient induction, to ascertain the facts of history, and then to go into an investigation of the *causes* of these facts, and also of their *results*. This, I have supposed, is the true philosophy of history; and this opens a field to the student of history which is all but boundless.

To ascertain the *facts* of history — what an immense labor must

that be! The volume of history, taken in its widest extent, is no other than the great book of Providence. It includes every thing that has taken place in the providence of God, whether in this world or in any other world, from the beginning to the present time.

A vast majority of the events which go to make up this mass of history have never been recorded except in the book of God's remembrance, and will never be unfolded until the great burning day.

The history of many things, indeed of most things, belonging to the present world, is now utterly lost to us. They were not recorded at the time, or the record, if made, has failed to reach us; and they are not now within the scope of our inquiries. They, too, are in the book of God's remembrance, and nowhere else.

But we need not repine at the loss of so much history, since what remains to us, what is fairly within our reach, is far beyond our ability to investigate. It surpasses not only the labor of a life, but of many lives.

The history of a pre-Adamite earth, God has written out, to some extent, in the embedded rocks beneath our feet. Here is a field now beginning to be opened to human investigation, which long ages may not be sufficient to explore.

Another portion of history, one pertaining to the *human race*, is inscribed on the ruins of mouldering cities and the mausoleums of ancient kings. These, too, are beginning to be opened; and hoary legends written in mysterious characters, after having been buried for thousands of years, are beginning to be read. Here is another field of historical research, which will not soon be exhausted, and which is full of promise to the curious inquirer.

Of the open records of the past, the oldest, by far, are those of our Old-Testament Scriptures. Moses and Joshua and Samuel, and the Hebrew prophets, lived and wrote long anterior to any of the secular historians of which we have any knowledge; and we have reason for the profoundest gratitude that their writings, stamped with all appropriate marks of correctness and authenticity, have come down to us. Herodotus, appropriately called the father of secular history, lived four hundred and eighty years before Christ, and was contemporary with Ezra and Nehemiah. Manetho, the first historian of Egypt, lived near a hundred years later, in the days of Ptolemy Philadelphus. We now approach the time

of the more ancient historians of Greece and Rome; and the histories of the church and world proceed together.

Enough has been said to show that the labor of investigating the *facts* of history, even those which are open to human investigation, is very great. Were this labor imposed upon any one man during the ordinary period of human life, he would find it an utter impossibility.

But to study the mere facts of history includes but a small part of the philosophy of history. The *causes* of events are to be inquired into, and also their *consequences*, their *results*.

Nor, in searching out the causes of events in history, are we to satisfy ourselves with *proximate* causes, — those which are near and obvious; but we must look beyond them, to such as have a deeper and wider influence. The general course of events in given periods, the spirit of the times, prevailing customs, the intercourse of nations one with another, the impressions which have come down from previous ages, — things of this nature must come into the account, since they all go to modify the currents of history, and stand connected with its results.

Then there is the natural and universal depravity of man, — a fact which the Bible abundantly discloses, and which experience and observation unitedly teach: what a mighty influence this has had in shaping and controlling the history of the world! It is this which has made the *natural* course of things on the earth, in a moral view, perpetually downward from good to bad, and from bad to worse. Why was it, that, in the antediluvian ages, the world became so soon and so dreadfully wicked, filled with every species of violence and crime, till nought remained for it but an utter destruction? And, after the Deluge, how soon again did the earth become idolatrous and sinful! so that God was constrained, in order to preserve a knowledge of himself among men, to separate a single family from the surrounding nations, establish his covenant with them, and constitute them a people for himself; while the rest of the world were given up to their own hearts' wanderings.* And then how soon did the family of Abraham become corrupt, — so corrupt, that they could no longer be tolerated, but were cut off and cast off for their unbelief! And the Christian Church, so pure at the first, and so likely, apparently, to hold on its way, — how soon did this relapse into error, superstition, darkness, and sin, till scarcely a semblance of true piety remained!

* See Rom. i. 24, 26, 28.

Now, facts like those at which I have here hinted — great public facts, reaching back to the remotest ages, and coming down to the present time — all go to show the influence of human depravity in shaping the course of things in this wicked world, and how insufficient every theory of the philosophy of history must be in which this doctrine of depravity is ignored or passed over. Much of the history of nations is but a history of their wickedness and its results. “Whence come wars and fightings among you? come they not hence even of your lusts?” (Jas. iv. 1.) A pregnant passage this in the philosophy of history.

In close connection with human depravity, there is another fact which I cannot forbear to notice, — the existence and influence of *evil spirits*. The Bible makes us acquainted with the existence of such spirits, with their access to human minds, and with their vast and destructive influence upon human affairs; and the history of the past evinces that these utterances are true. How else are we to account for far-reaching schemes of corruption and wickedness, running often through many generations, and thus forbidding the supposition that they could have been set on foot by any one man, or generation of men? Witness the long reign of idolatry in the earth, by which the worship which belongs only to God has been turned aside, and given to devils. Witness, also, the long and cruel reign of Popery. No sooner had Christianity taken possession of the Roman Empire, and it had become certain that it would spread and prevail, than we see an influence starting up to prevent it, turn it aside from its holy purpose, and make it an engine of persecution and wickedness. Witness, also, the frequent perversion of revivals of religion, and schemes of social and moral reform. If Satan cannot prevent or stop a revival of religion, he will be very likely to turn revival-preacher, and supplant the genial workings of the Spirit by the wildfire of demoniac influence. If he cannot stop the chariot of social reform, he can mount the driver's box, and seize the reins, and, like Jehu of old, drive furiously. We must not be ignorant of his devices; nor can we account for some of the more striking facts in history without recurring to his existence and influence.

As an offset to human depravity and Satanic temptations, we must take into account in our philosophy of history the benign and powerful effects of *the gospel* and its *provisions*; such as the Bible, the sabbath, the preached word, the Church and its ordinances, and especially the work of the Holy Spirit. I need not

enlarge on these topics. It cannot be doubted that they have a mighty influence upon the destinies of men, and in shaping the currents of this world's history. Obviously, they are at the fountain-head of all ecclesiastical history; since, without them, there could be no church, no piety, no real goodness, on the earth. The world, and all it contains, would go to destruction together. Above all things, therefore, must these be regarded as among the causes of human events, and as a part of our philosophy of history.

The events of history are connected not only as cause and effect, but in the *eternal and universal purpose of the Supreme Being*. From all eternity, God had before him a perfect plan of all his works. At the appointed time, he entered upon the execution of this plan. He commenced the great works of creation and providence; and all that has taken place from the beginning to the present hour,—the worlds that have been created, the countless myriads that have been placed upon them, the entire series of events in providence which go to make up the material of history,—all are but the unfolding, the fulfilling, of God's eternal and perfect plan. As his counsel purposed it, and his omniscience foresaw it, so his hand has been concerned in it all. "Who worketh all things after the counsel of his own will" (Eph. i. 11).

Here, then, we have a chain of connection running through the whole course of events,—not the organic development of the pantheist, but the providential purpose of an infinitely wise and holy God, who "sees the end from the beginning," and whose counsel shall stand forever. This plan of God, of which the whole work of providence is but the exponent and fulfilment, is all-perfect like its Author, though often dark and mysterious to us. Its unfoldings not unfrequently surprise us, puzzle us, confound us; and yet we know that all is light and right with him. "Clouds and darkness are round about him; but righteousness and judgment are the habitation of his throne."

The philosophical student of history sees events taking place not only in fulfilment of an eternal and perfect plan, but in accordance with *established laws*. In other words, they take place *regularly*; so that their occurrence can be depended on, and often predicted. But then these laws of procedure, or of Nature (as they are sometimes called), are not inflexible arrangements, which no being ever established, and none can suspend, and which the pantheist substitutes in place of God; but they are the ordinances of God himself,—the track which he has laid down on which the wheel of

his providence is to roll; established modes of divine operation, which, in case of miracles, he has suspended, and which, if he pleases, he may suspend again.

Nor will the Christian student of history be willing to stop even here. He reads in his Bible, that, as all things were made *by* Christ, so they were all made *for* him; that he "is Head over all things to the Church;" and that he is overruling all, in some way, for the advancement of his holy kingdom. History is thus brought into close connection with the kingdom of Christ. It is represented as being subservient to that kingdom; and the Christian student is led to inquire in what the subserviency consists. He perceives, first of all, that the arrangements of Providence were so ordered, in ancient times, as to *prepare the way* for the kingdom of Christ. They were so ordered as to illustrate its necessity, to make room for it, and fitly introduce it. Here is one important point of connection.

Another point of connection is this: Whatever stands in the way of Christ's kingdom, or cannot be made to subserve its interests, *is quickly removed*. "The nation and kingdom that will not serve Thee shall perish; yea, those nations shall be utterly wasted" (Isa. lx. 12). What a commentary on this divine declaration does the history of the ancient world present! Where, now, are the kingdoms of Assyria and Egypt?—the oldest of which we have any knowledge. Where is great Nineveh, and the still greater Babylon, which once frowned defiance on all who approached them, and seemed as though they must stand forever? Where is the Medo-Persian ram which Daniel saw, pushing westward and northward and southward, so that no beast could stand before him, neither could any deliver out of his hand? And where is that Grecian he-goat which came so rapidly from the west, that he seemed scarcely to touch the ground; which smote the ram, and brake his two horns, and trampled his empire in the dust? And where is that fourth beast which Daniel saw, dreadful and terrible and strong exceedingly, which devoured and brake in pieces with its iron teeth, and stamped the residue with its feet? These mighty empires have long since departed; their cities are in ruins: their names and their history are all that remain to us. And why have they passed away? Why have they been so utterly and miserably destroyed? With the Bible in our hands, we cannot hesitate for an answer. They set themselves in opposition to the kingdom of Christ, and they could not prosper. They put them-

selves in the way of the stone cut out of the mountain without hands ; and it rolled over them, and ground them to powder.

And so shall it be with every other kingdom which presumes to follow their example. We have, in the Apocalypse, visions of the future, which are as instructive on this point as events already past. We have there brought before us the last fearful enemies of God and his Church, — the beast and the false prophet, and the mystical Babylon drunk with the blood of martyrs and saints. And what is to become of them ? What is their end ? The beast and the false prophet are taken, and “ cast alive into the lake of fire.” “ A mighty angel takes up a stone like a great mill-stone, and casts it into the sea, saying, Thus with violence shall that great city Babylon be thrown down, and shall be found no more at all ” (Rev. xix. 20 ; xviii. 21). So true is that fearful declaration of the prophet above quoted, “ The nation and kingdom that will not serve Thee shall perish ; yea, those nations shall be utterly wasted.”

The foregoing discussion is enough to satisfy any one that the true philosophy of history is *essentially religious*. There is no tracing the events of history to their causes but by tracing them ultimately to God, to his all-wise counsel, and his providential direction and control. We are not to overlook *instrumental* causes, *second* causes, influences bearing upon us for good or for evil ; but then all these are subject, in some way, to the great First Cause of all. We are not to overlook general natural laws ; but then these are but established modes of divine operation, which God in his wisdom has appointed, and the operation of which he may at any time suspend.

And when we look still farther into the causes of things, when we inquire for their final causes, we find them all bearing, in some way, upon the kingdom of Christ. They were all made *for* Christ ; and he is overruling all for the advancement of his kingdom. Much of the past history of the world has gone to illustrate the necessity of that kingdom, and to prepare the way for it ; while other much has tended to remove hinderances and obstructions out of the way. Mighty nations, which have set themselves in opposition to that kingdom, have, one after another, been destroyed ; while the stone cut out of the mountain without hands is rolling on, and is destined to roll, crushing every thing which opposes its progress, until itself becomes a mountain, and fills the whole earth.

It adds a tenfold interest to the study of history to see God in it all the way, to trace it in its religious bearings, and especially in its relation to the kingdom of Christ. Pres. Edwards understood this subject, and commenced a work, which he did not live to finish, on this grand principle; and, in my opinion, there is more true philosophy of history in Edwards's "History of Redemption," though it be but a fragment, than in all that has been dreamed out by the transcendentalists of Germany in the last half-century.

CHAPTER II.

INTRODUCTORY. — CHURCH HISTORIANS.

IN giving a sketch of the historiographers of the Church, I begin with the sacred writers of the Old Testament. Herodotus is sometimes called the father of history, and Eusebius the father of church history. But Moses wrote history, and church history, a thousand years before Herodotus was born, and eighteen hundred years before the time of Eusebius. In the five books of Moses, the history of God's Church is sketched for the long period of two thousand five hundred and sixty years, — more than six hundred years longer than the whole period which has elapsed since the commencement of the Christian era. To be sure, the notices of God's dealings with his people, in some parts of this vast period, are brief and fragmentary: but then they are all that we have; they are all that we ever shall have; and we should be devoutly thankful, not only to that Divine Spirit who inspired them, but to that most remarkable and venerable man who was the instrument of recording them for our benefit.

Succeeding Moses, in the list of church historians, were Joshua and Samuel, and the prophets who were contemporary with the kings of Judah and Israel. During the captivity, and immediately following it, we have Daniel and Ezra and Nehemiah. Later down in the history of God's ancient people, we have the apocryphal writers of the Old Testament, more especially the author or authors of the Maccabees. Then the entire history of the Church, from the beginning to the commencement of the Christian era, is re-sketches and condensed in the Antiquities of Josephus. His twenty books of Antiquities, together with his defence of them in the two books against Apion, though marked by some glaring imperfections, are yet an invaluable contribution to our knowledge of ancient church history. They help to connect and explain some parts of the sacred history; and, during a portion of the period, —

between the close of the Old-Testament history and the coming of Christ, — they are almost our only guide.

In Christian church history, we are, most of all, indebted to the writers of the four Gospels and of the Book of Acts. These writers lead us to the fountain-head of divine knowledge and influence; and, under the guidance of an inspiration which secured them from all error or mistake, they acquaint us with the circumstances of the incarnation of the Son of God, of his birth, his baptism, his public and private teachings, his miraculous works, his cruel sufferings, his martyr-death, and his triumphant resurrection, and ascension into heaven: and then, following down the line of church history, they tell us of the mighty effusions of God's Spirit and the great and glorious revivals of religion which were enjoyed in the first age of Christianity. They give us the only reliable account we have, or ever shall have, of the labors, successes, and sufferings of the apostles and early evangelists, and of the rapid diffusion of the gospel during the first seventy years of the Christian era, until near the deaths of the apostles Peter and Paul.

After the close of the sacred history, we are left much in the dark as to the course of events in the Church of Christ for the next two hundred years. It is matter of wonder and regret that no one should have thought of writing a history of that interesting period; but so it is. With the exception of what the sacred writers have given us, the first three hundred years after Christ are almost a blank. Papias and Hegesippus, who flourished about the middle of the second century, collected some traditions of the apostolic age; and the same may be said of Julius Africanus, who wrote a hundred years later. But the writings of these men have been mostly lost. Nothing remains of them, unless it be some meagre quotations found in the works of later authors.

The oldest church history now extant (if we except the sacred writings) is that of Eusebius, Bishop of Cæsarea, prepared in the early part of the fourth century. Eusebius was the confidential friend and spiritual guide of Constantine the Great. He was a man of good mind and disposition, of extensive learning, and familiarly acquainted with all the great events and persons of the day. He had superior advantages as an historian, from his free access to the archives of the empire, and also to the great library at Cæsarea, which had been collected by his friend Pamphilus. He wrote several works, as his "*Preparatio et Demonstratio Evangelica*," his "*Chronicon*," "*The Martyrs of Palestine*," and "*A Panegyric on*

Constantine." But his most important work, that by which he is best known, is his "Ecclesiastical History." The style of the history and its method are both faulty; and yet it is a work of vast importance to the Christian world. It is so for two reasons: first, we have here the testimony of a competent and credible witness to the great events of his own time; and, secondly, we are indebted to Eusebius for the collection and preservation of numerous facts and testimonies of older date, which, but for him, had been lost to the world. The work is made up, to a great extent, of these collected fragments and quotations, and in this way has become a *thesaurus* of ecclesiastical information to all subsequent historians of the Church.

The history of Eusebius ends with the year 321. Near the close of the century, Epiphanius, Bishop of Salamis, wrote a kind of *dogmatic history*, giving a full account of the heresies of the times, more especially of the Arian heresy.

The next century produced several continuators of Eusebius, the more eminent of which were Socrates and Sozomen, and Theodoret, Bishop of Cyrus. Theodoret brings down the history of the Church to the year 427.

In the beginning of the sixth century, Theodorus of Constantinople wrote a continuation of Eusebius, which is lost, though an abridgment of it still remains. Near the close of the sixth century, Evagrius of Antioch wrote a further continuation of Eusebius, bringing down the history to his own time.

The works above named were all written in Greek; the Latin church historians of the same age being little more than translators and compilers. The histories of Sulpicius Severus and of Orosius are not strictly ecclesiastical, though they have much to say of religion and the Church. Rufinus translated the work of Eusebius into Latin, and continued it to his own age. Cassiodorus, a learned civilian under Theodoric, the Gothic king of Italy, compiled a manual of church history, which was used as a text-book through the middle ages. During all these ages, there were no professed church historians in Greek. As Church and State were closely united, so ecclesiastical and general history were mixed up together.

The subjugation of the Western Roman Empire, near the close of the fifth century, was followed by great intellectual depression, and neglect of learning, during which all history degenerated, and more especially ecclesiastical history: and what history there was

more frequently took the form of annals and *acta sanctorum*, acts and legends of the saints; and these were so stuffed with marvels and miracles as to be entirely unworthy of credit. And yet, even at this period, some *local* church histories were written, which are of considerable value: such, for example, was the history of the Gallie Church, by Gregory of Tours; the history of the old British and Anglo-Saxon Church, by the Venerable Bede; and the four books of Adam of Bremen, on the period from Charlemagne to the year 1076.

Church history, like all other history, was at its lowest ebb immediately previous to the reformation from Popery; and it was for the interest of the church-rulers to keep it so. They wished to maintain the prevalent impression, that the existing church government, with its accompanying rites, usages, and doctrines, was of apostolical origin, — an illusion which must have been instantly dispelled by a clear view of the intervening history.

Most of the writings of the great reformers were, to some extent, historical, as they went to expose the superstitions and corruptions of the Church of Rome, and contrast them with the simplicity and purity of primitive times. Still, neither Luther nor Calvin wrote any formal church histories. Melanethon and Beza accomplished something in this line; but it was left to Matthias Flacius, a rigid Lutheran of Germany, to produce the first complete ecclesiastical history that was written after the Reformation. In order that the work might be thoroughly executed, Flacius associated nine others with himself, making ten in all, who divided the labor between them. Seven were engaged in collecting materials, two in digesting them, and the tenth in giving them shape and form; after which the entire work was submitted to a committee of five, who reviewed and corrected the whole previous to publication. This great work was published in parts, or numbers; each number including a century. It was commenced in the year 1552. The first number was issued in 1559, and the last in 1574. The whole is comprised in thirteen folio volumes, each volume containing the history of a century. As most of the writers resided at Magdeburg, the work has been commonly designated “The Magdeburg Centuries.”

Notwithstanding the greatness of this work, it obtained a wide and rapid circulation among both the friends and enemies of the Reformation; and, wherever it went, it was like a blaze of light, penetrating and dissipating the surrounding darkness. Its immediate good effects were great; and then it raised ecclesiastical his-

tory to a position which it has ever since retained, more especially in Germany. It not only stirred up Lutherans and Calvinists to prosecute a study thus auspiciously introduced, but led to immediate counteracting efforts in the Church of Rome.

Cæsar Baronius commenced publishing his Annals in the year 1558; and labored upon them thirty years, until his death in 1607. They were published in twelve folio volumes, each volume including a century, and bringing down the history to the year 1198. They furnish from the Papal archives, and from many libraries, particularly the Vatican, a host of documents and public papers previously unknown; and, with all their faults, are regarded as of much value, and are frequently consulted, at the present day. For this great work, the author was rewarded with the dignity of a cardinal.

Baronius commences his work with the assumption that he is about to present the first true, reliable church history. He censures Eusebius for leaning towards the Arians, Socrates and Sozomen for favoring the Novatians, and all his predecessors for their lack of critical discrimination. "The Magdeburg Centuries" he denounces as "Centuries of Satan;" though, in his feigned contempt of them, he seldom mentions them directly. He writes everywhere in the interest of absolute Romanism; and, of course, his history is, throughout, a one-sided affair. He endeavors to show that the Papacy was instituted by Christ; that, in doctrine and constitution, it has always been the same; and, consequently, that the Reformation was an apostasy from the true Church, and rebellion against the ordinance of God. But, in attempting this, he is obliged to rely upon fictitious or corrupted narratives and spurious documents, and to suppress or distort important public records. The Annals were continued by Raynaldus, an Italian, and Spondanus, a Frenchman, to the year 1640. They were controverted, not only by Protestants, but by the more liberal Catholics. Among those who replied to them were Casaubon, Spanheim, and one of the Basnages.

The highest merit in Roman-Catholic historiography belongs, undoubtedly, to the French. In the year 1676, Natalis Alexander commenced publishing his great work in twenty-four volumes, bringing down the history to the beginning of the seventeenth century. He severely criticises, in many places, the Annals of Baronius. In 1690, Claude Fleury, abbot of a Cistercian convent, began the publication of his church history, which reaches, in twenty volumes,

to the year 1414, and was continued by Fabre to 1595. Fleury wrote diffusely, in the spirit of a monk, but with taste and skill, and with a decided love for Christianity and the Church.

Bossuet, the eloquent Bishop of Meaux, published a compend of Universal History, reaching from the creation to the time of Charlemagne. It is not strictly an ecclesiastical history; and yet he has much to say in it of religion and the Church, which he represents as the soul and centre of all history.

Near the close of the seventeenth century, Tillemont, a Jansenist, prepared a history of the first six centuries, in sixteen volumes. For his facts he went to the original sources, consulting them with accurate and conscientious fidelity, and adding his critical observations in the form of notes. Other French writers of history at this period were Morinus, Petavius, Richard Simon, and Du Pin. Several of them, though professed Catholics, were so anti-Catholic in their statements, that their works were condemned and prohibited at Rome.

During the greater part of the seventeenth century, the Lutheran Church was distracted with controversies, so that little was done in the way of general church history. George Calixtus was a man of peace, and wrote a history with a view to favor this object; but his well-meant endeavors tended rather to foment strife than to allay it. Osiander wrote a history, in nine quarto volumes, compiled chiefly from "The Magdeburg Centuries," and being a continuation of that great work until the beginning of the seventeenth century.

Near the close of this century, Godfrey Arnold published what he called "An Impartial History of the Church and of the Heretics, from the Beginning of the New Testament to the Year 1688." Arnold was a pietist, a friend and follower of Spener, and strongly prejudiced against all church establishments. He not only hated the Romish Church, but he distrusted the church of the fourth and fifth centuries, and the Lutheran Church, by which the pietists were persecuted. He seems to have been a pious man, but was constitutionally gloomy and melancholy, and much attached to the mystics. His was professedly a history of *true spiritual religion*; and he was inclined to look for it all the way, not in the established churches, but among those who had been stigmatized as heretics. He favored not only the Novatians and Donatists, the Nestorians and Monophysites, the Paulicians, the Cathari, the Albigenes and Waldenses, but even the Arians

and Pelagians. At the same time, he did great injustice to the representatives of the orthodox ; impeaching their motives, aspersing their characters, passing over their merits in silence, and dwelling almost exclusively upon their imperfections. So far was his from being an impartial history, that many of the pietists were dissatisfied with it. It provoked a new controversy in the Lutheran Church.

The Reformed Church produced no important work in *general* church history in the seventeenth century, excepting that of Hottinger, in nine volumes ; but several scholars distinguished themselves in particular branches of historical research, shedding light on the characters of individuals, on various controversies, on patristic antiquity, also on the course of the Papacy and of the Reformation. Thus Frederic Spanheim of Leyden, and Samuel Basnage of Zutphen, undertook the refutation of Baronius ; while James Basnage, who was settled at the Hague, controverted Bossuet, endeavoring to show that the true Church of Christ has never failed, but has had faithful witnesses in every age. Others who distinguished themselves at this period by their historical researches were Bathinger, Hospinian, and Heidegger, among the German Swiss ; Beza, Mornay, Du Moulin, Blondell, Daille, Salmasius, Claude, Beausobre, and L'Enfant, among the French ; the elder Vossius, Vitringa, Venema, among the Dutch ; and Archbishop Usher, Bishops Pearson, Beveridge, Burnet, and Bull, Strype, Bingham, Cave, Graba, Whitby, and Prideaux, among the English.

But to return to the Germans. In the first part of the eighteenth century, Weisman published his "Introduction to the Memorabilia of Sacred History," distinguished for its mild spirit, its quiet, moderate tone, its predilection for the pietists and mystics, and its regard throughout to the purposes of edification. He was soon eclipsed, however, by the celebrated Chancellor of Göttingen, John Lawrence Mosheim, who holds indisputably the first place among the church historians of the last century. Besides a multitude of books and tracts on various subjects more or less connected with ecclesiastical history, Mosheim published two, which have never lost their place and authority in the Church. One of these is his "Commentaries on the State of Christianity before the Time of Constantine:" the other is his "Institutes of Ecclesiastical History, Ancient and Modern." Both these have been translated into English ; and the latter has long been a text-

book in England and America. His division of his subject into centuries may be regarded as faulty ; and he is lacking throughout in religious fervor and spirituality. Still, the work is one of high merit, and fully entitled to the authority which it has attained. We entirely accord with the following sentiments of "The Princeton Review : " " These works of Mosheim," referring to the two above mentioned, " are distinguished by a thorough knowledge of his subject, rare acuteness and sagacity in critical conjecture and combination, great completeness and exactness as to the essential facts of history, clearness of arrangement, and by the classical elegance of his Latin," in which the works were originally written.* Of the two English translations of Mosheim's History, (Maclaine's and Murdock's), the former is free and declamatory ; the latter accurate, but rather stiff and inelegant. The notes of Murdock are numerous and valuable, embodying all the important historical matter which has come to light since Mosheim's death.

The influence of Mosheim in his own country was very great, as may be seen in the histories of those who were his contemporaries, or who immediately followed him. Pfaff of Tübingen was equally learned ; but his Institutions were not written in so clear a style, and are overladen with names and citations. Baumgarten brought down his " Abstract of Church History " only to the close of the ninth century. The most extensive work of the age was that of Schröckh, a disciple of Mosheim, and Professor of History at Wittenberg. With Tzschirner's continuation, it makes forty-five volumes, and was published between the years 1768 and 1810. Notwithstanding its diffuseness and its injudicious method, it is exceedingly valuable for its numerous and faithful transcriptions from original authorities, and will long be referred to as a mine of historical learning.

J. A. Cramer, Chancellor of the University of Kiel, wrote a continuation of Bossuet's " Universal History." The younger Walch gave attention, chiefly, to the history of heresies and controversies ; and his work, in eleven parts, is still much esteemed. The elder Planck prepared histories of Christian Doctrine and of Church Government ; both of which he treats simply as a philosopher, with the utmost indifference to religious truth. In the same spirit of religious indifference, Muenscher prepared his " History of Christian Doctrine," an abridgment of which was translated and published in this country by Dr. Murdock in 1830.

* See No. for October, 1857.

The era of rationalism in Germany commenced with John Solomon Semler, in the latter part of the eighteenth century. Semler himself wrote no proper church history. His whole course was merely preparatory; raising doubts and suspicions, forming conjectures and combinations, and getting together a huge mass of material, which his followers were left to work over at their pleasure. Of his long array of publications, scarcely one is consulted at the present day. The principal work from Semler's school is Henke's "General History of the Christian Church," in eight parts, the first of which was published in 1788. His principal aim is to show up the mischief which religious despotism and doctrinal constraint have wrought in all ages; and he presents a glaring picture of what he calls enthusiasm, superstition, stupidity, and wickedness. In his hands, church history becomes mainly a history of human folly. Wherever the unprejudiced eye discerns true greatness, Henke can see nothing but hypocrisy, calculation, cunning, and bigotry. The efforts of Henke, and others of the same school, resulted in a total indifference as to the religious import of church history. In this spirit, Schmidt of Giessen composed his Manual, in six parts, which was completed in 1820.

Within the last fifty years, historical theology has awakened an extraordinary amount of diligence and zeal in Germany. Her more distinguished church historians are Neander and Gieseler. Neander commenced his career by the preparation of *monographs*; but these led on to the great work of his life,—his "General Church History." Neander's history was first published in 1825; and nearly at the same time appeared the equally learned and elaborate history of Gieseler. These works have both been translated, and are in familiar use in England and in this country. They are so entirely different in spirit and plan, that they hardly admit of a comparison with each other. In Gieseler we have an excellent selection from the original authorities, inserted in the form of notes, and strung together by a meagre, cold, and slender thread of narrative. In Neander we have the same materials; but they have been digested in his own mind, and wrought up into a flowing homogeneous narrative, bearing the impress of their author upon every page. In Gieseler the notes are every thing; in Neander, nothing. In the former, the author conceals himself behind the fathers and reformers, whose very words he sets before us: in the latter, the self-same fathers and reformers are exhibited; but they appear in the dress and voice of Neander. Gieseler's purpose seems to have been

to enable every reader to form his own conclusions, and construct a history for himself; while Neander gives us the history made ready to our hand.

Neander has had many imitators and followers in Germany, — some in general church history, but more in the presentation of particular branches; but of these we shall be able to give little more than the names. The following writers have furnished *manuals* of church history, intended rather for students than for general circulation: viz., Neidner, distinguished for original learning, and a masterly condensation of details; Hase, who excels all others in spirited description, comprehensive brevity, and a successful delineation of individual characters; the compend of Guerike, which, notwithstanding its heavy and awkward style, has found much favor with the public; and Kurtz, who greatly surpasses Guerike in point of style, and may ultimately take his place in regard to circulation. The principal writers in *doctrinal history* are Baumgarten-Crusius; Engelhardt; Baur of Tübingen, who is no better than an infidel; and Hagenbach, whose work has been translated into English, and is widely circulated both in England and in this country. The writers of *monographs* on special topics, single doctrines, and celebrated individuals, are very numerous. We will only mention Ullman, Marheineke, Rothe, Dorner, Bunsen, and Ebrard, among the Protestants; and Mohler, Höfler, Hefele, and Hurter, among the Catholics.

The more recent works of Roman Catholics in this department of literature are the following: Sacharelli's Church History, published near the close of the eighteenth century, in twenty-five volumes; the History of Röhrbacher, professor at Louvain, in twenty-nine volumes; A Manual of General Church History, by John Alzog; and the Civil and Ecclesiastical Histories of Dr. Lingard, a Roman-Catholic priest of England.

While Germany has displayed, since the age of Mosheim, a prodigious activity in the field of church history, the other Protestant countries of Europe have done but little. In England, the work of Joseph and Isaac Milner was first published near the beginning of the present century, and is of more value than has been generally supposed. It was no part of their plan to write a history of *nominal, organized* Christianity, but rather of *real* Christianity, of *true piety*. In pursuing this object, they were led to pass over much on which other historians had treated, and to search only for the image of Christ. Their work is pervaded not only by a

deeply religious spirit, but by solid learning and original research; and, in connection with other histories, should be carefully studied.

Nearly at the same time with the above, the Rev. Thomas Haweis published a church history, in three volumes, on the same plan as that of the Milners, but vastly inferior to it in point of literary execution. A little later, Messrs. Bogue and Bennett published their "History of the Dissenters of England," in four volumes, containing a vast amount of information respecting this noble body of Christians.

Dr. Milman, Dean of St. Paul's, has written "A History of Christianity to the Abolition of Paganism in the Roman Empire;" also "A History of Latin Christianity." These works are distinguished for their learning, and for an elegant though not easy style. Among the productions of England, we only mention further the histories of Waddington and of Hardwicke, both of them learned and well written, and worthy the attention of students.

From the Protestants of France, the only work to be noticed here is D'Aubigné's "History of the Reformation." Though yet unfinished, it has attained an almost unprecedented popularity in England and America, and has spread a knowledge of the Reformation where otherwise it would never have gone. D'Aubigné's chief merit lies in his extraordinary power of spirited dramatic and picturesque representation, by which he gives interest to the study of history, and makes the pursuit of it a pleasure. It must be said, however, that, in his efforts to please, he sometimes impairs the simplicity and truthfulness of the narrative, and too much confounds the task of the earnest historian with that of the novelist.

In our own country, the church historians are yet to appear. In civil history, we have done our full share. The names and the works of such men as Ramsay and Marshall and Prescott and Bancroft and Sparks and Motley and Palfrey will not soon be forgotten. But, for our knowledge of ecclesiastical history, we have been content to rely chiefly on the Germans. With the exception of some translations, and the learned "History of Christian Doctrine," lately published by Prof. Shedd, little has been done among us.* At present, however, there is a learned German with us, whom we are happy to recognize as an adopted fellow-

* In the year 1859, Prof. Henry B. Smith published A History of the Church of Christ in Chronological Tables. It is characterized by learning and accuracy, but is chiefly valuable as a book of reference.

citizen, who is laboring with great success in the important branch of historical theology. I refer to Dr. Philip Schaff, professor in the Theological Seminary at Mercersburg. Should he live to complete a history of the Church in the same spirit and manner with which he has commenced it, the work will be received with great favor in this country, and will be a blessing to the world.

Should it be asked, in conclusion, which of all the histories that have been mentioned are best deserving the attention of ministers and Christian students, the question is not easily answered. Each has its peculiar excellences, and each is characterized by some defects. Milner's is what it professes to be, — a history of the *real living Church*, and should be relied upon only in this view. As a general history of that great organized body commonly called the Church of Christ, it has no valid claims; nor does it profess to have.

Neander's history is full, learned, candid, truthful, and would be entitled to an almost unqualified commendation, were it not for the minglings of the transcendental philosophy and theology, which, for the greater part of a century, has tainted every thing in Germany. Neander was the particular friend of Schelling, one of the leading transcendental philosophers, and dedicated to him the first volume of his history. His partiality for this philosophy leaks out everywhere. It shows itself in his fondness for the development theory, and for *à-priori* reasonings and conclusions. Neander seems to have adopted, too, the transcendental theory of Christianity, — that it is not a system of immutable truth, but rather a *feeling*, a *sentiment*, a *life*. "This notion," says one, "is the spinal cord of Neander's 'History,' the substance of Ullman's 'Essence of Christianity,' the basis of Twisten's 'Dogmatik,' the grand distinction of the Mercersburg theology, the beginning and end of Morell's 'Philosophy of Religion.'" Neander wrote his "Life of Christ" with a view to refute the blasphemies of Strauss; and yet it has been thought that the former work was calculated to do more injury in this country than the latter. Strauss shocked and repelled all serious readers by his grossness; while Neander let down stitches, and left them down, threatening the whole fabric of Christianity.

I am sorry to feel constrained to say these things of Neander, — a man so learned, so childlike, and, I doubt not, so truly pious. I would not dissuade from the study of his history; by no means: but then it should be used with discrimination and caution, and in connection with other works.

Gieseler was more of a rationalist than Neander ; and yet there are not the same objections to his history. His narrative is so brief and slender, that, of itself, it seems not capable of doing much good or hurt. The chief excellence of Gieseler lies in his notes ; and these are invaluable. To be benefited by Gieseler ; one must make up his mind beforehand to translate and master all his notes.

As a text-book in history, I am far from being satisfied with Mosheim. He is cold and passionless, and, for that reason, uninteresting to the reader. Besides, his method is arbitrary and objectionable, leading to much sameness and repetition, more especially in the middle ages. Still, until a better book is presented, I know nothing that can well be substituted for Murdock's Mosheim.

CHAPTER III.

INTRODUCTORY.—PECULIARITIES OF THE SACRED HISTORY.

THE greater portion of our Bible (the Old Testament and the New) is historical,—a record of events either past or passing at the time when the books were written. To distinguish it from other books of the like description, it is commonly called *sacred history*. As we shall make much use of the sacred history in the following chapters, it may be well to preface them with some account of its *peculiarities*, or the points in which it differs from other histories.

Of some of these I have spoken already; as, for example, its *early date*; Moses having lived more than a thousand years previous to the times of Herodotus, Berosus, Manetho, or any other credible historian.

I have referred, too, to *the length of time* over which the sacred history stretches. Other ancient histories describe the events of only short periods,—a few years, or, at most, a few centuries. Thus Herodotus traces the Persian history from the time of Cyrus to that of Xerxes,—about two hundred and forty years. Thucydides wrote a history of the Peloponnesian War, embracing a little more than twenty years. The history of Polybius extends from the First Punic War to the capture of Macedon by the Romans,—less than a hundred years. But our sacred history is of a vastly greater extent than either or all of these. Beginning at the creation, it runs rapidly down the first two thousand years to the time of Abraham; and then, following the line of his descendants in the families of Isaac and Israel, it stretches onward two thousand more,—to the coming of Christ. Nor does it stop there. It furnishes an account of our Saviour's life and public ministry; of his crucifixion, resurrection, and ascension; of the outpouring of the Spirit upon his primitive disciples; and of the planting and prospects of the Christian Church until past the middle of the first century. Where,

now, shall we look for another history (unless it have been in great measure copied from this) which bears any comparison with it as to the length of the period over which it stretches?

A third peculiarity of the sacred history consists in its *ecclesiastical* character. It is primarily and essentially a history of *God's Church*. Other histories record the affairs of individuals and of nations, — their wars, their revolutions, their origin, and their end; but the subject of the sacred history is, almost exclusively, the Church of God.

God has had a Church in the world from the days of righteous Abel to the present time, — sometimes in obscurity, then in prosperity; sometimes almost hidden from the sight of men, and then standing forth the great object of interest and hope. To trace the history of this Church in its various changes, straits, persecutions, and deliverances, through the long space of more than four thousand years, is the prime object and work of the sacred history.

The Church before the Flood seems to have been confined chiefly to the family of Seth. They were “the sons of God,” in distinction from “the daughters of men.” They “called on the name of the Lord,” in distinction from others who despised and forgot him. Enoch, that holy man who “walked with God, and was not, for God took him,” was among the children of Seth: and it is to the children of Seth that the sacred history is confined, from the fifth chapter of Genesis to the Deluge, and even beyond it; for Noah and his family were of the children of Seth.

After the Deluge, the Church of God was concentrated chiefly in the family of Shem. While incidental notices are given of the descendants of the other sons of Noah, the interest of the narrative is confined, for the most part, to Shem and his children, down to the time of Terah and Abraham. From this point, the Church of God is limited to the seed of Abraham in the line of Isaac and Israel; while, for their idolatry and wickedness, the other nations are given over to their own hearts' lusts. And it is of the children of Israel that the sacred history treats for the next sixteen hundred years, — down to the time of Ezra and Nehemiah. Here is a break of about four hundred years, which brings us to the coming of Christ.

At the death of Christ, the old dispensation, with all its rites, types, and shadows, passed away, and the new dispensation was ushered in. Then, also, the great body of the Jewish nation, so long the covenant people of God, were broken off from his Church

for their unbelief; and the way was opened for believing Gentiles to be grafted into the stock of Abraham. Of these great transactions, we have a faithful account in the New-Testament history, which closes about the year 63. We thus see, that, from first to last, the sacred history is essentially *church history*. It is a history of God's dealings with his covenant people.

A fourth peculiarity of the sacred history is its prominent exhibition of *God's universal and eternal purpose*,—his *great plan of providence and grace*. To the eye of sense, events seem to be following each other in this world without much order. Some are prospered, and some afflicted; some are sick, and some well; some die almost as soon as they are born, while others live to old age. And as it is with individuals, so also with nations. They rise and fall; they become rich and prosperous and powerful; and then, ere long, they pass away. Wars are waged and concluded. Revolutions are excited and accomplished, or they are speedily checked and crushed. Such being the course of human affairs, a faithful record of them, or, in other words, their history, seems, at first view, chaotic and disorderly. Figures are moving on the canvas; but why and wherefore, in what order, to what purpose, and for what end, no one can tell. Such is history, prepared, it may be, with accuracy, but with no guide but the eye of sense.

But very different from this is the sacred history, or any other history prepared in the light of God's holy and eternal counsels. In the sacred history, we are taught to look upward. We see a Power above us, which rides on the whirlwind, and directs the storm. In periods the darkest to the view of mortals, all is light with God. In circumstances the most chaotic and unaccountable to the eye of sense, he is directing and controlling all in infinite wisdom and goodness. In the plenitude of his sovereignty, he says, "I am the Lord, and there is none else; I form the light, and create darkness; I make peace, and create evil. My counsel shall stand, and I will do all my pleasure." To the writer of history, to the careful observer of human affairs, passages such as these are a *revelation*. They shed the light of heaven upon his path,—a light which can come from no other source. By the eye of faith, he can see order now where all before was confusion and chaos: and with the Psalmist he is able to sing, "The Lord reigneth; let the earth rejoice; let the multitude of isles be glad thereof. Clouds and darkness are round about him; but righteousness and judgment are the habitation of his throne." With a confidence inspired by these

views of God's sovereignty and supremacy, and which can be created in no other way, the good man looks up, and says, "God is my refuge and strength, a very present help in trouble. Therefore will we not fear though the earth be removed, and though the mountains be carried into the depths of the sea, though the waters thereof roar and be troubled, though the mountains shake with the swelling thereof."

Another peculiarity of the sacred history is its continual recognition of God's providential *agency* in human affairs; and that, too, in connection with an unembarrassed free agency, and entire accountability, on the part of man. Other histories, if prepared on Christian principles, will indeed recognize a providence in the affairs of men, and speak of it submissively and devoutly: still, they come very far short of the sacred history in their views of divine efficiency, and of its control over the hearts and the conduct of men. Take, for example, the case of Pharaoh. How often does God say of this man, "I will harden Pharaoh's heart, and multiply my signs and wonders in the land of Egypt, and Pharaoh shall not hearken unto you, that I may lay my hand upon Egypt, and bring forth my people out of the land with great judgments"! And, in the midst of these desolating judgments, how often do we hear God saying, "I *have* hardened the heart of Pharaoh, and the heart of his servants, that I might show these my signs before him"! And yet it is as often said that *Pharaoh hardened his own heart*, and wickedly refused to let the people go. He was altogether as free, as responsible, and as guilty, as though there had been no divine providence in the case. These statements may seem inexplicable to us; and the sacred historian makes no attempt at explanation. He merely writes them, and there leaves them.

Nor does the case of Pharaoh stand alone. It is but one among many of a like nature. Take the instance of Joseph. He was wickedly seized, sold by his brethren, and carried into Egypt, where he remained for many years, part of the time a slave, and part of the time a close prisoner. Were not his brethren responsible and guilty for this terrible transaction? Were they not brought, at length, to an open confession of their guilt? "We are verily guilty concerning our brother, in that we saw the anguish of his soul when he besought us, and we would not hear." And yet the Lord's hand was in all this; and in it, too, for a wise and benevolent purpose. "*God* did send me before you to save your lives by a great deliverance."

Take another case out of the many that might be presented. When Absalom had rebelled against his father, and had driven him away from Jerusalem, the traitor sent for two of David's counsellors to advise with him as to the measures to be pursued. Ahithophel gave him good advice, which, had it been followed, would have led to the destruction of the old king. But Hushai advised to a very different course, which could end in nothing but Absalom's defeat and ruin. The two courses were both before the mind of the traitor: he had his choice of them; and he chose freely to follow the advice of Hushai. How came he to do so? The whole thing is explained in a single verse: "*The Lord* had appointed to defeat the good counsel of Ahithophel, to the intent that he might bring evil upon Absalom" (2 Sam. xvii. 14).

Such, then, is the sacred history. A broad line of distinction is here presented between it and all other histories in the world. The divine hand is here seen controlling as infallibly the hearts and conduct of men as it controls events in the natural world. And yet, without any attempt at explanation, men are said to act freely and responsibly; and, when they act wickedly, are justly exposed to condemnation and punishment.

Still another peculiarity of the sacred history is, that it is mixed up everywhere with *types* and *symbols* and *prophetic declarations*. I hardly need say that these are not found in secular history; or, if pretensions are made to them, they are deceptive and false. But in the sacred history, as well as in the prophetic writings, they are of continual occurrence. Thus Enoch, the seventh from Adam, uttered predictions: "Behold the Lord cometh, with ten thousand of his saints, to execute judgment upon all, and to convince all that are ungodly among them of their ungodly deeds, and of all the hard speeches which ungodly sinners have spoken against him" (Jude 14, 15).

Noah also uttered predictions: "Cursed be Canaan; a servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren." "God shall enlarge Japheth, and he shall dwell in the tents of Shem" (Gen. ix. 25, 27). Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, each and all of them, uttered predictions; or, rather, God uttered his predictions by them, — predictions which are not yet entirely fulfilled, and will not be till the end of the world. Joseph's dreams, and those which he interpreted for Pharaoh and for his chief butler and baker, were all of them of the nature of predictions. Moses was a prophet as well as an historian. He predicted the coming of the Messiah and the future defections

of Israel, and the judgments which should fall upon them for their sins, until they were scattered to the ends of the earth. Samuel too, and David, and the writers of the Kings and Chronicles, were prophets; and several of those who are distinctively called prophets made important additions to the sacred history.

Then the types and symbols of our sacred books are a peculiar feature of them. We do not find them in other books; but the sacred history abounds with them. Many parts of the Old Testament are little more than the institution of types; types, too, of great significance, shadowing forth the most important truths, and pointing forward to coming events. Thus Paul, speaking of the holy places in the ancient temple, represents them as figures (types) of the true; that is, of heaven (Heb. ix. 24).

The symbols of Scripture differ from the types. There are figures, pictures, or pictorial scenes, presented, sometimes actually, and sometimes in visions and dreams, by means of which important truths, and often coming events, are indicated. Thus the cherubim in the ancient temple are supposed to symbolize angelic beings. Nebuchadnezzar's gigantic image which he saw in vision; Daniel's four beasts; Zechariah's horses, red, speckled, and white; and most of the scenic representations of the Apocalypse, — may be regarded as prophetic symbols.

As types and symbols are peculiarities of our sacred books, so they require a peculiarity of interpretation. It is sometimes said that the Bible is to be interpreted on the same principle as other books; but this rule is not applicable to the whole Bible. As the Bible has peculiarities not found in other books, more especially its types, symbols, and prophetic declarations; so these require a mode of interpretation peculiar to themselves. In these there must be, often, something like a double sense, — the apparent and the real, the literal and spiritual.

Yet another peculiarity of the sacred history is its frequent record of *miracles*. Other histories contain no accounts of real miracles; and it is sometimes objected to the sacred history that it has such accounts. It is assumed that a miracle is an impossibility; that the established course of Nature never was nor can be interrupted or supervened; and that the frequent stories of miracles which we find in the Bible cannot be true. This is no place to go into a consideration of this objection. Suffice it to say, that God, who established what are commonly called the laws of Nature, is able, if he pleases, to suspend or contravene them. He is able

to perform miracles such as the Scriptures relate ; and the fact that he has performed them, and furnished a record of them in his Word, is one of the distinguishing peculiarities of that Word. So far from proving it untrue, it goes to authenticate it as a revelation from himself.

Another of the peculiarities of the sacred history is, that its central figure is *the cross of Christ*. Everywhere it looks, either forward or backward, to the Saviour.

This, in a lower sense, may be said of all true history. This world was made not only *by* Christ, but *for* him ; and its providential arrangements are conducted, in all their branches, with reference to the interests of his kingdom. Hence much is said, and properly too, of *Christ in history*. All history, correctly and appropriately written, must have reference more or less to the Saviour. But this, which is in some sense true of all history, is more emphatically so of that contained in the Bible. The great object of the Old-Testament history is to reveal a coming Saviour, and direct the eyes of a lost world in strong expectancy to him : the great object of the New-Testament history is to *proclaim* a Saviour, and publish abroad the triumphs of his cross.

In its very commencement, the sacred history announces the victorious seed of the woman, which is to bruise the serpent's head. Bloody sacrifices, which were instituted immediately after the fall of our first parents, and which continued to the end of the Mosaic dispensation, spreading themselves meanwhile over all the earth, were everywhere a revelation of Christ, a type of his sufferings and death ; directing the eye of the penitent worshipper to Him whose blood cleanseth from all sin. Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob were heirs together of the one great promise, that a Personage should proceed from them in whom all the families of the earth should be blessed. In the blessings of Judah, his father Israel spake of a Shiloh to come, unto whom the gathering of the people should be. Moses predicted a Prophet like unto himself, who should be abundantly taught of God, and would faithfully publish all his will. Even Balaam, the son of Boşor, had visions of a future Deliverer : " I shall see him, but not now ; I shall behold him, but not nigh. A Star shall come out of Jacob, and a Sceptre shall rise out of Israel, which shall be victorious over all the enemies of God's people." And thus it is through the sacred history generally. Christ is the great subject and object of it. He is the

centre from which all the light of the sacred Word proceeds, and towards which all its reflected radiance tends.

It may be mentioned as another peculiarity of the sacred history, that in it some of the *best examples*, and some of the *worst*, are set before us, — the latter to deter from sin, the former to persuade and win us to the practice of holiness. Example, it is commonly said, has much more influence with people generally than precept. There are good reasons why it should be so. Examples go to illustrate good precepts, show their practicability, and make an impression of their importance. We are all inclined, more or less, to follow the examples of those under whose influence we fall, whether for good or for evil. If this be so, then we see a sufficient reason why so large a part of the Bible is historical. It is filled up with examples, the best and the worst, — the latter, as I said, to deter from sin, the former to encourage us in the performance of duty. There is the example of Enoch, who, in an age of comparative darkness and of abounding wickedness, was enabled to hold fast his integrity, and maintain a consistent walk with God. There is the example of Abraham, strong in faith, the patriarchal head of God's ancient Church, and, in some sense, the father of all them that believe. There is the example of Joseph, lovely in youth as he was useful and fruitful in age, who came out of the fiery furnace of affliction and temptation like silver seven times purified. There is the example of Moses, the writer of so much of our sacred history; a prodigy of wisdom, firmness, meekness, patience, and unwavering trust in God; to whom the world is, perhaps, more indebted than to any mere man who ever lived in it. And what shall I say more on this head? for time would fail me to speak of Job, of Samuel, of David, of Elijah and Elisha, of Isaiah and Jeremiah, of Daniel, Nehemiah, and Paul, "who, through faith, subdued kingdoms, wrought righteousness, obtained promises, stopped the mouths of lions, quenched the violence of fire, escaped the edge of the sword, out of weakness were made strong, waxed valiant in fight, and put to flight the armies of the aliens." I must not omit to mention, however, the example of our Lord Jesus Christ, in whose spotless life "the law appears, drawn out in living characters;" to love and to follow whom is our first duty and highest happiness, and the only proper evidence of discipleship in his kingdom.

But the sacred history furnishes us with another class of exam-

ples, — the opposite class, — whose influence upon us, if properly used, may be equally happy in deterring us from sin. There is Cain, the first murderer, with the mark of infamy upon his forehead, and the curse of heaven upon his soul; and Pharaoh, the very image of pride, obstinacy, and rebellion, whose heart was hardened beyond mercy and hope, and whose overthrow was as signal as his wickedness was great; and Ahab, of whom it is written, “There was none like unto him of all the kings of Israel, who did sell himself to work wickedness in the sight of the Lord;” and Haman, who plotted the destruction of the whole Jewish nation, and who was hanged on the gallows which his own hands had made; and Judas Iscariot, who betrayed his Master for a mere pittance, and, in the bitterness of despair, went out and hanged himself. Now, all these examples, the good and the bad, are recorded “for our admonition, on whom the ends of the world are come;” and, if we do not profit by them, the fault will be our own. Who would wish to live or die like Pharaoh and Haman and Judas Iscariot? Who will not rather copy the example of Joseph and Moses and Daniel and Paul, that so he may die the death of the righteous, and his last end may be like his?

There is something peculiar in the *style* and *manner* of the sacred history, which must not be overlooked. There is a simplicity and directness about it which we find in no other historical writings. There is a detail of the characters of both good and bad men, their virtues and vices, their excellences and defects, without any coloring or exaggeration one way or the other. The noblest actions and the basest are faithfully portrayed, without being set off by rhetorical flourishes or passionate exclamations. Witness the treachery of Judas, the death-scene of Stephen, and, above all, the crucifixion of our Lord Jesus Christ. The facts are stated with perfect simplicity and plainness; and the reader is left to his own reflections. “And Judas Iscariot, one of the twelve, went unto the chief priests to betray Jesus unto them. And, when they heard it, they were glad, and promised to give him money. And he sought how he might conveniently betray him.” Here are no maledictions or exclamations, no expressions of resentment or reproach. The facts are simply stated, and that is all. And so in the account of Judas’ death: “He cast down the pieces of silver in the temple, and went and hanged himself.” I give this instance as one among a thousand of like character. No other history was

ever composed in this way, so direct and simple, and, for that very reason, so attractive and interesting.

I add but another peculiarity of the sacred history; which is, that it was written under a *plenary inspiration*, — the inspiration of *the Holy Ghost*. I do not mean by this that every word in the sacred narrative is the truth of God; for it is not so. Many things are recorded in the Scriptures which are not revealed truth, or truth in any sense. Witness the speech of the serpent to our first mother, and the speech of the man in the parable, “I know thee that thou art a hard man, reaping where thou hast not sown, and gathering where thou hast not strewed;” and the speech of Tertullus before Felix, and against Paul, of which it has been said by commentators that there is not a word of truth in it. Yet all these speeches were written under a divine inspiration. The sacred writer was directed and inspired, not to indorse the truth of what was said, but to tell us exactly *what was said*: in other words, to give a correct narrative.

Nor do we mean by inspiration that every word was suggested by the Spirit to the writer’s mind before he recorded it. This may have been so, or it may not. In many cases, I suppose it must have been so: but, in every case, the Spirit so guided and superintended the sacred writer, that he was led to record just what God would have recorded, and just in the manner in which God would have it done; so that not only the sacred histories, but the whole Bible, is God’s book, written under the inspiration of the Holy Ghost.

In this respect, the Bible is unlike every other book. It stands out before the world unique and alone. Nor is it to be regarded or treated like any other book. There is a sacredness and importance attaching to it, to which no other book has any claim. It is to be approached with a reverence and devotion which we cannot feel in regard to any other book or writing in the world. When the Bible speaks, God speaks; and what the Bible says is to be regarded as the word of God.

It is lawful for us to investigate the evidences of divine revelation; it is lawful for us to criticise copies and versions, and to arrive, if possible, at the very mind and meaning of the Spirit: but when we have reached this, or have come to be satisfied that we have, then we are to stop. We are to ask no further questions. We are to say with Chillingworth, “No demonstration

can be stronger than this. God hath said it : therefore it must be true."

May the remarks which have been made as to the peculiarities of the sacred history prepare us to look into it with attention and interest ! May we study its inspired narratives, and scan its difficulties, and investigate its reasonings and its facts, earnestly seeking that it may be "profitable to us for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness" !

CHAPTER IV.

INTRODUCTORY. — THE AUTHOR OF THE PENTATEUCH.

THE enemies of divine revelation have usually commenced their assaults upon it with the Old Testament, and more especially with the first five books. Perceiving the intimate connection of these books with those that follow, they have thought, that, if they could destroy the credit of these, the conquest of the remainder would not be difficult.

The first to assail the Old Testament, and particularly the writings of Moses, were the Gnostics of the second century, and the Manicheans of the fourth. Regarding matter as essentially evil, and as the source of all evil, they could not believe, with Moses, that the Supreme Being created this material world or the gross bodies of men. The material creation, in all its parts, must have been the work of some inferior and malicious being; and Moses' account of the matter was rejected.

After the disappearance of these heresies, and the overthrow of Paganism in the Roman Empire, we hear of little direct opposition to the Scriptures for the next thousand years. Numerous other errors and controversies arose; but the great controversy respecting the fundamental documents of our faith was permitted to slumber.

By the English infidels of the seventeenth century, the question was revived as to the authenticity and genuineness of the books of Moses. Mr. Hobbes says, in his "Leviathan," "It is sufficiently evident that the five books of Moses were written after his time." Spinoza, who was a Jew, advanced the same sentiment. The Pentateuch, he thought, could not have been written before the time of Ezra. Others followed in a similar strain, such as Blount, Toland, Morgan, and Bolingbroke.

But the most violent assaults upon the Mosaic writings in modern times have come from Germany. Near the close of the

last century, commenced in that country the era of what has been called "historical criticism." This demolishing criticism was first employed upon the Greek and Latin classics. In the year 1795, Wolf, the philologist, published his "Prolegomena to the Homeric Poems," in which he endeavored to show that the "Iliad" and "Odyssey" are not the works of Homer or of any one else, but are made up of fragments loosely put together, and are to be ascribed to different authors. He next took in hand the Orations of Cicero, and declared, in regard to four of these, that "Cicero could never have written them, sleeping or waking." Niebuhr, the historian, followed in the same strain, and, after "demolishing Livy's beautiful fabric in regard to the early history of Rome, attempted to reconstruct it on a more durable basis." From this period, discredit or contempt was continually heaped upon some of the most valuable remains of antiquity. Herodotus was a garrulous storyteller, pleasing enough to children, but unworthy the study or the belief of men. The genuineness of some of the most undoubted of Plato's Dialogues was called in question. Even Thucydides did not entirely escape this destructive criticism.

Under these circumstances, it was hardly to be expected that the sacred books of the Old Testament would be unmolested. All sorts of theories were invented to account for the origin of some of them, more especially the five books of Moses. While it was insisted, generally, that Moses could not have written them, no two could agree as to the real author or authors, or as to the period to which they should be assigned. All periods were proposed, from Joshua to the Maccabees; and all writers mentioned, whether known or unknown in Jewish history. The famous document and fragment theories were, for a time, immensely popular, representing the Pentateuch, like the Homeric poems, as a sort of patchwork, originated at different periods and by different hands, and put together by some one, — nobody could tell who.

The fragments of which the books of Moses were composed were many, and were designated by various names; the more prominent of which were *the Elohist* and *the Jehovist*. In the former, the name given to the Supreme Being is constantly *Elohim*; but, in the latter, it is *Jehovah*. Much labor was employed in parcelling out the sacred text according to this principle; assigning one portion to the one class of fragments, and another to another.

But, after all, it appears that there is no real ground for this division; since, parcel out the fragments as we may, the two names

of the Deity occur promiscuously in both. Thus in the second chapter of Genesis, which is said to be Jehovistic, the two names of God occur together no less than ten times, — *Jehovah-Elohim*, the Lord God. So in Gen. v. 29, which is Elohistie, we have Jehovah. Also in Gen. vii. 9–24, which is pronounced Elohistie, the word Jehovah appears again. We give but one example more. The forty-ninth chapter of Genesis is throughout Elohistie; but, in verse eighteen, we have these words of Jacob: “I have waited for thy salvation, O Jehovah!”

Difficulties such as these divided, for a time, all Germany, arraying critic against critic in strange confusion; no one seeming to suspect that the theory which had been assumed was a baseless one, contradicted perpetually by the sacred text.

One of the last specimens of the document theory comes to us, not from Germany, but from a writer in “The Princeton Review.” Without thinking to detract aught from the authority or inspiration of what is commonly called *the Book of Genesis*, this writer represents it as made up of eleven distinct books, each complete in itself, and all of them anonymous, with which Moses seems to have had nothing to do.*

This scheme, however, did not originate at Princeton. It was first broached by Astruck, a French physician, in 1753; and was adopted, in part, by Eichhorn, Ilgen, and various other German critics.

If Genesis is really made up of eleven or twelve distinct books, it is singular that readers of the Bible for the last three thousand years have not discovered the lines of demarcation between them. The truth is, there *are* no such lines. There are different subjects treated of in Genesis, and corresponding to them are sectional divisions, as there are in other books; but the Book of Genesis is evidently *one*. It has a beginning, a progress, a plan, an end; and is as well entitled to be considered *one book* — the work, under God, of one individual mind — as any of our canonical Scriptures.

The authorship of the *last four books of the Pentateuch* is expressly ascribed to Moses. “When Moses had made an end of writing the words of this law in a book, until they were finished, he said to the Levites which bare the ark of the covenant of the Lord, Take this book of the law, and put it in the side of the ark of the covenant of the Lord your God, that it may be there for a witness” (Deut. xxxi.

* No. for January, 1861, p. 51.

24-26). "We have found Him of whom Moses in the law, and the prophets, *did write*, — Jesus of Nazareth, the son of Joseph" (John i. 45). "Had ye believed Moses, ye would have believed me; for *he wrote* of me" (John v. 46).

It is true, indeed, that the Book of *Genesis* is not so expressly ascribed to Moses as the remaining four books: but then it is evident, if he wrote the last four of these books, he must also have written the first; for the books manifestly belong together. They were originally one book, and they constitute one connected whole. They were appropriately classed together by the Hebrews, and collectively called *the Law*. They were classed together, too, by the *Seventy*, and called *the Pentateuch*, or the volume of five books. To this one volume, *one work*, the Book of *Genesis* is the proper introduction. The other books, without this, would be irretrievably imperfect, — a column without a base; while this, without the others, would be a base without a column, a porch, an entry, without a house.

The design of the Book of *Genesis* was to *introduce* the history of God's ancient covenant people; while the other books *continue* the history of the same people until their entrance into the promised land. Such being the character and design of the *Pentateuch*, it is obvious that it can have had but one author. If Moses wrote the last four books, the inference is that he wrote also the first. There is no resisting this conclusion, unless there is some positive evidence to the contrary; which evidence cannot be found.

The Jews, from the earliest periods of their history, have ascribed the entire *Pentateuch* to Moses. They have called the whole collectively "the law of *Moses*," implying that Moses wrote it all.* *Josephus*, speaking of the sacred books of the Jews, says, "*Five belong to Moses*, which contain his laws, and the traditions of the origin of mankind, until his death." † So *Philo*, in his treatise on Rewards and Punishments, says, "In the oracles delivered by the prophet *Moses*, there are three species: one concerning the creation of the world; the second, historical; and the third, legislative."

The *internal* evidence in favor of the Mosaic authorship of the *Pentateuch* is conclusive. The work is precisely such a one as a writer of the age, character, and circumstances of Moses might be expected to produce. The style is archaic. Even the English reader feels that he is here brought into contact with a greater sim-

* See *Luke* xxiv. 44.

† *Contra Apion*, book i. sect. 8.

plicity, a more primitive cast of thought and speech, than he meets with anywhere else. The life described, the ideas, the characters, have about them the air of a remote antiquity. Then the writer shows a familiar acquaintance with *Egypt*, — its general aspect, its history, geography, manners, customs, productions, and language, — all perfectly natural to Moses, but which cannot be shown to belong to any other Israelite down to the captivity.

And the same may be said of the writer's intimate acquaintance with the Sinaitic peninsula, and with the names and condition of the primitive races of Canaan; such as the Rephaim, the Zuzim, the Emim, the Horim, the Avim, and Anakim. These were all well known to Moses; but at a later period they had either perished, or were reduced to insignificance.

On the whole, the evidence, external and internal; in favor of the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, is such as never can be set aside. It has been often assailed; it *is* violently assailed at the present day: but it is so abundantly supported, so rooted and grounded in the word of God, that we may be sure it will stand forever.

The principal objections to the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch are the following:—

1. Alphabetic writing was unknown in the time of Moses: it was the invention of a later period. This objection, which was once urged with great confidence, is now pretty much abandoned. It is generally admitted at this day that the art of writing was known in Egypt, in Chaldæa, and in some other countries, long before the time of Moses. The Egyptians attribute the discovery of letters to Thoth, or, in other words, to divine inspiration. Gesenius thinks they had the art of writing some five hundred years before Moses was born. Prof. Olshäusen says, that, at a period extending back of all sure chronology, not only the Egyptians, but the Phœnicians and Hebrews, were in possession of an alphabet. Indeed, it is probable that alphabetic writing was in use among *the antediluvians*, and that this, like many other arts, survived the Flood.

2. It is insisted that Moses could not have written the books ascribed to him, because the style is so very like to that of the later Hebrew books. It would have exhibited greater peculiarities, more frequent *archaisms*, had it belonged to the age of Moses. To this we reply, in the first place, that the style of the Pentateuch *has* its peculiarities. It *does* differ somewhat from that of the later Hebrew books. That it does not more widely differ is owing, undoubtedly, to the

fixed habits, customs, and modes of speech, which prevail in Oriental countries. In this respect, the Orientals are very unlike the Europeans. "Progress," it has been said, "is the law of the West; stability, of the East." The *Occidental* languages are subject to the same ceaseless change which characterizes all other things. The *Oriental* delights to rehearse the same allegories and apothegms, expressed in the same terms, which gratified his earliest progenitors. He delights to do the same things, and in the same way. The books of Samuel, for example, must have been written hundreds of years before the prophecy of Malachi; yet the style of the two is not essentially different. Some of the Psalms were written after the captivity; and yet the style and idiom are much the same as of those which are ascribed to David.

This fixedness of character, which attaches to the Hebrew of different ages, belongs also to the other Semitic languages. For many centuries, the Syriac and Arabic underwent very little change.

3. It is confidently insisted that there are *anachronisms* in the books before us; that events are referred to, and names given, which were not known until long after the death of Moses. It will be necessary to examine some of these.

The writer of Genesis represents Abraham as residing in Hebron (Gen. xiii. 18, xxiii. 2); but it is insisted that the place was not called Hebron until after the death of Moses, and after the entrance of the Israelites into Canaan. Its more ancient name was Kirjath Arba (see Josh. xiv. 15, xv. 13). But this is not a true representation of the case. The most ancient name of the place seems to have been Hebron. It was also called Mamre, from an Amorite prince who resided there, and was confederate with Abraham. At a later period, the Anakim got possession of it, one of whose chiefs was Arba. From him it took the name Kirjath Arba, or city of Arba; but, after the conquest of Canaan by the Israelites, they restored the ancient name of the place, and called it Hebron. It became the possession of Caleb, the son of Jephunneh.

In Gen. xiv. 14, Abraham is said to have pursued the confederate kings, who had captured Lot, unto Dan. It is assumed that this was the place long afterwards called Dan, from its being in possession of the Danites, one of the tribes of Israel; but it seems, from 2 Sam. xxiv. 6, that there was another city in Syria, not far from Damascus, which was called by the ancients Dan, or Dan-

Jaan. This may have been so called in the time of Abraham, and is very likely to be the place referred to in Gen. xiv. 14.

In Gen. xii. 6, it is said, that, when Abraham first went into Canaan, "the Canaanite was *then* in the land;" implying that the Canaanite was *not* in the land at the time when this passage was written. But the Canaanites kept possession of the land until after the death of Moses; consequently, *he* could not have written this part of Genesis. But this difficulty is obviated by a slight change in the translation. God had promised to give the land of Canaan to the seed of Abraham. But the Canaanites had settled there before the promise was made, and probably before Abraham was born. The design of the sacred writer is to show, that, when Abraham came to the land of promise, the Canaanites had anticipated him: they were there before him. Accordingly, the passage may be rendered, "The Canaanite was *already* in the land."

Another alleged anachronism occurs in Gen. xiv. 7, where the confederate kings, before the capture of Sodom, are said to have smitten "all the country of the Amalekites." These Amalekites are assumed to have been the descendants of Esau (who had a son named Amalek), and who, of course, could have had no existence until many years subsequent to this invasion. But the Amalekites of Arabia were not all of them the descendants of Esau. Wandering, plundering hordes, called Amalekites, roamed the deserts as early as the time of Abraham. They were the same who attacked the Israelites at Rephidim, and against whom a terrible curse was pronounced: "I will utterly put out the remembrance of Amalek from under heaven" (Exod. xvii. 14). These Amalekites could not have been the descendants of Esau. The children of Esau dwelt together at this period in Mount Seir, and the Israelites were not permitted to molest them (see Num. xx. 14).*

It has been often said that the catalogue of the dukes and kings of Edom, recorded in Gen. xxxvi., comes down much later than the time of Moses; but recent investigations have refuted these pretences. It now appears that the kings of Edom here spoken of, and the dukes of Edom, were contemporaries; the kings having the chief command, and the dukes, or sheiks (as they are now called), being princes under them. The names of

* From time immemorial, the Arabs have been divided into two races: the elder, the Yemenites, claiming descent from Joktán, the son of Heber; and the other, the Maudites, being descended from Abraham in the line of Ishmael and Esau and the sons of Keturah. The first of these were called Amalekites in the time of Abraham; and Amalek, the son of Esau, may have derived his name from them.

only eight kings occur in the catalogue; and surely there was time enough between Esau and Moses, a period of more than two hundred years, for these eight to have reigned and passed away.

I shall notice but another alleged anachronism, and that occurs in connection with the same subject. In Gen. xxxvi. 31 it is said, "These are the kings that reigned in Edom before there reigned any king over the children of Israel." This language is thought to imply, that, at the time when it was written, a king *had* reigned over the children of Israel: of course, it could not have been written by Moses, or by any one previous to the time of Saul. But this conclusion is not so strong as at first view it appears; for, although no king had reigned over Israel in the time of Moses, kings had been predicted and promised. In Deut. xvii. 14-20, Moses tells the people that the time will come when they will desire a king, and will have one; and he goes on to give directions as to the manner in which their king shall live and rule. Moses knew, therefore, that, in process of time, the Israelites would have a king; and he merely says in the passage before us that eight kings had reigned in Edom before any one should reign in Israel,—before the time should come for Israel to be made a kingdom.

It may be thought that the question, whether Moses wrote the Pentateuch, is one, after all, of little consequence. The more important inquiry is, Are these writings reliable? Are the statements, by whomsoever written, to be received as truth?

It may be admitted, indeed, that the truth of the statements is the point chiefly to be regarded; but then it often happens that the genuineness of an historical work is the best possible guaranty of its truth. How entirely would it change our estimate, say of Xenophon's "Anabasis" or the "Annals" of Tacitus, to find that they were written, not by those whose names they bear, but (as some have pretended) by the monks of the middle ages! Given the genuineness of an historical work like the Pentateuch, and its truth follows almost as a matter of course, unless it can be shown that the author is unreliable, and intended to deceive. Who can suppose that Moses would have written such a work as the Pentateuch, and published it among the Hebrews, his contemporaries, giving an account of their deliverance from Egypt, and of their journeyings, their rebellions, and corrections in the wilderness, unless he had known that it was true? Would he have dared, under the circumstances, to publish statements which were not true, and which, he might be sure, thousands of voices would

instantly be raised to contradict? Or, if Moses had had the effrontery to publish falsehoods under these circumstances, would his contemporaries have had the stupidity to receive them? Moses often appeals to the *senses* of those for whom he wrote: "Your eyes have seen all the great acts of the Lord which he did" (Deut. xi. 7). Would not those into whose hands these writings first came have known whether their eyes *had seen* the events described? and, if they had not seen them, who can suppose that they would have received and believed the books? We see, in these remarks, that the question of authorship, in the case before us, is really one of very great importance; since on the decision of this depends, most materially, the ulterior question of reliability and truth.

But, admitting Moses to have written the first five books of the Bible, how, it may be inquired, did he become acquainted with many of the facts there recorded? He was not an eye-witness of them all. Many of them, such as the creation of the world and the events of antediluvian history, took place long ages before he was born.

To this question I answer, Some of these facts were made known to Moses by *direct revelation*. He could have become acquainted with them in no other way. During the last forty years of his life, Moses was in continual communication with God. He conversed with him as a man with his friend. God undoubtedly revealed to his servant Moses many things of which otherwise he could have known nothing.

Some of the facts recorded in Genesis may have come down to him by *tradition*. Nor, in coming to him in this way, need they have passed through many hands. Adam was two hundred and forty-three years contemporary with Methuselah. Methuselah may have conversed a hundred years with Shem. According to the Hebrew chronology, Shem was for fifty years contemporary with Isaac and Jacob, and may have conversed with the parents of Moses. We thus see that traditions of the earliest times may have come to Moses through only four or five different hands.

If any are of the opinion, that, in composing the Book of Genesis, Moses availed himself of records which were made in antediluvian and patriarchal times, I have no objection to such a supposition; nor would it militate at all against the divine authority of the book. The writers of the Books of Kings and Chronicles certainly availed themselves of such records; they continually refer to

them: and yet those books are of divine authority. Whatever assistance of this kind Moses may have had in composing Genesis, he was directed by the Spirit of God just what to take, and what to omit or correct; and the whole is as much of divine origin and authority as though it had been penned directly by himself.

In ascribing, as we do, the Pentateuch to Moses, we except, of course, the last chapter of Deuteronomy. This records the touching scene of the death and burial of Moses, and of the mourning which was had for him in the congregation of Israel. It was probably written by the author of the Book of Joshua.

On the whole, we have much reason to be thankful that we have the first five books of our Bible; that they were written by Moses; and that they carry with them such indubitable evidence of having come from God. Let us gratefully receive them, hold them fast, and not suffer them to be wrested from us by a remorseless and infidel criticism. They are an undoubted record of God's truth and will; and their inspired author was one of those "holy men who spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost."

CHAPTER V.

INTRODUCTORY.—THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

THE chronology of the Old Testament is rendered uncertain, chiefly on account of a diversity of readings in the original Hebrew and in the Septuagint. According to the Hebrew, the Deluge occurred in the year of the world 1656; according to the Septuagint, in the year 2242. According to the Hebrew, Abraham was born in the year of the world 2008; according to the Septuagint, in the year 3334. According to the Hebrew, our Saviour was born in the year of the world 4000, or thereabouts; according to the Septuagint, in the year 5426.

It is certain that these differences in chronology are the result, not of accident, but of design. This appears from the very nature of them. Either the Masorites designedly lessened the chronology of the Old Testament after the Septuagint translation was made, or the Septuagint translators, or some of their successors and copyists, designedly lengthened this chronology beyond that of the original Hebrew text.

The differences between the Hebrew and the Septuagint occur chiefly in the ages of the patriarchs; and they are in this wise: The Septuagint makes the life of the patriarch at the birth of his genealogical son a hundred years longer than the Hebrew; and then it makes his life subsequent to the birth of this son a hundred years shorter than the Hebrew: so that the whole life of the patriarch, in both copies, is the same. Thus the Hebrew makes Adam a hundred and thirty years old at the birth of Seth; while the Septuagint makes him two hundred and thirty. The Hebrew makes Seth a hundred and five years old at the birth of Enos; the Septuagint, two hundred and five. The Hebrew makes Enos ninety years old at the birth of Cainan; the Septuagint, a hundred and ninety. The Hebrew makes Cainan seventy years old at the birth of Mahalaleel; the Septuagint,

two hundred and seventy. And so, with few exceptions, the different accounts proceed — the Septuagint adding a hundred years to the age of the patriarch at the birth of the genealogical son, — almost to the time of Abraham. Meanwhile, a hundred years are taken from the age of the patriarch after the birth of his son; leaving the whole period of his life, in both copies, the same. Now, it is certain that alterations such as these could never have been made accidentally. Whichever copy may have been changed, the change must have been effected for a purpose, and with design.

Which, then, of these copies is to be preferred? Which account is to be accepted as the true chronology of the Old Testament?

In favor of the Septuagint chronology, it is urged that it agrees, in general, with that of Josephus; and as Josephus was acquainted with both the Hebrew and Greek, and had both copies before him at the time of writing his history, it is to be presumed that both were, at that time, what the Septuagint now is. But this argument, though plausible, is far from being conclusive. It is true that the chronology of Josephus, as recorded in his “*Antiquities*,” book i. chap. 3, agrees generally, though not entirely, with that of the Septuagint. But Ernesti and Michaelis both tell us that the passage in Josephus has been altered, to make it agree with the Seventy, by transcribers who had been accustomed to read the Scriptures only in the Greek version; and we have this evidence that what these critics tell us is true, — that Josephus in another place, where he has escaped correction, makes the time which elapsed between the Creation and the Deluge almost the same as that of the Hebrew. He says that the building of Solomon’s temple was commenced in the year of the world 3102, and 1440 years after the Flood.* Now, if we take 1440 from 3102, the remainder will be 1662, — the years which must have elapsed between the creation and the Deluge; and this differs only six years from the chronology of the Hebrew. But if Josephus wrote this latter statement, upon which no suspicion of alteration has ever fallen, then he cannot be supposed to have written the former. It must have been the work of some ignorant transcriber.

In short, the chronology of Josephus, as it now stands in his history, is, in many points, inconsistent with itself. In the language of Dr. Hales, “His dates have been miserably mangled, and perverted, frequently by accident, and frequently by design.” The younger Spanheim too, in his “*Chronologia Sacra*,” devotes an

* *Antiquities*, book viii. chap. 3.

entire chapter to the errors, anachronisms, and inconsistencies of Josephus, the most of which he attributes to the mistakes of transcribers, or the hypotheses of interpreters; and concludes with saying, that “the recovery of his genuine computations is a matter of great hazard and difficulty.” But if all this be true, then it is not much in favor of the Septuagint chronology, that Josephus, *as he now stands*, is, for the most part, in accordance with it.

It is urged again in favor of the Septuagint chronology, that it was accepted by most of the early Christian fathers. That this statement is true, there can be no doubt; and for the very good reason, that most of the Christian fathers used the Septuagint version of the Old Testament, and *nothing else*. They had never looked into a Hebrew Bible, and had no knowledge of the language. They were familiar with the Septuagint chronology, and quoted it, and quoted one from another. No wonder, then, that they agree with the Septuagint.

I say that this is true of most of the early Christian fathers, but not of them all. Origen, the greatest biblical scholar of the third century, and Jerome of the fourth (both of whom were well acquainted with Hebrew), dissent from the chronology of the Septuagint. Jerome agrees almost entirely with that of the Hebrew as settled by Archbishop Usher.

It is urged yet again in favor of the Septuagint chronology, that the Hebrew does not afford sufficient time for connected events, and cannot be made to harmonize with the chronologies of the Chinese, the Egyptians, the Chaldæans, and Hindoos. This objection can lie only against the period following the Deluge. The term of a thousand six hundred and fifty-six years, which the Hebrew allows between the Creation and the Deluge, was long enough, surely, to account for all events occurring between those two great epochs; and, if we look at the subject considerately, we shall find that the Hebrew chronology after the Deluge furnishes ample time and opportunity for all connected events.

It has been confidently urged, that the Pyramids, according to the Hebrew chronology, could not have been built after the Deluge. But this is more than the objector knows. The probability is, and recent investigations go to show, that they were built subsequent to the Deluge,—about two thousand years before the birth of Christ. But suppose they were not: what objection to the idea that they were built, or that some of them were, before the Deluge? It cannot be doubted that Egypt was inhabited, densely inhabited,

before the Deluge; and, for aught we know, these huge structures may have been built in those long ages, and, like the great mountains, may have resisted the engulfing waters.*

Dr. Hales says, that, according to the Hebrew, Noah lived almost to the time of Abraham, and Shem lived almost to the birth of Esau and Jacob. And suppose they did: what objection to all this? Where Noah resided after the Deluge, we are not informed. No mention is made of him subsequent to the disgraceful affair which occurred in his tent. Shuckford supposes that he remained somewhere in the east, where he and his sons first settled when they came forth from the ark.† We are told expressly that his sons “journeyed from the east” when they came into the land of Shinar. It is not improbable that the father remained in the east; that he had other children there; and that some parts of Eastern Asia were settled directly from him, and not through the line of his former sons: and this accounts for it, if the supposition be admitted, that we hear nothing more of him in the sacred history.

I am aware that it is said of Shem, Ham, and Japheth, that “of them was the whole earth overspread” (Gen. ix. 19); but this may refer only to the *historical* earth, of which alone the sacred writer had knowledge, or had occasion to speak.

Dr. Hales further insists, that it is impossible to account for the populousness of the countries in which Abraham dwelt, as Mesopotamia, Canaan, and Egypt, on the supposition that he lived only from four to six hundred years after the Flood. But it is clearly intimated, in the same history, that these countries were not very thickly settled in the time of Abraham. When he migrated into Canaan, that country seems to have been generally open to him. He found there only a few scattered families and tribes;‡ and, when he wandered into Egypt in time of famine, he found the Egyptians comparatively a small people. Indeed, long after this, so late as the birth of Moses, the King of Egypt assigned it as a reason for oppressing the Israelites, and destroying all their male infants, that “the children of Israel are more and mightier than we” (Exod. i. 9).

* Berosus speaks expressly of ten generations who lived in Chaldæa before the Flood, — the precise number given in Genesis. He mentions, in order, the kings who reigned in those times (ten in number), from Alorus the first to Xisuthrus, in whose reign the Deluge came (see Rawlinson's Evidences, p. 274).

† Connection, vol. i. pp. 99-101.

‡ “It is everywhere intimated,” says Dr. Stanley, “that the population of Canaan was then but thinly scattered over its broken surface.” — *Lectures on the Jewish Church*, p. 29.

There is yet another event in the history of Abraham which shows, that, in his time, the people of the surrounding countries were few and weak. Four kings came out of the east, — among whom were the Kings of Elam and Shinar, or what was afterwards Persia and Chaldæa, — and wasted the land of Canaan and the adjacent countries, and then attacked and carried captive the five kings of Sodom and Gomorrah and the neighboring cities. Among the rest, they conquered and carried captive Lot and his family. How powerful these four victorious kings were, and the kings whom they conquered, and the countries they had wasted, may be learned from the fact, that Abraham, assisted by a few of his friends and by his household servants, pursued them, overcame them, and brought back all the goods and captives which they had carried away.

In short, there can be no doubt, that from four to six hundred years was time enough for all the people to be born and to die of whom we hear in the days of Abraham. New England has been settled about two hundred and fifty years; and yet its native population has almost filled the land, and, by successive emigrations, has contributed not a little to fill other lands. We see, from what has taken place among ourselves, that the five hundred and twenty-seven years intervening between the Deluge and the death of Abraham furnished a sufficient time for the countries where he dwelt to become settled, at least to the extent in which he found them.

But we are told that the chronology of our Hebrew Bibles can never be reconciled with that of the Chinese, the Egyptians, the Chaldæans, and Hindoos. I have heard too much of the pretended antiquity of these nations to be greatly moved by an objection of this nature. Their chronology, like that of other ancient countries, may be divided into three parts, — the *fabulous*, the *traditional*, and the *historical*. Of these, the two former may be passed over as of no account. The Chinese are an ancient nation, — more ancient, perhaps, than any other now existing on the globe. But “that their empire dates back to a period before the Flood is as extravagant,” says Mr. Gutzlaff, “as any of the mythological stories of the Greeks or Hindoos.” They have no reliable, authentic history before the time of Confucius, which was only five hundred and fifty years before Christ. All preceding this is fabulous and uncertain.

The Egyptians lay claim to a very high antiquity; but their claims, like those of the Chinese, are chiefly fabulous. Their monu-

ments contain no continuous chronology, and no data from which such a chronology can be framed. Manetho tells us of thirty dynasties of kings which reigned between Menes and Alexander; but, if his account is to be accepted, these kings, or many of them, seem to have reigned contemporaneously, some in one part of Egypt, and some in another: so that it is impossible to compute any system of chronology from them. The Menes of Manetho may have been the same as Mizraim, the son of Ham; and the Egyptian government, or rather governments (*patriarchates*), may have commenced about two hundred years after the Flood.

Of the Chaldean kingdoms, the Bible lays the foundation in the times of Ashur and Nimrod, — from one to two hundred years subsequent to the Deluge. No other history traces it farther back than this, or so far by several hundred years.

Of the Hindoos, with all their fables and mythologies, we have no reliable historical accounts previous to the time of Alexander.

On the whole, the arguments which have been urged in favor of the Septuagint chronology seem to me to have little weight; and I feel inclined to rest in the accuracy of our Hebrew Bibles.

Whether the chronology of the Hebrew was altered by the Seventy, or by succeeding copyists, I pretend not to say. It is well known, however, that these translators themselves had a great desire to stand well with their heathen neighbors, and that, in some instances, they did not scruple to vary their translation, having this object in view. This is specially true of the translator of the Pentateuch. "Being anxious," says J. D. Michaelis, "to render his author agreeable not only to Jews, but to foreigners, he sometimes puts forced meanings upon words, and, with still greater audacity, absolutely corrupts the reading. For, lest the Egyptian philosophers should draw something from the sacred writer in support of their own errors or to the discredit of the Jews, he sometimes substitutes his own sentiments for those of Moses; sometimes changes the text (making it to conform to Egyptian history), and alters whatever might be likely to offend foreigners by its improbability. Now, he who has once or twice corrected, when he should have translated, the original text, may well be suspected, in other instances, of doing the same."* Thus far Michaelis. The particular motive of the translator in changing the Hebrew chronology (if he did change it) may have been to increase the age of the

* Syntagma, vol. ii., disc. 13.

world and of his own nation, and thus render them more respectable in the eyes of the Egyptians.

Those who altered the Hebrew chronology seem to have done it in accommodation to certain *hypotheses* which they had adopted, but which have no foundation in truth. One of these was, that in the antediluvian ages, when people lived almost a thousand years, they were not capable of having children until they were at least a hundred and fifty years old. They were a long while, it was thought, in coming to maturity, — as much longer than we in proportion as their entire age was longer than ours. They were children till they were more than a hundred years old, and, as such, were incapable of procreation. That such an idea prevailed among the Greeks, and with some of the Christian fathers, we have the fullest proof. In accommodation to this hypothesis, it was natural that the Seventy, or those who copied from them, should add a hundred years to the lives of the patriarchs previous to the birth of their first-born sons. In most cases, they *must* do this in order to make the patriarch of a suitable age to have children at all.* But the hypothesis before us is a mere assumption, entirely without proof, or so much as probability. What reason have we to suppose that human nature before the Flood was not essentially the same as now, and that men did not come *to be men*, and to have families, as early in life as at the present time? At a later period in the history of the patriarchs, we find this hypothesis contradicted by facts. The children of Jacob married much younger than would be deemed advisable at this day. Dinah could not have been more than sixteen years old when her hand was sought by Shechem (Gen. xxxiv. 4). Nor could Benjamin have been more than twenty-five when he went with his father into Egypt; yet he took with him ten sons, whose names are given in Gen. xlvi. 21.

Another groundless assumption, having an influence in the same direction, was, that the son mentioned in the genealogy was uniformly the first-born; but of this the Scriptures furnish no proof. In one instance, indeed, they expressly contradict it. Seth, whose name occurs in the genealogy, was far from being the first-born son of Adam. And the supposition is in itself improbable, that, for

* Augustine thinks that the Hebrew chronology was changed by some copyist who wished to render the sacred writings more credible by the supposition that *ten* antediluvian years were equivalent to one of ours. The age of the patriarchs is therefore altered; a hundred years being added to them, that so they might be old enough to have children. — *City of God*, book xvi.

fifteen successive generations, the first-born should uniformly be a son, and a son that lived some hundreds of years.

Another Jewish hypothesis which led to the lengthening of their chronology was, that the Messiah could not come until the world had stood at least five thousand years. Five thousand years must pass before the Messiah; during the sixth thousand, his kingdom would be advancing in the earth; while the seventh would be a season of rest and peace. But, according to the Hebrew predictions and chronologies, the Messiah would come in about the four thousandth year of the world; and this was a thousand years too soon. Hence the chronology of the Old Testament must be lengthened. The mode of lengthening it was that adopted by the Seventy, or their transcribers, which has been before explained.

Still another Jewish hypothesis, which led to the lengthening of their chronology, was, that the first six thousand years of the world were to be equally divided in the days of Peleg, whose name signifies *division*; and that the first three thousand years were to end with the hundred and thirtieth year of Peleg's life. But the lengthening of the chronology, as we find it in the Septuagint, would not alone accomplish this purpose; and so the name of a new and fictitious patriarch (the post-diluvian Cainan) was thrust in between Arphaxad and Salah, and a generation of a hundred and thirty years was given to him. This second Cainan is certainly a fictitious character. The strongest advocates of the Septuagint admit as much as this.* And if the Seventy, or their transcribers, would thrust him in to carry out a favorite hypothesis, the presumption is that they would not scruple to make all other needful alterations.

The evidence, so far as manuscripts and versions are concerned, is decidedly in favor of the Hebrew chronology. Indeed, almost no important evidence of this kind can be urged in favor of the Septuagint; for although the ancient Latin and Coptic versions, and most of the Greek fathers, agree with the Seventy, they are none of them independent supporters and witnesses. They copied from one another and from the Septuagint, and, of course, might be expected to agree with it.

In favor of the Hebrew chronology, we have, in the first place,

* This second Cainan was entirely unknown to Philo, Josephus, Eusebius, and Theophilus of Antioch. It shows the obsequiousness with which the early Christian fathers followed the Septuagint, that they foisted the second Cainan into the genealogy of Luke, chap. iii. 36. It is not at all likely that Luke ever placed it there.

the Targums of Onkelos and of Jerusalem. These are Chaldee paraphrases upon the Pentateuch, written, both of them, before the coming of Christ. The Targum of Onkelos is the most esteemed. It is so short and simple, that it can hardly be suspected of being corrupted. The Targum of Jerusalem is less reliable; but both agree with the chronology of our Hebrew Bibles. The same may be said of the old Syriac version and of two Arabic versions. Jerome, in the fourth century, found in the Hebrew books the same readings that we now have, and from them corrected the Vulgate, or Latin translation. Besides the Septuagint, there were three other ancient Greek translations of the Old Testament; viz., those of Aquila, Theodotian, and Symmachus. Respecting the first two, we have no information touching the question before us; but the version of Symmachus is known to agree with the Hebrew.

The Samaritan Pentateuch, as it now stands, agrees in part with the Hebrew, in part with the Septuagint, and in part it differs from both. But, if we may believe the testimony of Jerome, the Samaritan chronology in his day agreed entirely with that of the Hebrew. Of course, it must have been altered and corrupted since.

It may be urged, finally, against the chronology of the Septuagint, that it is inconsistent in one important point with the narrative of Moses: it makes Methuselah to have lived several years after the Flood; whereas the history assures us that the whole human race, with the exception of Noah and his family, at that time perished. According to the Septuagint, Methuselah was 167 years old when he begat Lamech; and Lamech was 188 years old when he begat Noah; and Noah was 600 years old when the Flood came.* Putting these numbers together, $167+188+600$, gives us 955 years after the birth of Methuselah as the date of the Flood. But the Septuagint agrees with the Hebrew in stating that Methuselah lived, in all, 969 years: consequently, he must have lived fourteen years after the Flood. This shows conclusively (unless there is some error in the reading) that the Septuagint chronology, at least in this particular, is unreliable and defective.

According to the Hebrew chronology, Methuselah died in the very year of the Flood, — whether by old age, or by the deluge of waters, we are not informed. Lamech, the father of Noah, died five years earlier. None of the patriarchs whose names occur in the narrative are represented in the Hebrew as living beyond the

* There is some diversity of reading, in respect to these numbers, in the Septuagint. I have followed that which seemed the most probable.

Flood. All, with the exception of Noah and his family, had passed away.

Having thus expressed our preference of the Hebrew chronology before that of the Septuagint, and assigned our reasons for so doing, we repeat the statement already made, that, according to the Hebrew, the Flood came in the year of the world 1656. The patriarch Abraham was born 352 years later, — in the year of the world 2008. We have no contemporary history, as yet, with which to compare and rectify our dates. Mizraim, a son of Ham, migrated into Egypt, and founded a kingdom there, about two hundred years after the Flood. Two hundred and thirty years later, Abraham went into Egypt, and found an organized government, and a Pharaoh on the throne. Ample time had now been furnished for events and changes such as these. After about two hundred and ten years, Jacob goes into Egypt to meet his lost son Joseph. He finds there a rich and powerful kingdom under the rule of a monarch who goes by the common name of Pharaoh. The children of Israel remain in Egypt two hundred and fifteen years; making, in all, four hundred and thirty since Abraham came to sojourn in the land of Canaan.* And now they come out under the direction of Moses; and Pharaoh, their persecutor, is destroyed.

The question may be asked, whether we can identify the Pharaohs with whom Abraham and his descendants came in contact with any of those Egyptian kings whose names occur in the catalogues of Manetho and other ancient historians. My own opinion is, that this cannot, with any degree of certainty, be done. The slightest inspection shows that these old catalogues are wholly unreliable. They are little more than bare lists of names, commencing at no fixed, assignable period, and not agreeing with themselves or with one another. There is nothing in them to contradict the history and chronology of Moses; nor is there any thing which can enable one to say confidently, This is the Pharaoh who entertained Abraham, and that the king who promoted Joseph, and that the one who was drowned in the Red Sea. Hence we find that those Christian writers, from Eusebius downward, who have undertaken to harmonize the Mosaic and Egyptian chronologies, and to identify the Pharaohs of Scripture with the kings of Manetho, have differed continuously and variously. Hardly any two of them have agreed together. The truth is, there are no existing catalogues of the ancient kings of Egypt which are at all reliable. Several of the

* Compare Exod. xii. 40 and Gal. iii. 17.

names are mentioned twice; and the more ancient kings, if they reigned at all, were contemporary, patriarchal chieftains, who reigned over different parts of the country. What may yet be discovered in the catacombs of Egypt we pretend not to say. We have no fear of any discoveries to contradict the Bible.

After the time of Moses, the Israelites had no historical connection with Egypt for a long period. The next that we hear of them is in the time of Solomon. He married a daughter of Pharaoh, King of Egypt, and carried on a commerce with him in horses and chariots and linen yarn. In the reign of Rehoboam, the son of Solomon, Shishak, the King of Egypt, came up against him, and conquered him, and carried away all the treasures of his house. This Shishak or Sheshonk was the first king of Mantheo's twenty-second dynasty; but his name does not occur in the other catalogues. His tomb was opened by Champollion, who found in it a pictorial representation of his victory over the Jews. This event occurred about the year 970 before Christ, or five hundred and twenty years after the exodus from Egypt.

From this time, we frequently hear of the interference of the kings of Egypt, and also of the kings of Syria, Assyria, and Babylon, with the affairs of the Israelites; until at length Jerusalem was taken, the Temple was destroyed, and both Israel and Judah were carried into captivity. Solomon's Temple was destroyed in the year 588 before Christ, when it had stood four hundred and seventeen years.

After this, we find the children of Israel subject, first to the Babylonians, then to the Medo-Persians, and then to Alexander and his successors, the kings of Syria and Egypt. From these they were delivered by the Maccabees, and lived, for a time, under their own native princes, subject to the inspection and interference of the Romans. At length they fell under the power of Herod the Great, who was an Idumæan by birth, but by profession a Jew. He was set over them by the Romans, and reigned as a tributary king. It is needless to trace their chronology through the long, dark period intervening between the Old Testament and the New. It is easily reckoned, and harmonizes perfectly with all that we know of the history of the surrounding nations.

Near the close of the reign of Herod, **THE GREAT LIGHT OF THE WORLD** appeared. Our Saviour was born, according to Archbishop Usher, in the year of the world 4004. But this, we know, was three or four years too late. He was certainly born before the

death of Herod ; but Herod died in the year of Rome 749 or 50, — three or four years earlier than the commencement of our vulgar era.

We have another datum in the New Testament which leads to the same conclusion. According to Luke iii. 1, 2, our Saviour was thirty years old in the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Cæsar ; and this would bring the birth of Christ in the year of Rome 749, as before, — three or four years earlier than the commencement of our era. The probability is, — we do not pretend to perfect accuracy, — that Christ was born in the year of the world 4000 ; and that four years more have passed since his birth than is commonly supposed.

CHAPTER VI.

THE CREATION OF THE WORLD.

THE event which first meets us in sacred history is the creation of the world. This occupies the first chapter of the Bible, and a portion of the second; and as this world was made by Christ, and for him, — to be the theatre of his redemptive work, and the home of his Church in the earlier part of its existence, — it seems proper, that, in a history of the Church, we should begin with some account of the creation. My principal object will be to explain and vindicate the statements of Scripture in regard to this great work.

By the creation of the world, we understand something more than the making of one thing from another. We can make one thing from another. With the appropriate materials, we can make many things; and, by most of the ancient heathen philosophers, creation was supposed to be nothing more, *in kind*, than this. Assuming the axiom, *Ex nihilo nihil fit*, they maintained the existence of two eternal, independent principles, — *God*, and elemental, chaotic *matter*, — and taught, that, from these chaotic elements, God (or some inferior divinity) made the world. But it is evident that a world thus made would not be a proper creation. It would be no more than a *transformation* or *fabrication*. It might be a great work, but not a *creation* in the sense in which we here use the term.

Again: by creation we mean something more than the *emanation* of all existing things from the very substance of God. This doctrine was held by some of the ancients, and it has its advocates in modern times: but it has no foundation, either in reason or Scripture; on the contrary, it is refuted by both. If all things are from the substance of God, then, as to their substance, they are *independent* and *indestructible*, like God; which we have no reason to suppose is true. They are also *parts* of God; and this involves

the absurdity, that the infinite God is divisible into parts. It involves, also, the *mutability*, the *changeableness*, of God; for certainly there are continual changes going on in the world around us: and if the world, and all it contains, are of the substance of God, then there are continual changes in his substance. In short, the doctrine before us is but saying that every thing is God, and God every thing; which is *pantheism*, *atheism*. It is denying the existence of a *personal* God, who made the world, and governs it; and this is to deny that there is, properly speaking, any God at all.

By creation, we understand the making of all created things *from nothing*. God made them all, not out of himself, or from eternal, elemental, chaotic matter, but from nothing. He brought them *into being*. He gave them *existence* when before they had none. This is what we understand by the work of creation. This is the proper, original signification of the word *ברא*, translated *create*, in the first verse of the Bible. The apostle Paul also gives us the same idea in the eleventh chapter of the Epistle to the Hebrews: "Through faith we understand that the worlds were framed by the word of God; so that the things which are seen were *not* made of things which do appear," or of things *already existing*: which is the same as to say that they were made from nothing.

The Jews seem to have held this idea of creation in all periods of their history. Thus it is said in the Maccabees: "Look upon the heaven and the earth, and all that is therein, and consider that God made them of things that *were not*;" i.e., from nothing" (2 Mace. vii. 28). Philo also says, "The things that were not, God called into being."

And this is the only reasonable view of the subject. The elements of material things were either created in the sense above explained, or they are eternal. But against the eternity of matter, even in its elementary ingredients, there are insuperable objections. To suppose matter eternal is to invest it with some of the more essential attributes of Jehovah, such as self-existence, independence, omnipresence, unchangeableness; not one of which can it be supposed to possess. It is also to take it out from the rightful domain and providence of God. If God did not create material atoms, then *they are not his*; and he has no right to meddle with them, or to make any thing out of them. On this ground, his government over the material world is no better than a usurpation.

But, if this world was created from nothing, it was created *in time*; and it has been insisted that the *date* of its creation, as fixed in the first chapter of the Bible, can never be made to harmonize with the facts of geological science.

It is assumed by those who urge this objection, that the Scriptures make the age of the world to be something less than six thousand years; that, at the time of the placing of our first parents upon it, the world itself was created from nothing. But geologists have demonstrated that this world has existed for much more than six thousand years; that its existence runs back to a vastly remote period; that the placing of the first human pair upon it is a comparatively recent event in its history. I need not here exhibit the proof on which this geological conclusion is based. To my own mind, it is perfectly satisfactory. There is no accounting for innumerable facts which meet us as we penetrate into the bowels of the earth, or even walk upon its surface, but by supposing that the earth itself has existed for a very long period,—a period remotely anterior to the origin of our race.

Here, then, it is said, is a manifest contradiction between the deductions of geology and the declarations of Scripture. The teachings of the Bible are contradicted by plain matters of fact, and, of course, cannot be true.

But let us look at this subject again. Let us be sure that we understand some of the first verses of the Bible before we declare them inconsistent with facts, and unworthy of confidence.

I have said that those who urge the objection we are considering assume that the Scriptures make the whole age of the world to be something less than six thousand years; but have they any right to this assumption? Where is it said in the Scriptures that the world we inhabit was made from nothing at the time of the creation of our first parents? I answer confidently, *Nowhere*.

“In the *beginning*, God created the heavens and the earth.” This sentence I regard as a paragraph by itself. It is an independent, a most important, and I will add,—considering the circumstances under which it was written,—a most wonderful declaration; announcing that at some time, at some remote period of antiquity, in the beginning of his works, God did *create* the heavens and the earth. There is not a verse in the Bible which bears the impress of divine inspiration more strongly than this. At what period in the lapse of eternal ages this great event took place, we are not informed; what was the appearance or consistence of the

earth at its first creation, we are not informed; nor have we the slightest information as to the changes and revolutions of the world, nor as to the form of animal and vegetable life which it bore upon its surface during the remoter ages of its history. The geologist has space enough here for his deepest, widest researches. He has scope enough for any conclusions to which he may reasonably come, without the remotest danger of trenching on any of the annunciations of revealed truth.

That a vastly long period intervened between the proper creation of the world spoken of in the first verse of the Bible, and the commencement of the six-days' work recorded in the following verses, there can be no reasonable doubt. It was during this period that the earth assumed a solid form. Its heated masses were cooled and conglomerated; the primary rocks were crystallized; the transition, the secondary, and the deeper portion of the tertiary rocks were deposited and petrified; the lower forms of animal and vegetable existence appeared and perished; multitudes of marine and amphibious animals—some of them of huge and terrific forms—lived and died, and their remains lie embedded in the solid rocks. Vast quantities of vegetable matter also accumulated on the earth, and was treasured up beneath its surface, in the form of coal, for the future use and benefit of man.

It is evident that the earth, during this long period, underwent frequent and terrible revolutions. Its internal fires were raging in their prison-house, and often bursting through the crust which confined them. The mountains were upheaved from their deeper than ocean-beds; trap-dikes were formed; and the stratified rocks were tilted from their original, horizontal positions,—as we now see them,—in every direction.

It was subsequent, as I think, to one of these terrible convulsions, which had torn the earth to its very centre, merged the greater part of it beneath the ocean, and destroyed almost every trace of animal and vegetable existence, that mention is made of it in the second verse of our Bible. It was then “without form, and void; and darkness was upon the face of the deep.” The earth was dark at that period, not because there was no sun, but because caliginous gases and vapors had utterly obscured the light of the sun, and shut it out from the desolate world. It was like the darkness of Egypt in one of the plagues of that smitten country.

But God had not abandoned the work of his own hands. He had nobler purposes to answer by this seemingly ruined world

than any which it had hitherto accomplished. It was no longer to be the abode of saurians and mastodons, and other huge and terrific monsters, but was to be fitted up and adorned for a new and nobler race of beings. Accordingly, the Spirit of God began to move upon the turbid waters; and order and peace were gradually restored.

“And God said, Let there be light; and there was light.” The dense clouds and vapors which had enveloped the earth, and shut out entirely the light of heaven, were so far dissipated, that it was easy to distinguish between day and night.

On the second day, God said, “Let there be a firmament in the midst of the waters, and let it divide the waters from the waters. And God called the firmament Heaven.” The work here denoted was the elevation of the clouds, and the separation of the aerial waters by a visible firmament — the seeming canopy of heaven — from those which rested on the earth.

“And God said, Let the waters under the heaven be gathered together unto one place, and let the dry land appear; and it was so. And God called the dry land Earth; and the gathering-together of the waters called he Seas. And God said, Let the earth bring forth grass, the herb yielding seed, and the fruit-tree yielding fruit after his kind; and it was so. And the evening and the morning were the third day.” In the course of this day, vast portions of the earth’s surface were elevated; others were depressed; continents and islands were raised up; and the seas and oceans were made to know their bounds. As soon as the dry land appeared, it began to be clothed with vegetation. The forming hand of the Creator covered it (without doubt, by miracles) with new species of vegetables in place of those which had been destroyed.

“And God said, Let there be lights in the firmament of heaven to divide the day from the night. And God made two *great* lights; the greater light to rule the day, and the lesser light to rule the night: he made the stars also. And the evening and the morning were the fourth day.” The language here does not necessarily imply that the sun, moon, and stars were now first created, but only that they were first made to *shine out* upon the renovated earth. They now became *visible lights* to the forming world. The dark clouds and vapors had been so far dissipated on the *first* day, that it was easy to distinguish between day and night. But now they were *entirely* dissipated, and the lights of heaven shone down upon the earth “in full-orbed splendor.”

It should be remarked here, that the representation throughout this chapter is *phenomenal* rather than *philosophical*. It accords to what would have been the *appearance* of things had there been any spectator on the earth at the time to observe them. Thus, when it is said that God made a *firmament*, we are not to understand that the seeming canopy above us is a literal *thing*, a shining *substance*, but only that such is the appearance to a spectator on the earth; and when it is said that God made two great lights, and *set* them in the firmament, we are not to suppose that the sun and moon were now first created, and *fixed* in the blue expanse, but that such would have been the appearance to man had he been in existence on the fourth day, when the sun and moon commenced their shining.

On the fifth day, God peopled the waters with fishes, and the air with birds and flying fowls.

On the sixth day, he brought forth the beast of the earth, the cattle, and every creeping thing, after his kind. He also created man in his own image. Male and female created he them; and he gave them dominion over all the creatures that he had made.

On the seventh day, God ended his work, — the great work of re-organizing, renewing, a desolate world, preparing it for the residence of man, and placing man and the other creatures upon it. “And he blessed the seventh day, and sanctified it, because that in it he had rested from all his work.” We have here the institution of the weekly sabbath. It commenced with the renewing of the world, and is to continue to the end of it.

I have given this running commentary on the first chapter of Genesis, the better to illustrate the distinction between the *original creation* spoken of in the first verse, and the *six-days’ work* described in the remainder of the chapter. The date of the original creation is vastly remote, — beyond all human calculation. The six-days’ work took place, as the Scriptures represent, about six thousand years ago. Between these two great epochs there was a wide space, — wide enough to account for all the phenomena of the pre-Adamite earth; for all that geologists have ever discovered, or ever will.

It will be seen, that, in harmonizing the revelations of the Bible with the facts of science touching the creation of the world, I have not taken the ground, with some of my brethren, that the days spoken of in the first chapter of Genesis were not literal days, but *indefinitely long periods of time*. I have several objections to this theory, which I will frankly state: —

1. The theory rests on the groundless assumption, that the creation of the world, and all the changes which have occurred in it, are the result of established laws, — the laws of Nature, — involving a long and regular process, without any sudden and violent revolutions, or interpositions of Almighty Power. I have called this theory a groundless assumption. It is worse than that: it is inconsistent with Scripture, with reason, and facts, and leads naturally, if not necessarily, to pantheism and atheism. Throughout the Bible, what we call the work of creation is represented as taking place rapidly, almost instantly, at the word and fiat of the Creator: “Let there be light; and there was light.” “Let there be a firmament; and a firmament was.” “By the word of God the heavens were of old, and the earth standing out of the water and in the water.” “By the word of the Lord were the heavens made, and all the host of them by the breath of his mouth.” “He spake, and it was done; he commanded, and it stood fast.” Scriptures such as these clearly indicate that what we call the work of creation was accomplished, not by a long process in accordance with established laws, but rapidly, quickly, at the will and word of the Creator.

And in what sense can it be true that creation was accomplished in accordance with the laws of Nature? Did Nature create the world? or did the creative power of God originate that established order of things which is commonly called Nature? Nature’s laws are simply God’s ordinary mode of operation; and creation was his extraordinary work, originating those laws, and setting them on their course. To tie up creative power to the processes of Nature, is, in effect, to make Nature the Creator, — to deify Nature, and undeify God.

And then what does the appearance of the earth, both on its surface and under it, indicate on the question before us? Is it likely that the great mountains — the Alps, the Andes, the Himalayas, the Alleghanies — were raised by a slow and gradual movement? Or, rather, were not the deep granite foundations broken up, and thrown up, to the height of miles, as we now see them, by some violent concussion from within? Some mountains are entirely of volcanic origin, and must have been hurled by internal fires from the very bowels of the earth.

And what do the analogies of Providence — events which have occurred since the world was created — teach us on this question? The Deluge of Noah — was that a slow and gradual development?

or was it a sudden breaking-up of the fountains of the great deep, and an opening of the windows of heaven, by means of which a wicked world was drowned? Or, if any are incredulous as to the fact of such a Deluge, what shall be said of tornadoes, inundations, volcanic eruptions, earthquakes, which, although in accordance with Nature's laws, are not of slow and gradual development, but burst upon the world with sudden and overwhelming power? And what shall be said of that coming day, when in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, the trumpet shall sound, the dead shall be raised, the heavens being on fire shall be dissolved, the elements shall melt with fervent heat, and the earth with all its contents shall be burned up?

I have said that this development-theory is pantheistic in its tendencies. It is clearly so. Its advocates, in many instances, make so much of established laws, that they forget the Almighty Lawgiver. They discard miracles. They recognize no God but Nature; and Nature is no God at all. We repudiate, therefore, the slow, gradual process of creation, requiring long successive periods for its accomplishment; and believe, with the Scriptures, that the fitting-up of earth for the residence of man was perfected in six natural days.

2. We reject the theory of long, successive periods in the process of creation, from the impossibility of reconciling it with the facts of the case. In some of these periods, however protracted, very little is reported to have been accomplished. In the first, for instance, nothing was done except to produce a change from a state of total, primeval darkness to one of hazy, misty light; and this was interrupted for half of the time by returning darkness: for there was an evening as well as morning to the first day. And then, through the second long, long period, naught is done but to create what is called a *firmament*; i.e., an apparent blue expanse, separating the vapors in the sky from the waters on the earth.

But, without insisting on this consideration, we would inquire of the advocates of the theory in question, whether there was any sun before the fourth period. If there was a sun, why was it so long shut out from the earth? Of what use could it be through three successive periods, indefinitely and almost immeasurably long, and yet all the while obscured and invisible? Or if there was no sun (as it is generally conceded that there was not), then how could the earth, for one whole period, be covered, without a sun, with trees and vegetables? and how could the earth, without a sun, be held

in its orbit? and how were the evenings and mornings produced — long intervals of light and darkness — by which those vast periods of time were divided?

3. But my principal objection to the theory under consideration grows out of the language of Scripture. I know that the word “day” is sometimes used in Scripture, as it is in common life, to denote an indefinite period of time: but then this is not the proper signification of the word; and there are connected circumstances in the case before us which go to settle its meaning, and limit it to a period of twenty-four hours. Not only are days spoken of in the first chapter of Genesis, but the morning and evening as constituting the day; a manifest indication that only a single diurnal revolution is intended. Then there is the seventh day, — a season of holy and blessed rest. Was this, also, an indefinitely long period? And, if so, what becomes of the primeval institution of the sabbath?

And how are we to account on this ground for the division of time into weeks of seven days, which we know prevailed as early as the Deluge, and probably from the creation of man?

And, more than all, what shall be said of the language of the fourth commandment, and of the reason assigned for its observance? Here is a positive reference to the institution of the sabbath on the day following the creation, and a solemn injunction that we are to labor six days, and rest the seventh, in commemoration of that great event. Does not this prove that the six working-days of the creation were no more than literal days, as the seventh was a literal day of rest?

But it will be said that *our* interpretation of the six-days’ work is equally inconsistent with the fourth commandment, which says, “In six days the Lord *made* the heavens and the earth, the sea, and all that in them is;” whereas *we* have said that the six-days’ work was only the renewing, re-organizing, and re-peopling of a previously-created but then desolate world.

In answer to this, I may remark, that the original word translated *made* in the fourth commandment does not import, like *ברא* in the first verse of the Bible, a literal creation, but rather a *transformation*, a *fabrication*, the shaping and making of one thing from another. In this sense, the world was literally *made* in six days; not *created* from nothing, but *made over*, — made what it now is. It was *fitted up* for the residence of man, and the present races of animals and vegetables; and they were placed upon it. This was the work of the six days, as before explained; and it was a great

work, worthy to be commemorated in a succeeding and perpetual day of rest.

It will be objected again, that six literal days were not sufficient for the renewing, re-organizing, and re-peopling of the world, unless we suppose many things to have been accomplished almost instantly and by miracle. All this we allow. We do suppose many things to have been accomplished by miracle; and all who hold to a proper creation or re-organization of the world must admit the same. The whole work was an almost continual succession of miracles. The formation of every new species of animal or vegetable was a miracle. There is a natural law, by which a species, once created, may propagate itself, but no law by which it may bring itself into being, or by which one species may generate another, or may grow, develop, into another. Hence the commencement of every new species involves a miracle, in whatever time or manner the work may have been performed. It is as much a miracle to form an acorn, and let it grow into an oak, as it would be to form the oak itself. It is as much a miracle to form an infant, and let him grow into a man, as it would be to form a man. There is no avoiding the supposition of miracles in the forming and peopling of the world, in whatever manner the work may have been done; and if we allow the intervention of miracles, then six days — or even a shorter period, if such had been the pleasure of the Almighty — would have been amply sufficient for the work performed.

It is objected to the creation of man at the time supposed in the Scriptures, that his existence may be traced to a much earlier period. This is a recent objection of geologists;* and we have examined all the facts which have been adduced in support of it, — the flint implements, the jaw-bones and skeletons, the brick and pottery of the Nile, the lake-buildings, &c. We might remark upon them at length; but really they do not deserve so much attention. The things discovered may be the relics — or some of them may — of antediluvian men, but not of pre-Adamite men. They fail entirely to prove the point for which they are adduced; and this has been often shown by scientific men. Those who urge them will ere long be as much ashamed of them as they are now earnest in bringing them forward.

We adduce two facts for the consideration of those who claim

* Only a few years ago, Mr. Lyell, the great advocate of pre-Adamite men, was opposed to the progressive-development theory, and advocated the comparatively recent origin of man on the earth. — See *Memoirs of Prof. Silliman*, vol. ii. p. 63.

that this earth has long been inhabited by human beings, — some think for a hundred thousand years. The first relates to the present population of the earth. There is no law of Nature more certain than that of the increase of population in a geometrical progression, doubling its numbers at ascertainable periods. These periods vary in different circumstances and countries, varying from twenty-five to a hundred years. But, supposing the earth's population to double only once in a hundred years, the whole number in a hundred thousand years would be incalculable. It would not leave a square foot of surface to each individual.

The other fact which we wish to present is this : On supposition that men have been living, growing, improving, on the earth for a hundred thousand years, or for half that time, why is it that the historical period of the race is of so recent a date? Why have we not authentic records of some of these long ages? Why do our histories commence so near to us? Why have we no history of Persia earlier than Herodotus, and of Egypt than Manetho, and of Greece than Thucydides, and of China than Confucius, and of India than the time of Alexander the Great? Previous to these times, we have myths and fables, but no authentic history. And why have we not? Let those answer who insist upon an indefinitely long period for the existence of man upon the earth beyond that assigned to him in the Bible.

It is further objected to our view of creation, that geology shows no such break in the continuous chain of organic life as the chaotic period immediately preceding the six-days' work would require, but that all the different tribes of the vegetable and animal world have been gradually introduced, in unbroken succession, connecting the present with the pre-Adamite periods. But this statement, urged by one class of geologists, is positively contradicted by other and more respectable classes. They tell us that such breaks have repeatedly occurred; that convulsions have followed convulsions, in which the crust of the earth has been broken up, and nearly every living thing on its surface has perished, to be followed by new and more perfect species when the world was prepared for them. The tertiary period, in particular, was closed by such a catastrophe. "Between the termination of this period and the beginning of the recent or human period," says Archdeacon Pratt, "there is a complete break;" and Prof. Huxley (who has no particular respect for the Bible) says that "other similar breaks, answering to other chaotic periods, are

indicated, followed by the sudden appearance of new genera and species."

Some have thought that what we have called the six-days' work was not universal; that it did not extend over all the earth, but was confined to that part of the world where the human pair were originally placed. But I see not how any Christian can hold such an opinion. The language of Scripture on the subject is intensely universal, as much so as the heavens and the earth; and we find no necessity for any limitation, unless it be in the exigencies of some geological hypothesis, hastily formed, perhaps, and which may be as hastily abandoned. If it is an extreme of statement to confound the original creation with the six-days' work, and suppose that the whole took place together about six thousand years ago, it is equally an extreme of statement to suppose the six-days' work not to have extended to the whole earth, but only to some little part of Asia.

I trust it will appear, from what has been said, that there is nothing in the scriptural account of creation which conflicts at all with any of the revelations of modern science. I am not one of those who stand in fear of the deductions of true science. The world and the Bible are from the same Author. The inscriptions on the embedded rocks and on the sacred page are from the same Hand. They cannot contradict each other: they never did, and, properly interpreted, they never will. Let science be faithfully and thoroughly pursued, — the more thoroughly the better, — and its conclusions will always serve, not to refute, but to confirm, the declarations of revealed truth.

The science of geology, which infidels once boasted, and Christians feared, would contradict the Bible, goes rather to establish it. It removes entirely some of the more plausible objections which were once urged against the Bible; and, in many particulars, its teachings and those of the Bible are the same. The Christian world is really under great obligations to the science of geology, and to those men who have so diligently and successfully pursued it. But let not these men be too confident, or proceed too far. Let them not frame theories upon slight and insufficient grounds, and then turn their theories against the decisions of revealed truth. Such a course may prejudice religion for the time; but it will be sure, in the end, to injure the cause of science, and bring it into contempt.

The work of creation, which we have considered, is one highly

honorable to the Supreme Being. It displays his infinite wisdom and goodness, his uncontrollable sovereignty, his almighty power, and his perfect fitness to reign over all the works of his hand. The creation of the world was an event so honorable to God, that it became an occasion of great rejoicing to intelligent creatures who were in existence to behold it. "When I laid the foundations of the earth, when I stretched out the line upon it, when I placed the corner-stone thereof, the morning-stars sang together, and all the sons of God shouted for joy." This great event is still the occasion of rejoicing and praise, both to saints on earth and to angels in heaven. "While I live," says the devout Psalmist, "I will praise the Lord; I will sing praises unto my God while I have any being: for *thou hast made the heavens and the earth, the sea, and all that in them is.*" "Thou art worthy," sing the angelic choirs, "to receive glory and honor and power: for *thou hast created all things*; and for thy pleasure they are, and were created."

If God has created all things, then his intelligent creatures are bound to love him, to confide in him, to acquiesce in his glorious sovereignty, to submit to his will, to serve and glorify him forever. This may be thought a long inference; but it is a just one. Every part and member of it is indisputably just. The work of creation shows, not only that God is the absolute proprietor of his creatures, and has a right to do what he will with his own, but that he is worthy of their supreme love and confidence. They ought to love him for what he is. They ought to trust in him, to obey and serve him, to submit to his will, to rejoice in his sovereignty, and that forever. Their duty in this respect is as clear as light; and to discharge it faithfully is their highest privilege and glory.

CHAPTER VII.

THE GARDEN OF EDEN.

EDEN was the name of a country, or section of country. The garden of Eden was some appropriate locality in that country which God had prepared for our first parents, and in which he placed them immediately after the creation.

Is it possible, from the description of the sacred writer, to fix upon this locality? — to determine where Eden, or the garden of Eden, was? In order to answer this question, we must first answer another; viz., Does the description of Moses apply to the country as it was in *his* day, or as it was originally before the Flood? If the latter, we may well despair of being able to fix at all the locality of the garden of Eden: for the Flood undoubtedly made great changes on the surface of the earth; and, if the rivers and lands spoken of in the narrative were antediluvian, they may all have been obliterated, or washed away.

But two considerations go to assure us that the description of Moses applies to the rivers and countries spoken of as they were *after* the Flood, and as they were known to be in his own age. 1. On the other supposition, his description would be perfectly useless. It could convey no knowledge or idea of the locality whatever. 2. The names of the countries described are such as must have been given to them *after* the Flood. How came any country to be called Havilah? It was named for Havilah, who was a son of Cush, a grandson of Ham, and a great-grandson of Noah (Gen. x. 7). And why was any country, in those early times, called Cush, improperly rendered, by our translators, *Ethiopia*? The answer is easy. It was named for Cush, the father of Havilah, and the son of Ham. We thus see that both the countries referred to in the description of Eden were named for individuals who lived after the Flood. We infer assuredly that the description

applies to these countries as they were subsequent to the Deluge, and probably in the days of Moses.

We come back, then, to the question first proposed. Allowing the description of the sacred writer to apply to the rivers and countries spoken of as they were in his own time, is it possible to determine, from this description, where Eden, or the garden of Eden, was located?

Eden literally signifies *pleasure, delight*; and seems to have been anciently appropriated to several places whose situation was delightful. Thus we find it written in the first chapter of Amos: "I will cut off the inhabitants from the plain of Aven, and him that holds the sceptre from the house of Eden; and the people of Syria shall go into captivity." "The house of Eden" here spoken of was somewhere in Syria, not far from Damascus, and cannot have been the Eden of which we are in search. There are several places in Arabia Felix which formerly bore the names of Aden, or Eden; but in none of them was the garden of Eden, the abode of our first parents before the fall.

There is hardly a country in the world which has not, at some time, been thought to contain the garden of Eden, — the earthly paradise. Some have found it in Europe, some in Asia, some in Africa, and some in America. Some have placed it on the banks of the Danube; some on the Ganges; some in the Island of Ceylon; some in Persia, Armenia, Chaldæa, Arabia; some in Palestine and Syria. Amid such a diversity of opinions, we ask again, Is it possible to fix the locality with any degree of satisfaction?

It is certain, from the description in Genesis, that Eden must have been contiguous to the Rivers Hiddekel and Euphrates. The Hiddekel is undoubtedly the Tigris. It was so considered by the ancients generally, and is so translated in the Septuagint. It agrees also to the Tigris in that "it goes before Assyria." Moses calls the Euphrates the *Phrat*; and so it has been called from the most ancient times. The little word *Eu*, signifying *water*, has been prefixed to it: so that Euphrates is literally the waters of the Phrat. From the account thus far, we may be sure that Eden was somewhere on the Rivers Euphrates and Tigris. But where?

As these rivers rise not remote from each other in the mountains of Armenia, some have been inclined to place the garden of Eden there. But there are two objections to this supposition. 1. The garden of Eden was *eastward* from the place where Moses was

when he wrote the account: "The Lord God planted a garden *eastward* in Eden." Now, if we suppose Moses to have written the Pentateuch during the sojourn of the Israelites in the wilderness, the mountains of Armenia would have been not *eastward* from him, but far to the north. 2. We shall look in vain for the lands of Havilah and Cush (translated Ethiopia) in the mountains of Armenia.

Moses speaks in the narrative not only of the Rivers Euphrates and Hiddekel, or Tigris, but of two others, the Pison and Gihon. The Pison, he says, "compasseth the whole land of Havilah, where there is gold." Where, now, is this land of Havilah? or where did Havilah, the great-grandson of Noah, and his posterity, settle? I answer, Havilah was in the north-eastern part of Arabia, near the Persian Gulf; opposite to Shur, in the north-western part, which bordered on the Red Sea. Thus it is said of the Ishmaelites that "they dwelt from Havilah unto Shur, that is before Egypt" (Gen. xxv. 18). In other words, they inhabited the northern part of what is now Arabia, from the Persian Gulf to the Red Sea. We have a parallel expression in 1 Sam. xv. 7: "And Saul smote the Amalekites from Havilah until thou comest to Shur, that is over against Egypt." If there is any doubt as to the situation of Shur, we have it explained in another passage. When the Israelites had crossed the Red Sea, they came out immediately "into the wilderness of Shur" (Exod. xv. 22). Shur, then, was in the north-western part of Arabia, touching upon the Red Sea; and opposite to it, in the north-eastern part, was Havilah, which was compassed by the ancient Pison.

We inquire next, Where was the land of Cush (translated Ethiopia) which the Gihon compassed? In other words, Where did Cush, the grandson of Noah, originally settle? I answer, Cush and the Cushites, or Ethiopians, seem to have been a migratory people. At a later period, we find them in the south-eastern part of Arabia; and still later in Africa, in the country now called Ethiopia. But their original settlement, after the Flood, seems to have been on the eastern mouth-branch of the Euphrates, where it enters into the Persian Gulf.* The Euphrates, it will be remembered, after it receives the Tigris, flows on, in one channel, about two hundred miles, when it divides into two rivers, forming

* Bunsen denies that the Cushites ever settled in Asia: "An Asiatic Cush exists only in the imaginations of the interpreters, and is the child of their despair." But Sir Henry Rawlinson has demonstrated that the original settlement of the Cushites was on the Lower Euphrates, as stated above. — See *Rawlinson's Evidences*, p. 279.

a delta like the Nile. The westernmost of these delta-streams, called the Pison, compassed the ancient Havilah; and the easternmost, called the Gihon, compassed the ancient Cush; both entering into the Persian Gulf. That the Cushites originally dwelt on this mouth-branch of the Euphrates is evident, because they have left their name there. The country is expressly called *Cuth*, or *Cush*, and the inhabitants *Cuthai*, or *Cushites*, in 2 Kings xvii. 24, 30. A province of this country still bears the name of *Chuzasthan*.

We have, then, found the four rivers spoken of by Moses,—the Euphrates; the Tigris; the Gihon, watering the land of Cush; and the Pison, compassing the land of Havilah, where is gold,—pure gold; where also is “the bdellium and the onyx stone.” Diodorus says that in Arabia “was found natural gold of so lively a color, that it was very much like the brightness of fire, and so pure that it wanted neither fire nor refining to purify it.”* This country was also famous, in ancient times, for its precious stones, aromatic gums, and pearls.

If, now, we have succeeded in identifying the localities above described, it cannot be difficult to fix pretty nearly the situation of the primitive Eden. It must have been on the Euphrates, between its junction with the Tigris and its separation into the Pison and Gihon. And somewhere in this land of Eden was the garden, the *paradise* of our first parents. The great River Euphrates ran through the land of Eden, and “went out of it to water the garden; and from thence,” i. e., from the land of Eden, “it was parted into four heads,” or streams,—two coming down from above, and dividing itself into two below.

We have further evidence that the land of Eden was where we have supposed in that the country about there continued to be called Eden long after the time of Moses. Thus, when Sennacherib sent a threatening message to King Hezekiah, he boasted that he had destroyed the countries of Gozan and Haran and Rezep, and of *the children of Eden*, which are in Telassar. Now, these are, all of them, countries of Mesopotamia; and Telassar, or Talatha, is placed by Ptolemy at the bottom of the common channel of the Euphrates, just before it parts to form its delta. Here, then, was the country of “the children of Eden,” in the days of Sennacherib,—precisely where we have supposed the land of Eden to be placed.

* Lib. ii., iii.

In the account I have here given of the location of Eden, I claim not the merit of a new discovery. I have merely revived, and as I hope confirmed, the accounts given long ago by our best writers, such as Huët, Shuckford, Wells, Stackhouse, and the authors of "The Universal History." Other hypotheses have been urged since their time; but, upon a careful review of much that has been said, I revert to the old account of the matter, as the one most probable and best established. Indeed, I know no other spot on the face of the earth which agrees at all with the description of Moses, except that which has been here assigned as the locality of the primitive Eden.

It follows from the statements which have been made, that, whatever changes may have occurred in other parts of the earth, the localities of which we have spoken were not broken up, or very much disturbed, at the time of the Deluge. The great rivers seem to have flowed in the same channels as before, and the land of Eden was known to be the same country.

Having now finished all I propose to say as to the site of the garden of Eden, let us turn to consider some of its contents. Its very name imports that it was a delightful place. The imagination of a Milton could hardly have exceeded it. In it was "every tree that was pleasant to the sight, and good for food. The tree of life also was in the midst of the garden, and the tree of the knowledge between good and evil." Both of these trees were fruit-trees; but as to the kind of fruit which either of them bore, we have no knowledge. Without doubt, the fruit of the tree of knowledge was tempting and beautiful. It was placed in the garden for the *trial* of our innocent first parents. They needed a trial. They must have a trial. God tries all his intelligent creatures before he fixes them in their eternal state. As our first parents were unlearned and inexperienced, it was proper that their trial should be of the plainest, simplest kind. The prohibition enjoined upon them was one which they could not misunderstand, and which they could not ignorantly or inexcusably violate.

The tree of which we now speak was appropriately called "the tree of the knowledge between good and evil." It was so called, because, by means of it, our first parents came to know, *experimentally*, the difference between good and evil. But for this tempting, seductive tree, they never had known in their own experience what sin or pain or any form of evil was, and consequently had not known the difference between evil and good.

Of the results of their trial, I shall speak more fully in another place. Suffice it to say now, that it was a perfectly fair one; and that, for their sin in eating the forbidden fruit, there was, there could be, no excuse.

But there was another tree in the midst of the garden, called *the tree of life*. What are we to suppose as to the design and object, the import and use, of this remarkable tree?

Some have thought that the tree of life was the token of *the first covenant*, — *the covenant of works*. It has been said, that, “when God created man, he entered into a covenant of life with him upon condition of perfect obedience.” In other words, God proposed to man, if he would continue perfectly obedient, that he would give him eternal life. The man consented to the proposal; and thus a proper covenant of works was formed. The token of this covenant was the tree of life, which, standing in the midst of the garden, was a pledge and an assurance of that endless life, which, on condition of obedience, God had promised.

In reference to this theory, I remark, that I have not been able to discover any evidence in the Scriptures of a proper covenant-transaction between God and Adam previous to the fall. God created our first parents intelligent beings, — free, moral, accountable agents, the proper subjects of law and government. As such, he placed them at once *under law*: the necessary import of which was, that, if they obeyed, they should be rewarded; if they disobeyed, they should be punished. The language of God to Adam was not that of proposition, of covenant, but rather that of *positive law*: “The Lord God *commanded* the man, saying, Of every tree of the garden thou mayest freely eat: but of the tree of the knowledge between good and evil, *thou shalt not eat of it*; for, in the day that thou eatest of it, thou shalt surely die.” This, certainly, is the language of *law*, — *positive law*; and, except as law is sometimes called covenant in the Scriptures, there was no covenant with Adam before the fall. But if there was no proper covenant made with Adam in the garden, then the tree of life could not have been the token of such a covenant; and the theory above stated as to the object and import of this tree is without foundation. Man needed no public pledge or token to assure him that God would reward the obedient, and punish the disobedient. Such is the necessary import of *law*, — *pure law*, — under which our first parents were placed, and to confirm which no public pledge or token was necessary.

Others have supposed a connection between the tree of life and

the *trial*, the *probation*, on which man was placed. If he persevered in holiness to the end of his trial, he was then to be confirmed in holiness; and, in assurance of such confirmation, he should be permitted to eat of the tree of life. Its fruit should be to him a pledge that his probation was happily accomplished, and that a confirmed state of holiness and happiness was now before him.

I have no doubt that Adam was on trial before the fall; and that, if he had persevered in holiness for a limited time, he would have been, like the angels, confirmed in a state of holiness and happiness forever. But I much doubt whether the real object of the tree of life is correctly stated in the above theory. This theory supposes that the fruit of the tree of life might not be eaten until the probation of our first parents was accomplished; whereas it is plain from the narrative that this fruit might be eaten at any time. There was but one prohibited tree in the garden; and that was the tree of knowledge of good and evil. Of every other tree, and consequently of the tree of life, it is expressly said that our first parents might freely eat. How, then, can it be made to appear that they might not eat of the fruit of the tree of life until their trial was accomplished, and their confirmed state of holiness and happiness commenced?

But, if neither of the above theories as to the import and design of the tree of life is to be admitted, what are we to suppose in relation to it? What was its object? For what was it planted in the midst of the garden?

Before answering these questions, let it be observed that *temporal death*—the dissolution of the connection between soul and body—is to be regarded as one of the bitter consequences of the fall. So it is represented in the Scriptures: “By man came death.” “In Adam all die.” “By one man sin entered into the world, and *death by sin*.” It is not at all likely that man would ever have been called to suffer the pains of temporal death if he had not sinned. He might not, indeed, have lived in this world always; but some easier exit out of it would have been provided for him than through the iron gate of death. He might have been translated as were Enoch and Elijah. At any rate, he would not have been called to endure the pains of temporal dissolution.

I speak here of man, and not of mere animals. Animals, I have no doubt, died before Adam lived; and would have continued to die, though he had never sinned. But not so the human race: to them, death was a bitter fruit of sin.

But if man in his innocence was not subject to death, then some provision must have been made for counteracting and removing the sources of disease and dissolution within him, — the ordinary *causes* of death. As he was not to lead a life of indolence, but one of cheerful, healthful industry, dressing the garden of Eden, and keeping it, he was subject, as man now is, to casualties and injuries. He was subject, inherently and necessarily, to hunger, thirst, lassitude, weariness, disease, decay; and these must have ultimately worn him out, and resulted in death, had not some method been devised to counteract their influence, and repair those wastes in the physical constitution which they were sure to make.

And here, I think, we may discover the precise use and object of the tree of life. It was placed in the midst of the garden, in a situation easy of access, that it might be a perfect and universal *restorative*; that it might heal all maladies, overcome all the causes of disease and decay, and preserve innocent and happy man in a state of perpetual health, strength, and maturity, until his trial was ended, and he should be removed to his final and glorified state in heaven.

That this was the proper design and use of the tree in question is evident from the *name* given to it. It was the tree of *life*; importing that life was to be perpetuated, and death averted, by its means.

The same is further evident from what was said of this tree subsequent to the apostasy. Of the curse pronounced upon fallen man, temporal death constituted an important part: “In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread till thou return unto the ground; for out of it wast thou taken: for dust thou art, and *unto dust shalt thou return.*” Of the infliction here denounced, there *was to be*, there *has been*, no remission.* The dread decree has been rigidly executed, and will be to the end of time. But the tree of life is in the garden; and how is fallen man to die if he may have free access to it? If he may pluck and apply its healing leaves, and partake of its life-giving, health-restoring fruit, how is the inexorable decree of temporal dissolution ever to be executed? It cannot be. Man, then, must be shut out from the tree of life, or he will never return to the dust. He must be rigidly excluded from it, or he will live forever. Accordingly, we find him instantly driven out from the garden of Eden, and debarred

* With the exception of Enoch and Elijah.

from entering it; and all for this specific reason: "Lest he put forth his hand, and take also of the tree of life, and eat, and *live forever.*" What propriety or force in the reason here assigned for the shutting of Adam out of paradise but upon the ground that the purpose and use of the tree of life were such as have been stated? If this tree was provided as a universal *restorative*, a *catholicon*, in the use of which men could feel no disease, would suffer no decay, could never die, then was it necessary that doomed man should be driven away from it, and kept away. On this supposition, and no other that I can conceive, was it necessary that there should be placed "at the east of the garden of Eden cherubim, and a flaming sword which turned every way, to keep the way of the tree of life."

In strict accordance with the import which we have given to the tree of life is the *figurative* use of this phraseology in different parts of the Bible. In several instances, we find the tree of life spoken of figuratively in the Book of Proverbs; and in every case it has the sense of *healthful, saving, health-restoring*. Thus of Wisdom it is said, "She is a tree of life to them that lay hold upon her." That is, she is *saving, healthful*, to them: she will be a means of preserving and prolonging their lives in this world, as well as of conferring immortal life in the next. Again it is said, "The fruit of the righteous is a tree of life." By the fruit of the righteous may be understood their good example, their pious discourse, their wise instructions, and their fervent prayers. And these are "a tree of life." In other words, they are *saving, salutary*: they tend to the salvation, temporally and spiritually, of those who enjoy them. Still again Solomon says, "A wholesome tongue is a tree of life." Here the same leading idea is manifest. A wholesome tongue, full of wise and good counsel, is exceedingly *salutary*: it preserves from a thousand ills in this life, and confers, often, immortal blessings. From these instances, taken from the Book of Proverbs, it is evident that Solomon must have had the same idea as to the purpose and use of the literal tree of life with that given above. Here is no intimation of its being the token of a covenant, or an appendage to Adam's probation; but it was *healthful, salutary*, designed for the indefinite prolongation of physical life; since, on this specific meaning, all his figurative uses of the words are based.

We come to the same conclusion from the *symbolical* use of the phrase *tree of life* in the Scriptures. In the last chapter of

the Revelation, we have a description of the *celestial* paradise, in which the drapery, the imagery, is borrowed extensively from the terrestrial paradise, or garden of Eden: "In the midst of the street of" the heavenly paradise, "and on either side of the river," — for there is a river here, as there was in Eden, — "was there the tree of life, which bare twelve manner of fruits, and yielded its fruit every month; and the leaves of the tree were for the healing of the nations," — yes, "*for the healing of the nations.*" Who can doubt, after this, as to the design of the literal tree of life? It must have been *for the healing of the nations*, — for the preserving, prolonging, and perpetuating of the natural life which God had imparted to his innocent offspring. The symbolical tree of life in the heavenly paradise is equivalent to an assurance, that, in that blessed world, there shall be no more disease, no pain, no death. So the literal tree of life assured our first parents, that, so long as they had access to it in their innocency, they should never die.

We have a parallel passage to this in the Revelation, in which the same idea as to the purpose of the literal tree of life is shadowed forth. It is in Ezekiel's vision of the holy waters issuing out from the sanctuary, on the banks of which "grow trees," — trees of life, — "whose leaves never fade, and the fruit thereof shall be for meat, and the leaf thereof *for medicine*" (Ezek. xlvii. 12). The imagery here, as in the Revelation, is borrowed from the garden of Eden, through which flowed a river, and in the midst of which grew the literal tree of life. Its design was — if there is any appropriateness in these symbols — to prevent all disease, decay, and suffering in the innocent beings who partook of it, and secure them in the possession of an endless life. Hence, as before remarked, when our first parents lost their innocency, and were doomed to revert to their parent dust, they were sternly debarred from the tree of life, lest they should put forth their hand, and eat, and the curse denounced against them should never be executed.

The garden of Eden has long since been desolated, and the literal tree of life has ceased from the earth. Its healing leaves have fallen, and its root has decayed and mouldered away. It could not long flourish in this infected, doomed, accursed world; and, while it remained, there was no approach to it for apostate man. Cherubim and a flaming sword guarded every avenue, and forbade all access to the literal tree of life. The curse pronounced upon our race must be executed. Dust we are, and to the dust we must return.

But let us be thankful that there is another tree of life, the approaches to which are guarded by no flaming sword ; whose leaf does not wither ; whose fruit does not fail ; which lives and flourishes and blooms forever. It is planted, not in Eden, but in the paradise of God above ; and the way to it is open and easy to all the obedient children of God : “ Blessed are they that do his commandments, that they may have a *right* to the tree of life, and may enter in through the gates into the city.”

CHAPTER VIII.

THE FALL OF MAN.

MY last chapter was on the garden of Eden. I am now to speak of an event which early occurred in the garden, — an event in which we all have a melancholy interest, — *the apostasy of our first parents*. We have a narrative of this event, and of its immediate consequences, in the third chapter of Genesis.

Our first parents were created *in the image of God*. By this we understand that they were, in their measure and capacities, *like God*. They bore his image, or were like him, in two respects. And, first, in respect to his *natural* image. God is a spirit; and so were they: God has intelligence, reason, conscience, and will; and so had they: God is a free moral agent; and so were they. And, secondly, our first parents bore at the first the *moral* image of God. They were holy, like God. Their holiness was the same — not in degree, but in *kind* — as that of their Maker.

Being free, moral, responsible agents, they were proper subjects of *law* and *government*, and came at once under the law and government of God. They were subject to the great law of love, and to all those outward exemplifications of it which are discoverable by the light of reason and nature. They were subject also to a few plain, positive precepts. They were to dress the garden of Eden, and to keep it. They were to observe and sanctify the sabbath. And from one of the trees of the garden — the tree of the knowledge of good and evil — they were to abstain entirely, under penalty of death: “Ye shall not eat of it, neither shall ye touch it, lest ye die.” This injunction seems to have been laid upon our first parents more especially for their *trial*. They were on trial to see if they would keep *all* the divine commands, but more especially this. This was a plain, positive command, the import of which they could not misunderstand, and

the reasons of which, probably, they did not fully comprehend; so that obedience to it would be a suitable trial of their *faith*, as well as of their moral strength.

The death which was threatened to our first parents, in case of disobedience, they would naturally understand to be *the proper penalty of the divine law* under which they were placed,—the same which was executed on the apostate angels when they sinned; in other words, *spiritual and eternal death*.

That temporal death, though a consequence of sin, constitutes no part of the proper penalty of the law, is evident from two considerations: 1. Christ does not *redeem his people* from temporal death. He came to redeem them from the curse of the law; and he *does* redeem them from it. He redeems them from spiritual and eternal death. But from temporal dissolution Christ does not redeem his people. They die, in this sense, as well as others; a fact which fully shows that temporal dissolution constitutes no part of the curse and penalty of the law. 2. If the proper penalty of the law, involving the eternal destruction of soul and body in hell, had been immediately executed upon our first parents, there had been no room for temporal death: it had been entirely precluded. Soul and body must have gone to destruction together, and could not have been separated.

These considerations make it certain that temporal dissolution (though, as I said, a consequence of sin) is yet no part of the proper penalty of the law, and, consequently, was not included in the original threatening to Adam. Our first parents were placed originally under a dispensation of pure law. Their probation was one of law, and not of grace; and the death with which they were threatened in case of transgression, was, without doubt, the proper penalty of the law, which is eternal and spiritual death.

Thus, then, were our first parents situated in the garden of Eden,—intelligent beings, free moral agents, under a dispensation of law which they had never transgressed, and on trial to see whether they would persevere in holiness, and thus secure everlasting life; or whether they would transgress the law, and incur the penalty which hung suspended over them. The result of their probation we too well know. The serpent persuaded the woman, and she persuaded her husband, to “eat of that forbidden tree, whose mortal taste brought death into the world, and all our woe.”

Two or three questions arise here, which demand consideration before we further proceed with the subject:—

1. What are we to understand by the *serpent*, which is said to have beguiled Eve? Who was he? What was he? That he was an animal of the serpent kind, and not (as some have supposed) a baboon or monkey, is indubitable. He is expressly called *ogis*, a *serpent*, by the apostle Paul: "I fear, lest by any means, as *the serpent* beguiled Eve through his subtlety, so your minds should be corrupted from the simplicity that is in Christ" (2 Cor. xi. 3). He probably had other means of locomotion besides what serpents now have, — feet or wings, or something of the kind, of which he was divested in consequence of his assault upon our unsuspecting first parents. Still he was a species of serpent.

And yet he was not a *mere* serpent. He displayed an artifice, a cunning, a subtlety, a malice, of which no mere brute animal was ever capable. His body and faculties were possessed, for the time, by that *old Serpent, the Devil, the Wicked One*. Devils sometimes possessed the bodies of animals, as well as of men, in the time of our Saviour. A legion of them once entered into a herd of swine, which, in consequence, ran violently down a steep place into the sea, and were drowned. That the Devil was the real agent in deceiving our first mother, and drawing her into sin, is evident from the nature of the case, and is implied in many Scriptures. Accordingly, the curse pronounced upon the serpent extended farther than to the literal animal: it reached to that old Serpent, the Devil, and portended the victory which our Saviour was to achieve over him upon the cross.

2. Our second inquiry relates to the *speaking* of the serpent. Did he literally *speak* to the woman? If so, was not his speaking a miracle, and a miracle performed for a *bad purpose*, — for the purpose of drawing our first parents into sin? I suppose the serpent did literally speak to the woman. He held a literal conversation with her. We must suppose this, unless we regard the entire narrative as an allegory, — a supposition which the connection, and many other Scriptures, forbid. Nor do I think the speaking of Satan through the organs of the serpent a proper *miracle*, involving (as all miracles do) a suspension of the powers and laws of Nature, and a direct interposition of the power of God. The probability is, that Satan was able, by his own natural powers, to speak audibly and intelligibly through the organs of the serpent. We know that he often spoke through the *human* organs in the time of Christ. He enabled the poor frantic demoniacs, in repeated instances, to utter truths concerning which, of themselves, they had

no knowledge. For example, one of these demoniacs made an open profession of the Messiahship of Jesus, in advance even of his disciples and followers: "I know thee who thou art, the Holy One of God" (Mark i. 24). This must have been an utterance of the demon through the organs of the possessed person. Nor have we any reason to think it a miraculous utterance. But if Satan could speak, of his own power, through the human organs, why might he not through the organs of the serpent?

3. My third inquiry relates to *the possibility of our first parents falling* in the manner they did. Some have thought their apostasy wholly unaccountable. They were perfectly holy. Their propensities, feelings, and habits were all holy. How, then, could temptation reach such minds? How could it overcome them?

Certainly no *good* reason can be given for the fall of our first parents. Their act of transgression was altogether unreasonable and inexcusable. Still I have never supposed that there was any thing inexplicably mysterious or unaccountable in the matter. Their fall, I think, may be explained as well as many other wicked things which have been transacted in the world. Being free moral agents, our first parents must have had *the susceptibilities* appropriate to such agents: they must have been susceptible to motive-influences, both to good and evil, to the right and the wrong. Such susceptibilities imply nothing wrong in the person possessing them, but only that, as a moral agent, he is *capable* of wrong. Our Saviour must have had them, else he could not have been tempted any way. Our first parents had them, else they could have had no trial at all. Indeed, every moral agent has them, else he could not be a moral agent, and responsible for his actions.

But our first parents were not only moral agents, and had the susceptibilities of such agents: they were also on *probation*, or *trial*. Hence it was necessary that they should have something to try them; because a state of trial in which there was nothing to try them would be no trial at all. Being susceptible to motive-influences both to good and to evil, it was involved in their very probation that such motives should actually be presented.

In order that they might be, the Tempter was permitted to enter the garden. Embodied in the wily serpent, he approaches the woman, whom he finds alone, somewhere near the forbidden tree, and enters into conversation with her: "Yea, hath God said that ye shall not eat of every tree of the garden? Is God dealing thus hardly with you? Is he thus arbitrarily interdicting your free-

dom?" And the woman said, "We may eat of the fruit of the trees of the garden; but of the fruit of this one tree, which stands here in the midst of the garden, God hath said that ye shall not eat of it, neither shall ye touch it, lest ye die." But the serpent said unto the woman, "Ye shall not surely die. No such evil is to be apprehended. I have often eaten of it; and *I* am not dead. But God, it seems, is jealous of you. He is arbitrarily restraining you, to your hurt; for he well knows, that, in the day ye eat thereof, your eyes shall be opened as mine are, and ye shall become as gods, knowing good and evil."

In this artful address, we see how the serpent appeals to the moral susceptibilities of the woman, and plies his motive-influence upon her. First he undertakes to shake her confidence in God, and weaken her sense of obligation to him, so that the motives to disobedience may find little or no resistance. He flatly lies to the woman: he blinds and deceives her as to the dreaded consequences of transgression. Then he appeals to her *senses*: "See how beautiful this fruit is, and how delicious to the taste!" He appeals also to her natural curiosity, to her desire of knowledge, and her desire of happiness,—all of them powerful principles of action: and by all he urges her to make the experiment; assuring her that it can do no harm, but good; that it will make her instantly wise and happy. And the confiding, inexperienced creature believes him. He so presents the motives to transgression, that they predominate over all opposing good influences, and she yields. She puts forth her hand; she takes; she eats. The deed is done: the serpent's malice is satiated, and he retires from the scene. Eve soon finds her husband; tells him what she has done; tells him how delicious the fruit is, and how desirable to make one wise; assures him from her own experience that there is no fear of death; and urges him, by all the regard which he ought to have for his own good and by all the love which he bears to her, to take and eat likewise. Nor is it so very strange or unaccountable that her persuasions prevailed with him; for, in addition to all the motives which had overcome her, there was the additional one of conjugal affection. Adam could not be separated from his beloved Eve. He preferred to be united with her, though it were in transgression. If Eve must die, he chose to die with her. He took the forbidden fruit from her hands, and did as she required.

That our first parents acted unreasonably and wickedly in all this, there can be no doubt. They committed a great and dreadful

sin; but that there was any thing mysterious or inexplicable in this event, I see no reason to believe. I think it may be accounted for, on philosophical principles, as easily as most of the wickedness which is perpetrated among men.

Having followed our first parents through their original trial and their fall, we now turn to contemplate some of the consequences of their sin. What, then, were the *immediate* consequences to *themselves*?

Their eyes were indeed opened, but in a way which they did not expect. They were opened to their own sin and shame and guilt. They had come to a knowledge of good and evil such as they never had before. They stood guilty and condemned, without refuge or hope, expecting the wrath and curse of their Creator. They were afraid to meet him; and so they fled, and hid themselves among the trees of the garden.

But vain is their attempt to hide themselves from God. He soon finds them, summons them forth, and calls them to a strict account. They can offer no sufficient excuse; and, instead of taking the blame to themselves, they endeavor to shuffle it off upon each other. The man blames the woman; and the woman, the serpent.

The several curses are now pronounced; but, before proceeding to a consideration of these, let us pause, and inquire why the threatened penalty was not at once inflicted. This penalty, we have seen, was not temporal, but spiritual and eternal death. Without doubt, our first parents fell at once into a state of *spiritual* death. They became dead to all good impulses, aspirations, and impressions. They were dead in trespasses and sins. And why were they not treated as were the rebel angels when they sinned? Why were they not sent immediately away to that eternal destruction which they deserved? I answer, Not because their sentence of death was remitted (for it was not remitted); but the execution of it was for a time *suspended in order to make room for the dispensation of grace*. Of this dispensation of grace we shall have more to say hereafter. It is enough merely to mention it here; and, having mentioned it, let us proceed to speak of the curses which were now severally pronounced.

And first the curse upon *the serpent*: "Because thou hast done this, thou art cursed above all cattle, and above every beast of the field: upon thy belly shalt thou go, and dust shalt thou eat all the days of thy life." Thus far, the curse seems to rest upon the literal serpent. If he had legs or wings before, they were now

taken from him, and he was doomed, henceforth, to creep upon his belly, and lick the dust.

The remainder of the curse upon the serpent had respect more particularly to that old Serpent, the Devil, whose agency was chiefly concerned in the temptation: "I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy seed and her seed: it shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel." We have here, in the curse upon the serpent, the first dawn of hope for the fallen human pair. The language carries with it an assurance that they were not to die immediately; that they should live to have a seed; and that a descendant of the woman should utterly vanquish the old Serpent, and put an end to his usurped dominion over man. All this, I hardly need say, was fulfilled in the great Seed of the woman, — the Lord Jesus Christ. Satan bruised his heel when he brought him to the cross; but, by dying on the cross, he utterly vanquished Satan, and defeated all his diabolical designs: "Through death he destroyed him which had the power of death; that is, the Devil."

The curse upon the woman has rested heavily upon the daughters of Eve from that time to the present. In sorrow and pain has she brought forth her children. Her desire has been unto her husband; and he has ruled over her. The degradation of woman, and her sufferings from the other sex, more especially in those parts of the world not blessed with the light of revealed truth, have been dreadful. She has not been punished *for* the sin of her first mother; but her sufferings in *consequence* of it have been long and terrible.

The curse upon the man includes two things: 1. A curse upon the ground, involving the necessity of hard and wasting labor on his part in order to procure a sustenance from it. 2. Temporal dissolution or death: "And unto Adam God said, Cursed is the ground for thy sake; in sorrow shalt thou eat of it all the days of thy life: thorns and thistles shall it bring forth unto thee; and thou shalt eat the herb of the field. In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread until thou return unto the ground; for out of it wast thou taken: for dust thou art, and unto dust shalt thou return." The curse upon the ground involved some change in regard to its natural productions. What this change was precisely, and how it was produced, we cannot tell. As much as this, I think, may be said, — that whereas the spontaneous productions of the earth before the fall were nutritious and useful, so that a suste-

nance was easily procured, the case was very different after the fall. Then the ground brought forth spontaneously the thorn and the thistle, the noxious weed and herb; while those productions most necessary for the sustenance and use of man could be procured only by toil and labor. Certainly we find this to be true now; and all the generations of men, from Adam downward, have found the same. In the sweat of their face they have been constrained to eat their bread. Such an order of things, we have reason to know, was entailed upon us in consequence of sin.

I have said that a part of the curse upon man was *temporal dissolution*. In the verses above read, we have the first mention of temporal death which occurs in the Bible. The death threatened to Adam, in case he transgressed, I have shown was not temporal death: it was rather the proper penalty of the law, which is eternal death. The execution of this penalty, as I have said, was for a time suspended in order to make room for a dispensation of grace. The dispensation of grace had now been revealed and entered upon. A Seed of the woman had been promised, who should bruise the serpent's head. Fallen man may be saved, if he will repent, and trust in the promised Saviour; and, consequently, he must have a *space for repentance*. To afford him such a space, the execution of the incurred penalty of the law is for the time suspended. Man has the offer of salvation through a Redeemer. If this offer is accepted in time, the incurred penalty is not only suspended, but *remitted*. The transgressor is forgiven, and received back into the favor and love of God. But if the gracious offer is not accepted in time, if it is neglected and rejected, then the suspended penalty comes down upon the head of the transgressor with new aggravations. He has now not only broken the law, but he has trodden under foot the Son of God. Upon such a probation as this were Adam and Eve placed immediately upon the revelation of a Saviour. Upon just such a probation are we all placed during our continuance in the present life. Of this probation of grace, temporal dissolution is the proper termination. When God has waited to be gracious long enough, and can consistently wait no longer, he breaks the brittle thread of life, and turns the body back to the dust from which it was taken. This, then, is the proper significance of temporal death,—to terminate the probation of fallen man, and settle the question, whether he is to rise or sink, be happy or miserable forever. Though not the proper penalty of the law, it is yet a fruit and a consequence of sin, but such a consequence as can

be realized only under a dispensation of grace. Hence it was not till the dispensation of grace had opened, and a Saviour had been promised, that we first hear of temporal death in the Bible.

And this view of the subject accounts for what follows in the closing part of the third chapter of Genesis: "The Lord God drove out the man from the garden of Eden to till the ground from which he was taken. And he placed at the east of the garden of Eden cherubim, and a flaming sword which turned every way, to keep the way of the tree of life," lest doomed man "should put forth his hand, and take also of the tree of life, and eat, and live forever." The purport and use of the tree of life I have shown in the previous chapter. It was to remove all the causes of disease and death in innocent and happy man; it was to preserve him in perpetual maturity and health till he was prepared to be translated to a higher sphere. But fallen man is now doomed to temporal dissolution. His body must die, and turn to dust. But this doom can never come upon him if he has free access to the tree of life. Hence he must be driven out of the garden, and kept out: he must be sternly kept back from the tree of life, else temporal death can never overtake him; else he will put forth his hand, and eat, and live forever.

We have seen already, that the consequences of our first parents' sin extend in many ways to their posterity. The ground brought forth the thorn and the thistle to Adam; and so it has done to all his descendants. He ate his bread in the sweat of his face; and so have they. He was doomed to end his probation of grace in the dust; and so are they. The curse of Eve, too, has descended to all the daughters. They, like their first mother, have brought forth their offspring in travail and pain.

But the consequences of Adam's sin have come down to his posterity in a more fearful sense than all this. They are *sinner*s in consequence of his sin: like him, they are depraved, corrupted creatures, and are "by nature the children of wrath."

The *fact* of this connection between our sin and that of our first parents is clearly set forth in the Scriptures, and is admitted by all evangelical Christians. Respecting the *nature* of the connection, or the *manner* of it, there have been various opinions, which we need not now take time to consider. This exercise is designed to be, not theological, but historical. Suffice it to say, that Adam was, in a higher sense than any other individual ever was, a *representative man*: he represented the human race. In fact, he and his wife

constituted at that time the human race. They constituted it *all*. There were no others. In many respects, they acted, not only for themselves, but for the race. What was said to them was said, through them, to the race. What was done for them, was done through them, in like manner, for the race.

I have said before, that, when Adam sinned, he fell at once into a state of spiritual corruption and death. From that moment his nature was depraved, and his heart, his affections and actions, were sinful. In this state he begat children in his own *image* and *likeness*. They were like him in nature, and, as soon as they began to act, were like him in character. They were actual transgressors, sinners against God, and must be saved by the promised Seed of the woman, or be lost forever.

The great law of *likeness* runs through all the works of God. Every seed in the vegetable world produces its like. Every animal which is capable of propagation produces its like. And this law of universal nature is a *good* law. What unspeakable confusion and misery would ensue should it be abrogated!

In accordance with this general law, Adam begat a son in his own sinful likeness; and that son begat others; and these, others; and so on to the present time. This order of things could not have been changed without a miracle; and such a miracle God has never been pleased to perform. Rather than change or contravene this great law of likeness, and thus perform a miracle here, when God was pleased, in the fulness of time, to bring a sinless man into the world, he preferred to perform another kind of miracle,—to give him conception and birth without a human father. I refer to the conception and birth of our Lord Jesus Christ.

You see, then, that we are all sinners in consequence of the sin of our first progenitors. You see, too, how this has come to pass. It has come by the operation of a great, a general, and a benevolent law,—a law which could not have been set aside but by miracle, and a kind of miracle which God was not pleased to perform. And now, instead of murmuring and complaining, that “by one man’s disobedience many were made sinners,” let us rather repent of our sins, and forsake them, and put our trust in that Seed of the woman who has come and crushed the old Serpent’s head.

CHAPTER IX.

THE UNITY OF THE HUMAN RACE.

THE Scriptures assure us that human beings everywhere have a common ancestry, and are one race. Moses speaks of the dispersed nations as “the sons of Adam,” and of Eve as “the mother of all living.” Of Noah and his sons it is said, “By them was the whole earth overspread,” and “by these were the nations divided in the earth after the Flood.”* Nor does the sacred historian satisfy himself with asserting, in the general, this truth: he traces down the re-peopling of the earth after the Deluge, by the sons of Noah, almost to his own time.†

In the New Testament, we have the same doctrine as to the unity of the human species and their descent from one pair: “God hath made of *one blood* all nations of men to dwell on all the face of the earth” (Acts xvii. 26). Paul contrasts our relations to Adam and Christ, and shows that it is only to the descendants of the former that the benefits of the latter can be appropriated.‡ Hence, if all men are or may be interested in Christ, it follows that all are the posterity of Adam.

But, notwithstanding these decisive representations of Scripture, many are led to doubt as to the unity of our race, or, at least, as to their descent from a single pair. The language of Scripture is to be limited to only a part of mankind, — to those who originated in or near the land of Shinar. The black race of Africa, the red men of America, the native tribes of New Holland and of the islands of the sea, and probably many others, are not referred to at all in the sacred history. They are not the descendants of Adam or of Noah, but originated (no one can tell when or how) in the regions where they dwell. “None but a blind man can doubt,” says Vol-

* See Gen. iii. 20, ix. 19, x. 32; Deut. xxxii. 8.

† Gen. x. 11.

‡ See Rom. v. 18, 19; 1 Cor. xv. 21, 22.

taire, "that the whites, the negroes, the Hottentots, Chinese, and native Americans, are entirely distinct races." The arguments urged in proof of these strange positions are the following:—

1. As it cannot be pretended that the other species of animals originated each from a single pair, and in the same place, it is altogether probable, reasoning from analogy, that the same is true in respect to man. The different tribes and families of the human race are not from one and the same original.

Whether the different species of animals originated each from a single pair, is a question which the Scriptures have nowhere decided, and in which the student of Scripture feels but little interest. Suppose they did not originate from a single pair: what then? Will it follow that the same is true of the human species? By no means; for, in the first place, the human species are not mere animals: they are intelligent, accountable, immortal beings; having the power of thought, of reasoning, of forecast, together with the faculty of speech; having the whole class of moral emotions, and the capacity for progressive and endless improvement. They are so widely distinguished in these respects from the animal creation, and so vastly superior to it, that there is no reasoning analogically from the one to the other. The argument from analogy, which in no case amounts to more than a strong probability, in this case utterly fails.

And then it is to be considered, that, so far as man partakes of an animal nature, it is one adapting him to all countries and climes, and to all the different modes of sustaining life. This is not true of most other animals. Some can live only in hot climates, others only in cold; some require the deep forest, others the open plain; some the rugged mountain, and others the field or the fen; some feed upon grass, others upon fruits, and others still upon flesh. These circumstances lie against the supposition that all the different species of animals originated from single pairs, and in the same region of country. They rather indicate that the animals were created, or that many of them were, in the sections of country where they are found. But not one of these circumstances applies to the human race. Man is a *cosmopolite*,—capable of living and flourishing in all countries and in all climes. He has reason to guide him in the choice of a settlement. He can adapt himself to his situation, and make circumstances seemingly unfavorable contribute to his safety and his comfort. He can live, too, upon almost any thing,—whether a vegetable diet, or an animal; whether upon

fruits or grains or flesh. Hence there is nothing in his nature to contradict the supposition, or even to render it improbable, that *he* originated (as the Scriptures assure us that he did) from a single pair, and in one place.

2. Another argument against the scriptural account of the origin of our race is drawn from the *different appearance* and even *structure* of men in different parts of the earth, as also from their *different languages*. We admit that there are great diversities among men, but see no reason to infer from this that they are not all of one race, — the offspring of a single pair. There are as great diversities among other animals, — dogs, cats, cows, horses, &c.; each class of which, we know, belongs to the same race. Remove some animals from the torrid or temperate to the frigid zone, and they change their color, become white, and their coating of hair or fur is prodigiously increased. Animals change very much too, in size and appearance, by a change in their mode of living, — by being domesticated. Is it strange, then, that there should be diversities among men, dwelling, as they do, in different climes, and living in all sorts of ways? Would it not be marvellous, I had almost said miraculous, if there were not diversities?

We find often the most marked peculiarities among men which are certainly known to belong to the same race. Take, for example, the refined, the educated, the cultivated, in European society, and compare them with the peasants, the colliers, the beggars, the serfs. The Bushmen of South Africa have been regarded as the most degraded of human beings, if, indeed, they are human. They are without houses or huts of any sort; kennelling in caves, or holes in the ground; naked, lank, half starved; living on roots, insects, lizards, snakes, and the larvæ of ants. Their average height is but little more than four feet. Peculiar abnormal appendages characterize the sexes. The spine is curved; and deposits of fat are grown upon the hips, resembling them to the fat-rumped sheep of the Cape, so well known to travellers in the East. Their organs of speech, too, are quite peculiar. They have numerous guttural sounds in their language, pronounced with a peculiar clack of the tongue. For a long time after they were discovered, they were claimed and referred to as a separate race of beings. And yet it is known now that their strange language is only a dialect of the Hottentot; and Corannas and Caffres have been discovered in the process of transition from their comparatively elevated pastoral state to that of these miserable wrecks of human beings.

As to the color of the skin, we know that this depends very much, if not altogether, upon climate, and modes of life. In the north of Europe, for example, the skin, from continuous exposure to excessive cold, is chapped, and almost red. Farther south, the hair, the eyes, the complexion, are light. Still farther south, the complexion becomes darker, as in the south of France. Proceeding southward, we find the skin becoming tawny, yellow, brown, and then black; the hair being crisped and woolly from excessive heat. After crossing the torrid, equatorial region, the glossy black of the negro disappears, and the complexion improves.

It will not be doubted that the Jews are all of one race, — the descendants of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. Yet there are Jews now living on the earth, of every variety of color, from black to white.

But it is said that negroes have had the same color and features from the most ancient times, as appears from paintings on the oldest Egyptian monuments; and that sufficient time was not afforded after the Flood for such changes of complexion, by the force of climate merely, to be accomplished. To this objection I have two replies to make. In the first place, the chronology of ancient Egypt is altogether unsettled. No two of those who have tried to investigate it are able to agree. Hence it is impossible to decide, from the monuments containing pictures of negroes, at what time those negroes lived.

But suppose we find appearances of black men, dating back almost to the Flood: this does not contradict the Bible at all, but rather confirms it. “The sons of Ham,” says the sacred writer, “were Cush and Mizraim and Phut and Canaan” (Gen. x. 6). Mizraim and his descendants settled Egypt. The children of Canaan were the original Canaanites. But Cush settled Southern Arabia; and in a little time his descendants passed over into Africa, and, wherever settled, they were known as *Ethiopians*: and so the word is rendered in our Bibles. But the Cushites or Ethiopians are represented in Scripture as a *colored race*. “Can the Ethiopian change his skin?” implying that it was a colored skin. The primitive color of man was, probably, not white; and, among his partially colored brethren, Cush may have been darker than the rest; and settling in a hot, sunny region, he and his descendants soon became still darker. From him, undoubtedly, the colored races of Africa originated.

As to difference of language, the Bible fully accounts for that.

The descendants of Noah were originally of one language; but when they conspired together against the Almighty, and undertook to build a tower that should reach even unto heaven, the Lord came down, and "confounded their language, that they could not understand one another's speech. And so the Lord scattered them abroad upon the face of all the earth" (Gen. xi. 7, 8). Such is the scriptural account of the matter; and it accords entirely with the results of the most extended philological research. On this question, I cannot do better than to quote the opinion of Baron Humboldt: "The comparative study of languages," he says, "shows us, that races now separated by vast tracts of land are allied together, and have migrated from one common primitive seat. Even now, one long train of kindred tongues extends from the Gauges to the Iberian Gulf, and from Sicily to the North Cape. Undoubtedly, there was a period when the entire family of man was to be regarded as one living whole."* Such, then, is the opinion of mere philologists. Every one can see how strictly accordant it is with the Scripture narrative.

3. But it is further urged against the common origin of our race, that the race, on this ground, could never have been so widely diffused; that they could not have spread themselves so entirely over the earth. If the human family sprung from a single pair in South-western Asia four thousand years ago, how came this Western Continent peopled, and New Holland, and the thousand islands of the sea?

To all this it may be replied, that four thousand years is a pretty long period. A great many things may be done in four thousand years. About two hundred and fifty years ago, the English commenced their settlements in this country; yet how widely have they spread themselves! Where, on this great continent, are they not found? If so wide a dispersion has been effected in less than two hundred and fifty years, what may not have been accomplished in four thousand years?

The aborigines of America have the same general features and character, and are, undoubtedly, of Asiatic origin. Some of them may have come here by the way of Behring's Straits, and (in accordance with a tradition common to all our Indians) spread themselves over the continent from the north. Their wandering, hunting, migratory habits would enable them to do this with great rapidity. Others were wafted to the American coast in their frail

* Cosmos, vol. ii. pp. 110, 111.

vessels, either by accident or design, from Northern or Eastern Asia. Nothing is more common than accidents of this nature, by which most of the islands were, in all probability, peopled. Navigators have often picked up frail boats on the ocean, containing people who had been driven from five to fifteen hundred miles. Quite a number of such instances are related by Mr. Lyell. So late as the year 1833, a Japanese junk was wrecked on the north-west coast of America, and several of the crew got safe to land. In 1799, a small boat containing three men was driven to sea from St. Helena, and reached the coast of South America in about a month. In 1797, twelve negroes escaped in a boat from a slave-ship on the coast of Africa, and, after a voyage of five weeks, came ashore at Barbadoes. The native missionaries visiting the different Pacific islands frequently meet with their countrymen who have been drifted in like manner.

Instances like these show us, that man, even in a rude state of society, is liable to be scattered involuntarily, by the winds and waves, over the face of the earth. We ought not, then, to wonder, that, in thousands of years, nearly the whole earth should have become peopled either by civilized or savage men.

The principal objections to the common origin of our race being removed, I proceed to a consideration of the arguments in favor of such a supposition. The scriptural argument is decisive, and has already been briefly stated. In what follows, I shall confirm and illustrate the scriptural statement by a variety of considerations. I remark, —

1. That, to account for the facts in the case, only one original human pair is necessary; and hence to suppose more than one would be to multiply causes, and even miracles, without necessity. I have shown already, that neither the diversities in human appearance and language, nor the present wide dispersion of the human race, argue any thing against a common origin. Notwithstanding all that has been said on these and the like points, we *may* all be the offspring of a common father and mother. Hence to suppose more than one original father and mother is to multiply causes, and even miracles, without necessity; for certainly the production of a human pair, except in the ordinary way, would be a miracle. It follows, that to depart from the common view of this subject would be as unphilosophical as it is unscriptural.

2. The fact that the human race everywhere can intermingle and reproduce their own species, — human beings, — beings capa-

ble, like themselves, of reproducing others,—is proof that they are all of one race, and have a common origin. Were the whites and the blacks, for example, distinct species, like the horse and the ass, the result of a union between them would be, not a man, but a *mongrel*, a *hybrid*,—a being incapable, like the mule, of reproduction. This seems to be a general law of animal nature. If there are any exceptions to it, they are but few. It is a law wisely instituted by the great Creator to keep the different species of animals which he has formed distinct from each other,—to prevent their comingling and running together till they could no longer be distinguished. The fact, therefore, that the human race can everywhere intermingle and reproduce their own species—beings fruitful, like themselves, and capable of reproducing others—is proof conclusive, as I said, that they are all one race, and have a common origin. On any other supposition, the mulatto would be, not a man, but a hybrid; and, like other hybrids, would be barren and unfruitful.

3. The scriptural account of the common origin of our race is confirmed by an almost universal *tradition*. The most of these traditions, though not all, stand connected with a universal Deluge, in which almost the entire race of man was destroyed; and refer to the consequent re-peopling of the earth by the few that survived. These traditions are found among the Egyptians, the Chaldæans, the Chinese, the Hindoos, the Greeks, the Scythians, and many tribes of American Indians. Thus the Cree Indians tell of “a universal Deluge, from which one family alone escaped, with all kinds of birds and beasts, on a huge raft.” The Iroquois have a tradition which reaches still farther back. “They believe that the first woman was seduced from her obedience to God; and that, in consequence of it, she was driven out of heaven. She afterwards bore two sons. The one of these, having armed himself with a deadly weapon, attacked and slew the other. More children afterwards sprang from the same woman, who were the progenitors of all mankind.”

Sir William Jones, after speaking of the Deluge, and of the destruction which it brought upon all mankind except four human pairs, adds, “This is admitted as true by every nation to whose literature we have access, and particularly by the ancient Hindoos, who have allotted an entire Purana to the detail of that event, which they relate, as usual, in symbols and allegories.”*

Mr. Mitford, in his learned “History of Greece,” thus expresses

* Asiatic Researches, vol. iii. p. 425.

himself: "The tradition of all nations, and appearances in every country, bear a testimony scarcely less explicit than that of Moses to that general Flood which destroyed nearly the whole human race; and those Greek authors who have attempted to trace the history of mankind to its source all refer to such an event as the beginning of the present system of things on earth."* Dr. Redford says, "Traditions of a general Deluge have been found among all nations of the ancient world, and are disseminated among modern nations in the most distant and opposite parts of the earth, and in all their different degrees of civilization. Wherever there is any attempt to account for the existence of the present population, it begins with the preservation of one pair of human beings, or of a single family, in some floating vessel. This is usually connected with a previously-existing race, with the anger of the Supreme Being against their sins, and with the desolation of the earth and of mankind by a general inundation. There are no conflicting traditions. The harmony among all nations is such as could only have arisen from the fact itself."† Speaking of these traditions, Baron Humboldt says, "They appear to refute the hypothesis of an original gregarious condition of mankind, and concur in ascribing the generations of the whole human race to the union of one pair. The general prevalence of this idea has caused it to be regarded as a traditionary record, transmitted from the primitive man to his descendants."‡

In these decisions of Redford and Humboldt we fully coincide. We can come to no other. Certainly the traditions of which I have spoken "concur in ascribing all the generations of men to the union of a single pair." Such a harmony of tradition among the nations "could only have arisen from the fact itself."

4. The common depravity and wickedness of men mark them as the descendants of one fallen father. The Scriptures tell us of the fall of Adam and Eve, and of the lamentable effects which followed to their posterity: "By one man (Adam), sin entered into the world, and death by sin." And so, "in Adam, all die." "The judgment was by one to condemnation." "By one man's disobedience, many were made sinners." These Scriptures assure us that the posterity of Adam are corrupted and depraved: they sin and they die in consequence of their connection with him. And now, with these passages before us, let us look out into the world,

* Hist. of Greece, vol. i. sect. 1, p. 3.

† Holy Scrip. Verified, pp. 112, 113.

‡ Cosmos, vol. i. p. 355.

and see who and how many are the posterity of Adam. Who bear the *marks* of being his posterity? How many of those who are commonly regarded as human beings are corrupted and depraved? If any portion of our race are not the children of Adam, we may expect to find them, or at least some of them, in a state of innocence. They are free, or they are very likely to be, from the taint of sin; they love their Creator with pure hearts fervently; they love their fellow-creatures as themselves; they obey the divine law so far as they understand it, and lead lives of holiness and purity. The way of holiness is easy and *natural* to them: they run in it from the first with cheerfulness and delight, and continue in it as long as they live. And why should not such creatures live always? Why should they ever die? Death is confined to the posterity of Adam,—is a fruit of sin. But these creatures—if there be any such—have not sinned; and why should they die? Why should they not live here on earth forever, or, at least, till they were translated to some higher sphere? Such kinds of human beings we might expect to find, at least in some portions of the earth, on supposition that any are here who are not the posterity of fallen Adam. But where do we find them? Are there any such? In what undiscovered portion of the earth, in what islands of the blessed, do they reside? The answer is a painful one, but it is necessary: They are *nowhere*. There are no such human beings on the face of the earth. The surface of the globe has now been pretty fully explored. The numerous isles that dot the ocean have nearly all been visited. In general, they are found teeming with inhabitants; and what are they? Are they innocent, pure, holy, heavenly? Oh, no! but the reverse everywhere: they are degraded, polluted, corrupt, vicious. In their heathen state, they are, what Paul found them eighteen hundred years ago, “filled with all unrighteousness, fornication, wickedness, covetousness, maliciousness; full of envy, murder, debate, deceit, malignity.” Such is their character *universally*. “There is none that understandeth; there is none that seeketh after God; they are all gone out of the way; they are together become unprofitable: there is none that doeth good; no, not one.” The Scriptures account for this melancholy state of things by connecting human beings everywhere with one fallen father. But reject this explanation; suppose men not to be of a common origin, and not to possess, in consequence, a common depraved and corrupted nature; and how are these facts to be accounted for? No one can tell how. As I said in introducing

this argument, the common depravity and wickedness of men *mark* them indubitably as the descendants of one common and depraved progenitor.

The *adaptation of the gospel* to the recovery and salvation of mankind everywhere is another proof of their common origin. The gospel is, confessedly and obviously, intended only for the descendants of apostate Adam: it supposes those to whom it is addressed to be fallen, guilty, ruined creatures, corrupted in their very nature, and dead in trespasses and sins. And it comes to them with a method of recovery, of pardon, and eternal life. Such is the very nature and aim of the gospel, adapted, as I said, only to fallen human beings,—the children of apostate Adam. The question before us, then, is precisely this: Is the gospel adapted to human beings the world over? Does it meet them in their wants and woes everywhere? Is it fitted for the recovery and salvation of all alike? Our Saviour commanded that his gospel should be preached to *every creature*, implying that it was adapted to the wants of all. Was our Saviour right in this injunction? and has this been proved by actual experiment? I hardly need answer that it has. The universal adaptation and efficacy of the gospel have been fully tested. They were pretty fully tested in the apostolic age, when the glad sound of the gospel “went out into all the earth, and its words to the end of the world;” and, wherever it went, light and joy and salvation followed in its train. But the power of the gospel is more fully tested in our own times, because it is now published in regions, and in the ears of human beings of whom the ancients had no knowledge; and wherever it is carried by modern missionaries,—among the civilized and uncivilized, among Negroes, Hottentots, Caffres, Bushmen, Chinese, Hindoos, American Indians, Australians, and the islanders of every sea,—as it finds human nature everywhere alike, so it is adapted to all alike. It raises the fallen, comforts the afflicted, puts an end to savage wars and other inhuman practices, and is, to human beings everywhere, as light in darkness, as life from the dead. To those who have read the history of modern missions, there can be no doubt on this point. The facts of the case are perfectly obvious; and they all go to demonstrate that mankind universally are *the children of Adam*, since, as I said, it was only for his corrupted, depraved children that Jesus died, and that the gospel provision is adapted.

It will be seen that the fact established and vindicated in the

foregoing discussion as to the common origin and ancestry of the human race is not one of mere historical speculation, but it stands in close connection with much Bible truth, and is fundamental in that scheme of mercy which is proposed in the gospel. If our first parents fell as the Scriptures relate, and if mankind universally are their fallen and degenerate children, then it is easy to account for the general prevalence of wickedness in the old world; for the infliction of a deluge to purge and punish it; and, on its being repopled by the descendants of righteous Noah, for its speedy relapse into terrible wickedness. It is easy to account in this way for the strong language of Scripture, setting forth the inveteracy and the extent of human wickedness; and for the perpetually downward course of things, in a moral view, which has been witnessed in the earth from the beginning to the present time. It is easy to account, too, for the interposition of the great Son of God to recover and save the world; for the descent of his Spirit; for the calls and warnings and motives of the gospel; and for all the provisions of his grace. But reject the fact we have been laboring to establish as to the common origin of our race, and not only are some few passages of Scripture directly contradicted, but the great system of Bible truth is subverted, nearly all history is falsified, and the foundation of the gospel method of salvation is taken away. Let us, then, hold fast the great truth announced by Paul on Mars' Hill, and rejoice in it: "*God hath made of one blood all nations of men to dwell on all the face of the earth.*"

CHAPTER X.

CAIN AND ABEL.

IMMEDIATELY following the expulsion of our first parents from the garden of Eden, we are told that "Adam knew his wife; and she conceived, and bare Cain." And, in the joy of deliverance, she said, "I have gotten a man from the Lord;" or, more literally rendered, "I have gotten a man, *the Lord*;" thinking him, perhaps, to be the promised Seed which was to bruise the serpent's head. "And she conceived again, and bare his brother Abel."

The birth of Cain is supposed to have occurred in the first year after the apostasy, — perhaps within a year of the time of the creation: the birth of Abel took place soon after, — perhaps in the following year. The brothers grew up together; but their occupations were different: "Abel was a keeper of sheep; but Cain was a tiller of the ground." These brief intimations show us that the original condition of the human race was not one of barbarism, but of comparative civilization. Savages are not farmers or shepherds: they follow the chase, and subsist chiefly on the spontaneous productions of the earth.*

* It is the pretence of naturalists and infidels at this day, that the primitive state of the human species was one of the lowest barbarism, — little, if at all, superior to that of the brutes, from some of which we were, peradventure, developed; from which state man has emerged by slow degrees, until he has come to be what he now is. This view of the case is contradicted, not only by Scripture, as above shown, but by purely scientific investigation. I refer to recent discoveries in philology. Prof. Wilson is engaged, with others, in tracing back words to their remotest origin, — their roots; and he finds from these, that, in their first use of names and words, men were not savages, but were in a partially-civilized state. The words they used, the names they employed, prove this conclusively. "The primitive tribe, which spoke the mother-tongue of the Indo-European family, was not nomadic alone, but had settled habitations, towns, and forts, and addicted itself to the rearing of cattle and the cultivation of the earth. It possessed our chief domestic animals, — the horse, the ox, the sheep, the goat, the swine, the dog. There were the bear and the wolf, which ravaged its flocks; also those domestic pests, the mouse and the fly. Barley, and perhaps wheat, was raised, and converted into meal. The use of certain metals was known; and the art of weaving was practised. The weapons employed were the sword, the spear, the bow, the shield. The government was of a patriarchal cast. The art of numeration was learned, at least up to a hundred. Some of the stars were noticed and named. The moon was the chief measurer of time. The religion was polytheistic, — a worship of the personified powers of Nature." — See *Wilson's Lectures on Language*, p. 207.

The history of Cain and Abel further shows that they had a knowledge of the true God, and were his professed worshippers. God had revealed himself to them, and instructed them as to the manner of his worship; and, at stated seasons, they brought their offerings unto the Lord. And we are told what they brought: "Cain brought the fruit of the ground; but Abel brought the firstlings of his flock, and the fat thereof." In other words, he brought a bloody sacrifice. He slew a lamb, and presented it, with the fat, as a burnt-offering unto the Lord. I regard this as a very important item in primitive church history. It shows us that the institution of bloody sacrifices reaches back to the time of Cain and Abel, and probably earlier, — even to the expulsion from paradise. The skins with which it is said God clothed our first parents when he drove them from the garden were undoubtedly the skins of beasts which had been offered in sacrifice. For what other purpose should beasts have been slain and skinned at that day? — not for food; for our first parents did not eat flesh: they were expressly limited to the herb of the field (Gen. i. 29).

This early institution of bloody sacrifices shows that our first parents and their immediate descendants had other and clearer intimations of God's plan of mercy than is commonly supposed. They not only had the original promise in regard to the Seed of the woman, but bloody sacrifices were immediately instituted, pointing typically to the blood of the cross, and inviting the worshipper to make that blood his trust.

It is not at all likely that bloody sacrifices were of human invention. How could they be? How should man ever have thought of propitiating the Deity by slaying and burning an innocent lamb, and sprinkling the altar with its blood, unless he had been so taught by God himself? And why should God have prescribed such a form of worship, except on the ground of its typical significance; except as it shadowed forth, and was designed to shadow forth, the bloody sacrifice of the cross? We have, therefore, as I said, in the primeval institution of bloody sacrifices, a clear intimation that the way of salvation by Christ was early opened to our first parents and their descendants, and that they were invited to put their trust in him, and live forever.

Both Cain and Abel, at the time appointed, brought their offerings unto the Lord: "And the Lord had respect unto Abel and his offering; but unto Cain and his offering he had not respect." Two reasons may be assigned why God did not accept the offering

of Cain. The first is, it was not presented *in faith*: "By *faith*, Abel offered unto God a more acceptable sacrifice than Cain" (Heb. xi. 4). The language here implies that the offering of Cain was not presented in faith; and "without faith it is impossible to please God," or to be accepted of him.

But, secondly, Cain's offering was not presented in the *appointed way*. God had instituted a *bloody sacrifice*, — the slaying of the victim, and the sprinkling of the altar with its blood. But Cain, either from pride, self-will, or some other cause, did not choose to offer such a sacrifice. Perhaps he had no lamb of his own, and did not like to procure one of his brother Abel. He could not see why an offering of corn, or fine flour, or fruits, would not do as well. At any rate, he would make the experiment. Cain was a *rationalist* in religion, and a fitting type of others of the same class. Abel presented his offering in faith, and in the appointed way; and it was accepted: Cain presented his without faith, in his own way; and it was rejected.

But, although there were the best reasons why Cain's offering was not accepted, still he was not satisfied. He was angry with God, and angry with his innocent brother: therefore God condescends to reason with him: "Why art thou wroth? and why is thy countenance fallen? If thou doest well, shalt thou not be accepted? and, if thou doest not well, sin" — a sin-offering — "lieth at the door." Still Cain was not satisfied. His envy and anger burned against his brother; and, as they walked together in the field, he violently assaulted him, and slew him.

This was the first human blood that was ever shed upon the earth. It was, so far as we know, the first instance of mortality that had as yet occurred among men. It took place, probably, in about the one hundred and thirtieth year of the world. We infer this from the fact that Seth, who is said to have been given in place of Abel, and was given, probably, soon after Abel's death, was born when Adam was a hundred and thirty years old.

Cain seems to have been alone with Abel when he slew him, and endeavored, no doubt, to conceal his death. But God soon arraigned him for his wickedness, and pronounced upon him a terrible doom: "What hast thou done? The voice of thy brother's blood crieth unto me from the ground. And now art thou cursed from the earth, which hath opened her mouth to receive thy

brother's blood. When thou tillest the ground, it shall not henceforth yield unto thee her strength. A fugitive and a vagabond shalt thou be in the earth."

Trembling and afraid, with the murderer's mark and curse upon him, Cain went out from the presence of the Lord, and dwelt on the east of Eden, in the land of Nod. How long he lived after this, we are not informed. We know that he builded a city, and called it after the name of one of his sons. Moses gives us the names of Cain's descendants in the line of Enoch to the seventh generation, reaching down almost to the time of the Flood. One of Cain's descendants (Lamech) was, like himself, a murderer. He was also a polygamist, and the first of whom we have any account in history (Gen. iv. 23).

The posterity of Cain seem to have lived very much by themselves in the antediluvian world, and to have been distinguished for their ungodliness. They corrupted one another; and when they came, at length, to have intercourse with the other descendants of Adam, they were a means of corrupting them: "When the sons of God saw the daughters of men that they were fair, they took them wives of all that they chose." These daughters of men are supposed to have been Cainites: at any rate, they were wicked women, as vile as they were beautiful, with whom the professed sons of God should have had nothing to do. The result of the union was giants in stature and giants in wickedness, who filled the earth with violence, and provoked the Almighty to come out in wrath against it, and destroy it. So long as God's people could be kept separate from the wicked, there was hope; but, when they came to be mixed up with them, the corruption spread, and soon became universal; and nought remained but that all should be cut off together except the few that were sheltered in the ark.

But to return to righteous Abel. Having lived more than a hundred years, — long enough to have a numerous posterity, though we hear nothing of them, — he was smitten down by a brother's hand in the dreadful manner above related. He was taken from the earth, and received up into heaven, — the first that ever went there through a Redeemer's blood.

And I have often reflected on the peculiarity of Abel's condition when he first appeared in heaven, and of the wonder and joy which his presence must have awakened there. Up to this period,

heaven had been inhabited only by angelic beings, — those who had kept their first estate, and had never forfeited their Maker's love. Their foundation was that of a perfectly observed and honored law; and their praises were only those of creative wisdom, goodness, and power: "Thou art worthy, O Lord! to receive glory and honor and power: for thou hast *created* all things; and for thy pleasure they are, and were created." But now there is a wonder in heaven. The first of a new race of beings has made his appearance there: once of the earth, earthy, but now a pure and glorified spirit: once a transgressor, under the curse of a broken law, and dead in trespasses and sins, but now recovered, redeemed, sanctified, and adopted into the holy family of God: once a rebel, odious and defiled; but he has washed his polluted robe, and made it white in the blood of the Lamb.

Angels had heard something before of the scheme of human redemption; for it had begun to be unfolded in heaven as well as on earth. But now they are permitted to *see* the first-fruits of redeeming mercy, — the incipient travail of the Saviour's soul. The new-comer, they perceive at once, is altogether a being by himself. He has views and feelings, he occupies a position and sings a song, of which the angels neither have nor can have, experimentally, any knowledge. He knows what it is to sorrow for sin after a godly sort, and to offer up the sacrifice of a penitent and broken heart. He knows what it is to renounce altogether his own righteousness, and put all his trust in the sacrifice of Christ. He knows what it is to be regenerated by the Spirit, to be freely pardoned for Jesus' sake, and to be justified through his blood; and, being thus justified, righteous Abel can sing a song in heaven which had never been heard there before, — a song which angels and archangels can never learn. It is the new song of redeeming mercy: "Unto Him who hath loved us, and washed us from our sins in his own blood, be all the glory of our salvation."

The redeemed Church in heaven — amounting, already, to ten thousand times ten thousand, and thousands of thousands, and which, ere long, shall swell to a multitude which no man or angel can number — was, at the first, embodied in a single person, and that person was righteous Abel. He constituted it all. How many righteous persons, members of Christ's spiritual kingdom, Abel left upon the earth, we do not know; but he was the only saint in heaven. Of the Church of God in heaven, he was, at that time, the only member.

Being thus situated in heaven, perfectly happy in himself, and an object of wonder, love, and joy to all around him, it mattered little to righteous Abel that his mangled body was rotting in the earth, and that his blood was crying from the ground to God for vengeance: he had risen above all this; had triumphed over his last enemy; had gone to his eternal rest. And there we leave him, till we meet him above, and hear him tell, better than we can now conceive or describe, what were his feelings when he first waked up in heaven, and found himself the only member there of Christ's redeemed family, — the only trophy of a Saviour's blood.

There are several questions in regard to Cain and Abel, which may be regarded as rather curious than useful, but which are entitled to a moment's attention: —

1. Were Cain and Abel married before the murder? and did they have families? and, if so, whom did they marry? These questions are urged by men who would insinuate that all the human race are not descended from Adam; that there were other men and women co-eval with him on the earth, with whom his sons must have intermarried.

Whether Abel was married, and had children, we pretend not to say: we have no positive information on the subject. He lived long enough to have a numerous posterity; and the probability is that he had one. Persons who live to the age of a hundred years in our day, sometimes leave as many as five hundred descendants. Old Thomas Fuller tells us of a woman in England, Lady Hester Temple of Buckinghamshire, who left seven hundred descendants at her death.* Supposing Abel to have lived to the age of a hundred and thirty, or nearly, he may have left more than this by a whole generation.

That Cain had a wife and children we do know. And if the question be asked, "Whom did he marry?" I answer, A sister, a niece, or some near relative, undoubtedly. That Adam and Eve had sons and daughters besides those whose names are given in the Bible is certain. How many they had we are not informed; though the probability is that they were pretty numerous. At the age of twenty-five, Cain may have married a sister; at the age of fifty, he may have married a niece: at any rate, there is no difficulty in finding him a wife without resorting to the unscriptural supposition of another race of human beings on the earth distinct from the family of Adam.

* *Worthies of England*, vol. i. p. 210.

2. A kindred question to the one here considered, and asked for a like purpose, relates to the sayings and doings of Cain subsequent to the murder. "I shall be a fugitive and a vagabond in the earth; and it shall come to pass that every one that findeth me shall slay me. And the Lord set a mark upon Cain, lest any finding him should slay him. And Cain went out from the presence of the Lord, and dwelt in the east of Eden, in the land of Nod. And he builded a city, and called the name of it after the name of his son Enoch." This language implies that the people were considerably numerous in the vicinity of Cain's residence, else he would not have feared that every one finding him should seek to kill him. And then his going out and building a city implies that his own posterity were somewhat numerous. He surely would not have builded a city only for himself and wife and his son Enoch.

The whole difficulty here, if there be any, arises from the supposition that the entire posterity of Adam at the time of Abel's murder amounted to only a few persons; whereas, in all probability, they amounted to thousands. Adam and Eve were created, not infants, but in the maturity of their powers, and became parents, it is thought, within a year of their creation. Abel was born, perhaps, the next year, as he and his elder brother seem to have been nearly of the same age.

We hear nothing more of their children for the next hundred years, only that they begat sons and daughters. They may have had fifty children that were older than Seth. Meanwhile, by the twenty-fifth year from the creation, and perhaps earlier, they may have had grandchildren; and, by the fiftieth year, great-grandchildren; and, by the seventy-fifth year, great-great-grandchildren; and before the hundred and thirtieth year, when Abel is supposed to have been killed, they may have had many of the sixth and seventh generation. Any one can make an estimate as to the probable number of their descendants. In my own opinion, they could hardly have been less than a hundred thousand souls,—enough, surely, to impress Cain with some fear as to his own personal safety, especially if it be considered that some hundreds of these may have been the descendants of Abel, who would not forget the fate of their ancestor, and would be inclined to avenge it.

After the murder of his brother, Cain seems to have separated himself from the other descendants of Adam, and to have taken his posterity with him. If they amounted, as they probably did, to some thousands, they would want a city in which to dwell.

And if Cain was in fear of his life, as well he might be, they might think it prudent to build a *fenced city*, surrounded with walls and gates and bars, for their protection. The whole account is natural and probable on the supposition that Adam and Eve were the progenitors of all the living. There is no need of supposing other races to support the credibility of the Scripture narrative.

After the death of Abel, the banishment of Cain, and the birth of Seth to our disconsolate first parents, we have little in the sacred history, except a genealogy of the patriarchs, in the line of Seth, down to the time of Noah. Of the chronology of this antediluvian period I have already spoken: * of Noah and the Deluge, I propose to speak in the next chapter.

The most prominent recorded event between Seth and Noah is the translation of Enoch, — not Enoch the son of Cain, but Enoch the seventh from Adam, in the line of Seth. Although he lived in a corrupt and degenerate age, Enoch was an eminently holy man. He walked with God; he loved God, and served him; he had strong faith and confidence in him; and, in consequence of his faith, “he was translated, that he should not see death” (Heb. xi. 5). He was transferred from earth to heaven without dying, as Elijah the prophet was at a later period.

The object of Enoch’s translation seems to have been twofold: 1. It was a visible token of the divine approbation, a public reward of the patriarch’s obedience. 2. It was designed and calculated to impress upon a thoughtless world the doctrine of *immortality*, — a blessed and glorious immortality for the righteous. It has been doubted by some, whether the doctrine of a future life is inculcated in the writings of Moses; but I see not how such a question can be entertained. Where did those antediluvians think that Enoch went, if there is no future world? He did not die like other men; nor did he live any longer on the earth. Where, then, was he? What had become of him? To what other conclusion could the men of that age come than that he had passed directly into another world, — had been transferred from earth to heaven? The event, then, was calculated to teach them, and impress upon them, that there is another world, — a world of joy and glory for the people of God.

It appears from the apostle Jude that Enoch was not only a devout patriarch, but an inspired prophet; and Jude has preserved to us one of his predictions: “Behold the Lord cometh, with ten

* Chap. V.

thousand of his saints, to execute judgment upon all, and to convince all that are ungodly among them of all their ungodly deeds which they have ungodly committed, and of all their hard speeches which ungodly sinners have spoken against him" (ver. 14, 15).

It matters little how the apostle Jude came in possession of this fragment of antediluvian prophecy, — whether he received it by tradition, or quoted it from the apocryphal Book of Enoch : * in either case, his inspiration is a sufficient guaranty of its genuineness and truth. I regard the passage as a prediction, *primarily*, of the Deluge, which may have been revealed to Enoch even sooner than it was to Noah. Living in those days of violence and wickedness, and having his righteous soul vexed with the horrible deeds and blasphemies which he witnessed around him, it was revealed to this holy man that the Lord was about to come and avenge himself of his enemies. He was about to come, with a retinue of holy ones, "to execute judgment upon all, and to convince all that were ungodly among them of their ungodly deeds." *Primarily*, I think we have here a prediction of the approaching Deluge, when the earth was to be destroyed by water ; but, ultimately, we have a prediction of the final judgment, when the world is to be destroyed by fire, — a catastrophe of which the Deluge was an eminent type.

* The Book of Enoch (chap. ii.) contains a part of Jude's quotation ; but it is not certain that the apostle took it from this book. It is more probable that both took it from a tradition preserved among the Jews.

CHAPTER XI.

THE DELUGE.

THE most remarkable event in the history of the church and world was the Deluge, in the time of Noah. This occurred, according to the received chronology, in the year of the world 1656. We have a prediction of it in the sixth chapter of Genesis: "Behold, I, even I, do bring a flood of waters upon the earth, to destroy all flesh, wherein is the breath of life, from under heaven; and every thing that is in the earth shall die." We have an account of the fulfilment of this terrible prediction in the following chapter: "In the six hundredth year of Noah's life, in the second month, and the seventeenth day of the month, the same day were all the fountains of the great deep broken up, and the windows of heaven were opened. And the rain was upon the earth forty days and forty nights. And the waters increased, and bare up the ark, and it was lifted up above the earth. And the waters prevailed, and were increased greatly on the earth; and the ark went upon the face of the waters; and all the high hills that were under the whole heaven were covered. Fifteen cubits upward did the waters prevail; and the mountains were covered. And all flesh died that moved upon the earth, both of fowl, and of cattle, and of beast, and of every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth, and every man. And Noah alone remained alive, and they that were with him in the ark. And the waters prevailed upon the earth a hundred and fifty days."

We find frequent references to this great event in other parts of the Bible. There is a clear reference to it in Job, — a book belonging to the patriarchal age, and perhaps the oldest writing now in the world: "Hast thou marked the old way which wicked men have trodden, which were cut down out of time, whose foundation was *overflowed with a flood?*" (Job xxii. 15, 16.)

Our Saviour refers to the destruction of the ungodly in the days

of Noah, and by it illustrates the more terrible destruction which shall come upon the wicked in the final day: "As were the days of Noe, so, also, shall the coming of the Son of man be." For as, in the days that were before the Flood, they were eating and drinking, marrying and giving in marriage, until the day that Noe entered into the ark, and knew not until the Flood came, and took them all away; so, also, shall the coming of the Son of man be" (Matt. xxiv. 38). The representation here is, that the Flood came upon the old world *suddenly, unexpectedly*. The coming of Christ to judgment is to be as the lightning, which "cometh out of the east, and shineth even unto the west." He is to come "in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye." In like manner, according to the representation of our Saviour, the Deluge rolled its waters over the ungodly: "*They knew not* till the Flood came and took them all away."

This event is also referred to by the apostle Peter in predicting the final and general conflagration: "By the word of God the heavens were of old, and the earth standing out of the water and in the water: whereby the world that then was, being overflowed with water, perished; but the heavens and the earth which are now, by the same word are kept in store, reserved unto fire against the day of judgment, and perdition of ungodly men" (2 Pet. iii. 5-7).

I quote these passages for the purpose of showing that the *fact* of the Deluge does not rest merely on the narrative in Genesis. It appears in other parts of the Bible, — in the teachings of our Saviour and his apostles. It is an integral part of the sacred history, and can never be set aside while the Scriptures are retained.

The account in Genesis, it will be seen, is somewhat particular. It tells us when the Flood came, and how it came, and why it came. It shows the extent to which it prevailed, the time of its continuance, its gradual subsidence, and the escape of Noah and his family from their long confinement in the ark.

It was in the five hundredth year of Noah that he was first informed of the coming Flood, and warned to prepare an ark for the saving of his house. A hundred years were now granted him for the building of the ark, during all which time he was preaching and denouncing the approaching judgment, and calling in vain upon a thoughtless world to flee from the wrath to come. Meanwhile, all the venerable patriarchs whose names occur in the fifth chapter of Genesis had passed away. Methuselah, the grandfather

of Noah, was the last. He died in the first month of the patriarchal year, agreeing to our September, aged 969. Early in the next month (October), Noah and his family, with all the creatures that had been collected round him, entered into the ark; and, on the seventeenth day, the Flood came: "That same day the fountains of the great deep were broken up, and the windows of heaven were opened; and the rain was upon the earth forty days and forty nights;" i.e., until about the first of our December. The waters had now reached their highest elevation, overtopping by fifteen cubits the loftiest mountains. At this elevation they continued for several months, until every living creature on the face of the earth had perished. Early in the following March, the waters began to abate; and, on the seventeenth day, the ark rested on the mountains of Ararat. Noah continued in the ark, however, through the entire summer, — unto the 27th of October; making his confinement, in all, a little more than a year.

One of the first questions that meets us in regard to the Deluge is that of its *universality*. Was it a mere local inundation, covering some part of Western Asia and Greece? or did it literally cover the whole earth? The Scriptures speak of it as *universal*: "All the high hills that were under the whole heaven were covered," and "all flesh died that moved upon the earth."

But it is said that the universal language of Scripture is often used with limitations; and why may it not be limited here? How can it be shown that it applies literally to the whole surface of the earth?

In replying to these questions, we lay down the following rules of biblical interpretation in regard to universal terms: First, the universals of Scripture are sometimes limited by the connections in which they stand, or by the nature of the subjects to which they are applied. Thus it is said of the famine in Egypt in the time of Joseph, that it "was over *all the face of the earth*." And in Luke it is said that "a decree went out from Cæsar Augustus, that *all the world* should be taxed." The connection shows that this decree was limited to the Roman world, and that the famine spoken of reached only to Egypt and some of the surrounding countries.

We have a like instance of limitation, as it seems to me, in regard to the animals which came with Noah into the ark. Of every living thing, — beasts and birds, fowl, cattle, and insects, — he was to take two of every sort, male and female, and bring them with him into the ark to keep them alive. The terms here employed

are universal ; and some think that they are to be applied without any limitation. But the difficulties of such a supposition are apparently insuperable. To say nothing of the capacity of the ark to contain such a multitude of living creatures, the idea that pairs of every species on the face of the whole earth — from every continent and island, every zone and clime, from the frozen pole to the burning line — were brought together to the door of the ark, and placed within it, and, when the Flood was over, that they were taken out and dispersed, each to its appropriate region and home, — to my own mind, such a supposition involves not only a difficulty, but an impossibility. At any rate, it involves a greater miracle than to suppose many of the perished species to have been restored by an act of creation, or new species to have been put in their places, when the Deluge was past. We feel constrained, therefore, to limit the universals employed in this case, as we do in numerous other cases in the Scriptures. They are limited by the very nature of the case, — the nature of the subject to which they are applied. Without doubt, a great multitude of living creatures were shut up with Noah in the ark ; perhaps all that he knew, or had access to, or that he felt any interest in preserving, — all that God intended he should preserve, — enough to justify the expression, as words are used in the Bible, that he had pairs of “ every living thing.”

We have said that the universals of Scripture are sometimes limited by the connections in which they stand, or by the nature of the subjects to which they are applied. But this, our first rule of interpretation, is complemented by another : Where there is nothing in the connection, or in the nature of the subject spoken of, to limit the universal language of Scripture, let no man presume to limit it : let it stand as God has written it, in its full force and import, whatever hypothesis of our own may fall before it.

Now, there is nothing in the connection, or in the subject treated of, which should lead us to limit the plain language of Scripture in regard to the universality of the Deluge. Such an idea may conflict with some of the theories and inventions of men ; but I know not that it is inconsistent with any of the ascertained facts of science, or with any other of the revelations of God. Hence I must regard the narrative in Genesis as establishing the fact of a universal deluge.

And this fact is confirmed by various other considerations. On the supposition that the Deluge was only a local inundation, extending over South-western Asia, we see not why any ark was needed.

The beasts and birds, and, more especially, birds of passage, might easily have fled before the invading scourge to some place of safety.

Even Noah and his family, and as many others as were so disposed, might have passed rapidly over the Caucasian Mountains, and escaped. The space allowed between the denunciation of the Deluge, and its infliction, would have been amply sufficient for such a purpose. On the supposition we are considering, therefore, it would seem that the time and labor of the old patriarch in preparing an ark for the saving of his house might well have been spared.

There is still another consideration which requires to be noticed in this connection. On supposition that the waters in South-western Asia rose high enough to cover, to the depth of fifteen cubits, all the mountains in that mountainous region, — the ancient Imaus, the lofty Taurus, the Caucasian range, and Ararat itself, towering to the height of eighteen thousand feet, — what should hinder them from spreading over all the earth? A deluge such as this could not have been shut up in a corner. By its flux and reflux, it must necessarily have reached to every portion of the globe.*

The universality of the Deluge is indicated in the passage above quoted from the apostle Peter, in which the destruction of the world by a flood is contrasted with its final destruction by fire. All who believe in a final conflagration must admit that that catastrophe will be universal. But, if the figure of the apostle is of any worth, the Flood must have been equally universal: if the fires of the last day are to spread over all the earth, so did the waters in the time of Noah.

There is yet another consideration which is conclusive on this point. It is the promise to Noah, when he had left the ark, that there should no more be a deluge of waters to destroy the earth: "The waters shall no more become a flood to destroy all flesh" (Gen. ix. 15). The promise imports that there should never again be such a deluge as had just been witnessed. But there have been *local, partial* inundations in every age; and, if Noah's Flood was but a partial inundation, the promise of God has been often broken. It has not been fulfilled. We infer, therefore, from the solemn promise to Noah and his posterity, thrice repeated, and attested by the bow in the cloud, that the Deluge through which he had just passed was universal.

* Bishop Colenso admits "that a partial deluge involves a universal flood." — Vol. ii. p. 18.

But if the Flood was universal, destroying every living thing, and subjecting the human race to the necessity of beginning the world anew, springing, as at the first, from a single pair, we might reasonably expect that some traditions of it would remain, more especially among the ancient nations. And so, in fact, they do. We find them in all parts of the habitable earth.

In Chaldæa, the very country where, probably, the ark was built, they had the following tradition, as given by Berosus, a Chaldæan priest, who lived two hundred and seventy years before Christ: "Before the Flood, there was a great city of giants, called *Æno*, situated near Libanus, the inhabitants of which governed the whole world. Though they were dreadfully corrupt, there was one among them who revered the gods, and was more wise and prudent than all the rest. His name was Noa. He dwelt in Syria with his three sons, — Sem, Japhet, and Cham. This man, fearing the destruction which he foresaw from the stars would come upon the earth, began, in the seventy-eighth year before the Deluge, to build a ship, covering it over like an ark. At the end of the seventy-eight years, the ocean, of a sudden, broke out; and all the lakes, rivers, and fountains burst from beneath, attended with the most violent rains from heaven for many days, until the waters overflowed all the mountains. The entire human race was buried in the waters, except Noa and his family, who were saved by means of the ship. This, after floating on the water for many days, rested, at last, upon the top of the Gordæan Mountains, where, it is reported, some fragments of the vessel still remain; and men take away the bitumen of it, and use it as a charm for the averting of evils. We see, therefore, the truth of what the Chaldæans and Scythians tell us, that, when the earth was dried, there were no more than eight persons alive in all Armenia; and that from these all men on the earth sprung. It is for this reason that the Scythians call Noa the father of the gods, the author of the human race, and the seed of the world."

Such is the account of the Deluge given by Berosus, gathered, not from our Scriptures, but probably from the Chaldæan priests. The following is a tradition of the Assyrians on the same subject, as furnished by Abydenus: "Saturn forewarned Sisisthrus that there should be a great flood of waters on the fifteenth day of the month Desius. Sisisthrus set sail at once for Armenia; and, at the time appointed, the thing came to pass: and on the third day, when the tempest had ceased, Siristhrus made trial, by send-

ing out birds, to see if they could find any land uncovered of water. But they, finding nothing but an immense ocean, and not knowing which way to go, returned to Sisisthrus. After these, he sent out others; and the third time the birds returned with mudded feet. But as for Sisisthrus, the gods took him from among men. The ship was floated to Armenia, and afforded to the people of the country amulets of wood with which to expel diseases.”*

Among the ancient Persians, the belief of a deluge extensively prevailed. Zoroaster taught that it was occasioned by the wickedness of one Malcus. One of their writers relates that Noah dwelt upon the very mountain from which the waters burst forth.

The Noah of Egypt appears to have been Osiris. Typhon enticed him into an ark, which, being closed, went out to sea. And it is remarkable that he embarked, according to the tradition, on the seventeenth day of the month Athyr, — the very day on which Noah entered into the ark.

The traditions among the Greeks of Deucalion's Flood were very common. The following is Lucian's account of it, contained in his work, “*De Dea Syria* :” “The present race of men are different from those who first existed; for those of the antediluvian world were all destroyed. The present world is peopled by the sons of Deucalion, having increased to so great a number from one person. In respect to the former brood, they were men of violence, and lawless in their dealings. They regarded not oaths, nor observed the rites of hospitality, nor showed mercy to them that sued for it. On this account, they were doomed to destruction: and, to effect this, there was a mighty eruption of waters from the earth, attended with heavy showers from above; so that the rivers swelled, and the sea overflowed, till the whole earth was covered with a flood; and all flesh was drowned. Deucalion alone was preserved to repeople the world; which mercy was shown him on account of his piety and justice. His preservation was effected in this way: He put all his family, both his sons and their wives, into a vast ark which he had provided; and then he went in himself. At the same time, animals of every species, boars, horses, lions, serpents, whatever lived upon the face of the earth, followed him by pairs; all which he received into the ark, and experienced no evil from them. As to what happened after this, there is a tradition among those of Hierapolis, that, in their country, a great chasm opened,

* For this fragment and the preceding, see Bryant's *Analysis of Ancient Mythology*, vol. ii. p. 212.

and received all the water; whereupon Deucalion erected altars, and built a temple over the chasm."

Plutarch adds to the story of Lucian, that "Deucalion sent out a dove from the ark, whose return indicated a continuance of the Deluge; whereas its neglect to return when sent out the second time, or its return (as some say) with muddy feet, showed that the waters had disappeared."

Among the Romans, Ovid has described Deucalion's Deluge more fully than any other author. We give the substance of his account in the translation of Dryden. After describing the assault of the giants upon heaven by piling mountains on mountains, and then speaking of the impious brood which sprang up from their blood, the poet proceeds to say, —

"But Jove

Resolved to pour a watery deluge down ;
 And, what he durst not burn, concludes to drown.
 Impetuous rain descends.
 Nor from his patrimonial heaven alone
 Is Jove content to pour his vengeance down :
 Aid from his brother of the seas he craves
 To help him with auxiliary waves.
 Then, with his mace, the monarch struck the ground :
 With inward trembling earth received the wound,
 And rising streams a ready passage found.
 Now seas and earth were in confusion tost, —
 A world of waters, and without a coast.
 A mountain of stupendous height there stands
 Betwixt the Athenian and Bœotian lands :
 Parnassus is its name, whose forky rise
 Mounts through the clouds, and mates the lofty skies.
 High on the summit of this dubious cliff,
 Deucalion, wafting, moored his little skiff.
 He with his wife were only left behind
 Of perished man : they two were human kind.
 The most upright of mortal men was he ;
 The most sincere and holy woman she.
 When Jupiter, surveying earth from high,
 Beheld it in a lake of waters lie,
 He loosed the northern wind : fierce Boreas flies
 To puff away the clouds, and purge the skies." *

Among the earliest settled parts of the earth subsequent to the Deluge were India and China. We might expect, therefore, to find traditions of this great catastrophe in those countries. And

* *Metamorphoses*, book i.

so we do. Of China, Sir William Jones says, "I may assure you, after full inquiry, that the Chinese believe the earth to have been, in very ancient times, wholly covered with water, which, in works of undisputed authority, they describe as flowing abundantly, and then subsiding, separating the higher from the lower age of mankind. They further tell us, that the divisions of time, from which their history begins, just preceded the appearance of Fohi (Noah) in the mountains of China." *

The Hindoo tradition is very explicit. The following is Sir William Jones's abridged account of it, as contained in the poem of the Bhagavat. At some remote period, the Vedas had been stolen from Brahma; and the world, in consequence, became insufferably corrupt. Vishnu now appears to Satyavrata, one of the princes of the country, and says, "In seven days, all creatures who have offended me shall be destroyed by a deluge; but thou shalt be saved in a capacious vessel, miraculously prepared. Take, therefore, all kinds of medicinal herbs, and grain for food, and the seven holy men with their wives, and pairs of all animals, and enter the vessel without fear. Then shalt thou know God face to face, and all thy questions shall be answered." So saying, Vishnu disappeared. And, after seven days, the ocean began to overflow the coasts, and the earth to be flooded with constant rains; when Satyavrata saw a large vessel moving towards him on the waters. He entered it, having in all things conformed to the instructions of Vishnu. When the flood had ceased, Vishnu instructed Satyavrata in divine knowledge, and honored him by making him the seventh Menu.

The Puranas add to this tradition, that "the vessel rested on the mountain Aravarta," — the same, probably, as the Ararat of the Scriptures.

Sir William Jones collected some further traditions concerning this Satyavrata, presenting still more striking coincidences with the history of Noah: "To Satyavrata, the sovereign of the whole earth, were born three sons, — the eldest Sharma, then Charma, and the third Jyapeti. They were men excellent in virtue and in virtuous deeds; skilled in the use of weapons to strike with or to be thrown; brave men, eager for victory in battle. And their father, being delighted with devout meditations, and seeing his sons fit for dominion, laid upon them the burthen of government, while he remained honoring and satisfying the gods. One day, Satyavrata,

* Asiatic Researches, vol. ii.

having drunk mead and become senseless, lay asleep, naked. In this state he was seen by Charma, who called his two brothers, and said, 'What has now happened? In what condition is this our sire?' By these two sons was the father covered with clothes, and brought again to his senses. Having recovered, and perfectly knowing what had passed, the king cursed Charma, saying, 'Thou shalt be the servant of servants; and, since I was a laughter in thy presence, from laughter shalt thou acquire a name.' Then he gave to Charma the wide domain on the south of the snowy mountains; and to Jyapeti he gave all to the north of the snowy mountains.* Afterwards the king, by the power of religious contemplation, attained to supreme bliss."*

I only add further, that clear traditions of an ancient universal deluge are found among the natives of North and South America. Acosta says that the Indians generally believed in a deluge, and that "all men were drowned in it." According to Herrera, the Mexicans believed that "a single family was preserved, during a deluge, in an ark, with a sufficient number of animals to people the new world. While confined in the ark, several ravens were sent out, one of which returned with a twig from a tree."

Herrera further states, that "the native inhabitants of Cuba have a tradition, that an old man, knowing the Deluge was to come, built a great ship, and went into it with his family and an abundance of animals; that he sent out a crow, which did not return for a time, because it staid to feed on dead bodies. But afterwards it did return with a green branch."

The native Peruvians, says the same author, have a tradition from their ancestors, that "many years before, when the country was very populous, there happened a great flood. The sea broke forth beyond its bounds; the land was covered with water; and all the people perished excepting six persons, who were saved on a float. From them descended all the inhabitants of the country." A like tradition Herrera found in Brazil, in Terra Firma, and in other parts of South America.†

It is impossible to account for these various and wide-spread traditions without referring them to the same event,—the Deluge described by Moses in Genesis. Partial and local inundations have often happened; but here is one of universal prevalence, brought

* Asiatic Researches, vol. iii. p. 263, vol. vi. p. 521.

† See Acosta's History of the Indies, and Herrera's History of America, as quoted by Calcott on the Deluge, pp. 71, 72.

on by the wickedness of men, in which a few only are saved in a vessel or ark. They send out birds to see whether the ground is dry ; and, when they leave their vessel, the same things occur as those which are described by Moses. The story too, in every instance, is thrown back into the earliest times, — the very beginning of the nation's history. Admit all these traditions to grow out of the Deluge of Noah, and the whole is plain ; but, if we reject this account of their origin, we need a miracle greater than that of the Deluge in order to explain them.

CHAPTER XII.

THE DELUGE. — CONCLUDED.

IN the last chapter, I showed the *fact* of the Noachian Deluge, and its *universality*. We noticed also the various *traditions* of it among the different heathen nations. Let us next inquire as to the bearing of recent *geological inquiries* on the question of a universal deluge.

Until the last half-century, or a little more, it was common for theologians and biblical antiquaries to refer nearly all the otherwise unaccountable phenomena in the bowels of the earth, or on its surface, to the action of the Deluge. Fossil remains, embedded far down in the rocks, the relics of animals and vegetables no longer in existence, widely-extended coal-fields, sea-shells on the tops of mountains, and all such unusual appearances, were supposed to have a common cause in the Deluge of Noah; but the recent geological discoveries have effectually refuted all such theories. They have proved, as conclusively as facts can prove any thing, that this world has existed from a very remote period; that it was the home of various species of animals and vegetables, now extinct, long ages before the creation of man; and that organic remains are continually exhumed, which could never have been deposited by the Deluge of Noah.

Until a recent period, it was supposed by the most respectable geologists, that various parts of the upper portion of the earth's surface — that commonly called the *diluvium*, or *drift*, and which was evidently occasioned by the washing of water — might reasonably be ascribed to the Deluge as its cause; but later discoveries have led many to doubt in regard to this point. In many places, the diluvium, or drift, seems to have been the result of causes more ancient, and of longer continuance, than the Deluge of Noah. Besides, the drift contains few or no remains of the bones or the works

of men, — a fact hard to be accounted for on the supposition that this was deposited by the Flood of which we speak.*

Of the geological facts touching the question before us, we may safely make the following statements : —

1. This earth has been washed by *several deluges*, the most of which were of a vastly higher antiquity than the time of Noah. The Scriptures speak expressly of one deluge almost two thousand years anterior to Noah, — I mean that which lay upon the earth at the commencement of the six-days' work of creation. The earth, at that period, " was without form, and void ; and darkness was upon the face of *the deep* : and the Spirit of God moved upon the face of *the waters* ;" importing that the earth was, at that time, generally, if not entirely, covered with water.

But there had been deluges more ancient than this. It was water which first abraded the primary rocks, producing not only the dust of the earth, but the materials out of which the stratified rocks were formed. And these stratified rocks generally, if not universally, show in their formation the action of water. They were, at the first, mud, lying at the bottom of seas or lakes, or of the ocean, which was afterwards petrified, and became rock. It was water which first smoothed and rounded the countless myriads of bowlders, which are either embedded in rocks, or scattered through the crust of the earth, or spread abroad upon its surface. It was water which deposited the successive layers of sand and gravel, and loam and clay, which meet us everywhere in the earth when we have occasion to dig beneath the surface. The drift, the diluvium, of which I have spoken, is all of it a deposit of water. We encounter it in every sand and gravel hill of our country. In short, this American continent seems to have been subjected, at some period, to a tremendous rush of waters pouring down from the north, and passing off to the south, abrading the mountains, scooping out the valleys, removing and scattering the rocks and bowlders, opening beds for the rivers, and smoothing down the fertile plains. It is for this reason, in part, that most of our great mountain-ranges in this country run in a northerly and southerly

* Until within a few years, a certain class of geologists were decided in the opinion that the drift could not have been deposited by Noah's Flood, for the reason above assigned, — that it contains no relics of the human species. But latterly, when some such relics have been discovered, they are not satisfied to refer them to the antediluvians, but choose rather to bring in a class of pre-Adamite men. Their treatment of this subject is enough to satisfy us of two things : First, the science of geology is yet far from being in a settled state ; second, the men of whom we speak are resolved to make geology contradict the-Bible one way, if it does not in another.

direction ; almost none of them running from east to west. In fine, it cannot be doubted that this earth has been washed by successive deluges, the most of which were of a vastly higher antiquity than the time of Noah.

2. Whether any sure marks of the Noachian Deluge so remain at present on the surface of the earth, that the geologist may be able to *trace* and *identify* them, is uncertain. Only a few years ago, it was thought by such men as Buckland, Silliman, Hitchcock, and others, that such traces were distinctly visible ; but more recent inquiries have rendered the matter doubtful. No one can pretend to say that it *may not be so* : no one can say certainly that *it is so*. In other words, no one can point to any particular geological phenomena, and say positively, “*These were produced by Noah’s Flood.*” But, —

3. Whether any definable traces of this Flood now remain on the earth or not, the analogy of the world’s history clearly shows that such an event is neither *impossible* nor *improbable*. If repeated deluges have swept over the earth in the remoter periods of its history, why should it be thought a thing incredible that such an event should occur in the time of Noah ? If the geologist can furnish no certain proof of such an occurrence, he surely can furnish none against it ; and when the Bible declares it in the most explicit terms, and the traditions of all nations bear witness to it, and the analogy of the world’s history is rather in its favor than otherwise, who shall presume to stand up and say *it is not so* ?

Several objections have been raised against a *universal* deluge, which it will be necessary now to consider : —

1. It is inquired where the water could have come from in sufficient quantity to deluge the earth, and overtop the highest mountains. To this I reply, that I do not know where. We are only informed that the fountains of the great deep were broken up, the windows of heaven were opened, the rain continued forty days and forty nights, and the whole earth was deluged. God could bring to pass such an event in a thousand ways. Having made one ocean, he can make two, or ten, if he is so disposed. God has all the materials at hand for composing water ; and he can compose it, or decompose it, to any extent he pleases.

If any one thinks that this answer is not sufficient, I would inquire, Where did the waters of the previous deluges come from ? Whence came those dark waters on which the Spirit of God moved at the creation ? Whence came those mighty waters which

once rolled over this continent from north to south, scattering the drift and diluvium everywhere? When the objector has satisfactorily answered these questions, he will have little occasion to trouble himself respecting the cause and origin of the waters of Noah.

2. But it is said, as the Deluge was sent in judgment for the wickedness of men, it need not have extended farther than the habitations of men; and these seem to have been confined to Southern and South-western Asia. But how does the objector know that human habitations were confined, at that period, to so small a space? How can he render such a supposition probable? A very long time had passed since the creation of man,—as long, into two centuries, as has intervened since the birth of Christ. The command was given to the race at first: “Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish,” i.e. fill “the earth;” and, whatever other injunctions may have been broken, we have reason to know that this was obeyed. Now let any one sit down, and compute (if he can) the probable increase of the race during the long period of 1656 years, when families lived, and had sons and daughters, for hundreds of years together, and he will probably be surprised at the result. If the household of Jacob, who went into Egypt, increased there, in a little more than two hundred years, to two millions of souls; if the first settlers of New England, a little band, have increased here, in two hundred and fifty years, till the land is full of them,—what must have been the increase of the posterity of Adam in the long period of 1656 years? My own impression is, that the earth was never so full of inhabitants as it was on the day when Noah entered into the ark. We are expressly told that it “was filled with violence,” and with violence as the result of human wickedness. It follows that it must have been filled with *wicked men*; and that a deluge which should destroy them all must have been universal.*

I will add, that probably the arts, or some of them, were never carried to a higher degree of perfection than at that period; else such a structure as the ark could never have been built. Nor did a knowledge of the arts perish in the Flood: it survived, and showed itself in the family of Noah. Hence we found men, soon after the Flood, engaged in cultivating the earth, in building cities

* The authors of the Universal History have constructed tables to show, that, at the time of the Deluge, the earth may have contained thousands of millions of human beings.— See vol. i. p. 232.

and towers, in practising the arts both of war and peace, just as their pride and ingenuity prompted.

3. It is further objected, that the ark was incapable of holding pairs of all the different species of fowls and animals, of insects and creeping things, at that time on the earth; that they could not have been brought together from all parts of the world to go into it; or, if they could have been crowded in, that they must soon have perished for the want of food and light and air. This objection, it will be seen, is, in great measure, obviated by what was said in our last chapter. It was there stated that the universal language of Scripture is often limited by the connection in which it stands, or by the subject to which it is applied. As, for example, when it is said of the great sheet let down in vision to the view of Peter, that on it “were all manner of four-footed beasts of the earth, and wild beasts, and fowls of the air, and creeping things,” no one supposes that the universals here employed are to be taken in their widest sense. The necessity of the case forbids it. So, also, when it is said that “the fame of David went forth into all lands;” and that “all the earth sought the presence of Solomon to hear his wisdom;” and that, at the Pentecost, “there were dwelling in Jerusalem Jews, devout men, out of every nation under heaven,” — the intelligent reader of the Bible is in no danger of mistaking the sense. Universal terms are employed; but then they are limited by the very nature of the subjects to which they are applied. And so, also, in the case before us. The universal terms employed by the sacred writer in speaking of the animals which went into the ark, when limited, as we think they must be, by the very nature of the case, import only that *very many* kinds of creatures were taken in, — perhaps all that Noah knew, or had access to, or that he felt any interest in preserving, — all that God intended he should preserve.

As to a sufficiency of food, air, and light within the ark, only a few words need be said. If Noah knew enough to build such an ark, the presumption is that he knew enough to make provision for necessities of this kind. Or, if Noah did not understand the matter, most certainly God did; and, in his directions for building the ark, items so important as these would not have been overlooked. We are not told, indeed, particularly how this was done; but that it was done, and done effectually, there can be no doubt. The preservation of the creatures alive within the ark is full proof of this.

4. In replying to the foregoing objection, we have, in effect, replied to others connected with it; such as the preservation and universal dispersion of all kinds of seeds, and the dispersion of animals, after the Deluge, to different parts of the earth. It is not necessary to suppose that much of this was done. The Scriptures say nothing of it. It is far from certain that the submerging of the earth for the space of five months would destroy, root and branch, every species of vegetables, with all their seeds; and such kinds as were destroyed God could easily restore by creative power, or he could give new and more fitting kinds of vegetables in their places. And so of the different species of animals: those that went forth from the ark were soon dispersed, and multiplied in the surrounding region; while those which had been destroyed in remote parts of the earth could be replaced by an act of creative power.

The previous deluges furnish examples in favor of this supposition. When the first animal and vegetable forms that appeared on the earth were, by some great convulsion of Nature, destroyed, other and more perfect species were created; and, when these again were destroyed, species still more perfect were raised up; and so on up to the time of the creation of man. And now, when the earth is again destroyed, what more likely (reasoning from analogy) than that — with the exception of the creatures preserved in the ark — the earth should be re-vegetated and refitted by creative power?

5. It is further objected to the Scripture account of the Deluge, that the top of Ararat is no place for the resting of the ark; that it is up in a region of perpetual ice and snow; and, besides, the mountain is so steep and rugged, that Noah, with his family and his animals, could never have made the descent.

To all this we need only reply, that the Scriptures nowhere state that the ark rested on the *top* of Ararat; nor is it certain from Scripture that it rested on *any part* of what is now called Ararat. Jerome informs us that the name Ararat was anciently given to the whole chain of Armenian Mountains. Dr. Shuckford is of the opinion that the ark rested on some mountain farther east. Hence it is said that the sons of Noah “journeyed from *the east*” to come into the land of Shinar. In the Syriac version of the Old Testament, it is said that the ark rested on the top of Mount Cardon. This is in the eastern part of the great range of the Taurus; whereas Ararat proper is in the western part.

6. It is confidently said that there are volcanoes which cannot have been covered with water so recently as the time of Noah. For example, the cinders and dust on the sides of *Ætna*, which, it is calculated, are older than Noah, must have been washed away in the Deluge, if any deluge at that time occurred. But how is it known that the cinders and dust of *Ætna* are older than the time of Noah? And, if they are older, is it not possible that they were harder then than now, having become disintegrated and loosened by atmospheric agency through so long a period? There are extinct volcanoes in the south-easterly part of France, where geological formations between different layers of lava, and the wearing of water-courses through great depths of volcanic matter, prove a much higher antiquity than the time of Noah. And suppose them to have a higher antiquity than Noah; suppose them to have been in active operation a long time before the Flood: does this prove that there was no flood? For aught we know, their fires may have been quenched in the waters of the Deluge, and they may have had no eruptions since.

7. It is said, again, that there are trees now standing in some parts of Africa, and in the south-western parts of North America, which have been growing for more than four thousand years. But of the truth of this statement I stand in doubt. I see not how the fact, if it be one, can be proved. Have any of these old trees been cut down, and their trunks examined? or, if they have, can the number of their years be in this way ascertained? In tropical regions, there are some trees, we are told, which show no annual circles at all; while in others the circles are very irregular, the tree producing two or more every year.

That there are trees great and old now standing on the earth, — the boabab of Africa, and the taxodium of Mexico, — I do not doubt; but that any of them date back to a period before the Flood, is more, I am sure, that can with certainty be affirmed. Only a few years ago, the Rev. Dr. Bushnell counted the rings of one of the great trees of California, and found them to be something more than two thousand.

8. It is urged, finally, that the histories of some ancient nations — the Chinese, the Hindoos, the Chaldæans, and Egyptians — reach back to a period long anterior to the time of the Deluge. I examined this subject in the chapter on the chronology of the Old Testament, and need not go into it at any length here. It was then remarked; that the chronology of most ancient nations

may be divided into three parts,—the *fabulous*, the *traditionary*, and the *historic*,—the two first of which may be passed over as of very little account in history. The Chinese are an ancient nation,—more ancient, probably, than any other now existing; but that their empire dates back to a period beyond the Flood, says the missionary Guterlaff, “is as extravagant as any of the mythological stories of the Greeks or Hindoos.” They have no reliable, authentic history before the time of Confucius, which was only five hundred and fifty years before Christ.

Of the Hindoos, the late Dr. Allen says, “We have no means of determining the date of any event previous to the invasion of Alexander the Great,—about three hundred and twenty-five years before Christ;” though, previous to this, it is well known that India was a partially-civilized and populous country.

The Bible lays the foundation of the Chaldæan Empire in the times of Ashur and Nimrod,—from one to two hundred years after the Flood. No other history traces it farther back than this, or so far by several hundred years.

Egypt was planted soon after the division of the earth, in the days of Peleg,—about two hundred years after the Deluge. We have no authentic history of Egypt which ascribes to it a higher antiquity. Some astronomical calculations have recently been entered upon by Mr. R. S. Poole, which go to show that “the whole Egyptian chronology, when understood and reduced to order, is entirely consistent with the chronology of the Bible.”*

I have now finished all that I propose to offer in explanation and defence of the plain scriptural account of a universal deluge. This, it is well known, is one of the points which infidels have seized upon for the purpose of bringing discredit on the Bible: but their efforts have been of no avail; they have resulted in their own defeat and discomfiture. The statements of the inspired Word in regard to this matter stand unrefuted. There is not a page of authentic history, there is not, so far as we know, an appearance on the earth or under the earth, which goes to contradict them. Let us learn, then, to confide in the truth of the Bible. What-

* See Poole's *Horæ Egyptiacæ*, p. 73. Mr. Poole was bred on the banks of the Nile, and spent many years in the study of the monuments. He found on the monuments a variety of *astronomical signs and records*. These he has been able to interpret, and from them draws the conclusion above indicated. Hon. J. P. Smith, astronomer royal of Scotland, has proved, *astronomically*, that the great Pyramid was built in the year 2170 before Christ, or a hundred and seventy-eight years after the Flood.

ever else we distrust, we must never lose our confidence in this.

The Noachian Deluge is one of the greatest events in the history of the earth. The destruction of an entire world for the guilt of its inhabitants; the submerging of it in a flood of waters to put an end to its crimes, and wash out its pollutions,— what other event in human history can bear comparison with this?

And this event was not only great: it is *instructive*. It teaches many important lessons. It shows us, first of all, the dreadful *depravity* of the human race. On what other ground than this can it be accounted for that the world should have become so soon and so frightfully wicked?—so utterly corrupt, that it repented the Lord that he had made it, and it only remained for him to destroy it?

This event also teaches, as do many other events in history, “both the goodness and the severity of God,”—his *goodness*, in bearing so long with ungodly sinners, and using with them such means of recovery, when they only rioted on his mercy, and made his forbearance an occasion of greater sin; his *severity*, in at length lifting the strong hand of his justice, and overwhelming them in a common ruin.

We see also, in the event before us, the *faithfulness* of God to his people. Never was the Church of God brought into such extremity before or since; never was it apparently so near destruction. And yet it was not destroyed: it was saved. God’s word of promise had been pledged to it; and, though heaven and earth seemed passing away, not one jot or tittle of that word could fail.

Let us learn from the example of Noah, in this instance, the importance of standing up for God and truth, though we may be obliged to stand alone. Never was man more sorely tried, or more strongly tempted to hold his peace, and follow a multitude to do evil, than Noah must have been for the last hundred years before the Flood. His ease, his worldly comfort, his credit, his property, every thing dear to him, was at stake; and all were urging him together to stop his preaching, to suspend his work upon the ark, and follow in the course of an evil, gainsaying world. But no: he had received a message from God, and he must proclaim it. He must stand up for truth and right, though earth and hell opposed. And the sequel proved that the path of duty was to him, as it is to

every one, the path of safety. God took care of him, preserved and blessed him ; and, when the whelming ruin came, he and his family were safe.

Let us learn then, from his example, the safety of trusting and pleasing God. The world may rise up in arms to resist us ; but, “if God be for us, who can be against us ?”

CHAPTER XIII.

EVENTS FOLLOWING THE DELUGE.

AS the waters of the Deluge subsided, the ark rested, we are told, "on the mountains of Ararat." As before remarked, it is hardly likely that the Ararat here spoken of is the Ararat of modern times, but rather some mountain-chain to the east of it; since it is said expressly that the sons of Noah "journeyed from the east" to come into the land of Shinar. The land of Shinar is known to be the plain of the Tigris, — almost identical with the country of Eden, in which the human race were first planted. It is remarkable that the peopling of the world should, in two separate instances, have commenced from the same locality.

The first work of Noah after leaving the ark was to build an altar unto the Lord, and offer upon it a burnt-sacrifice, — full proof that the institution of bloody sacrifices, which commenced with our first parents, and was observed by righteous Abel, had been continued all along through the antediluvian ages, pointing believing worshippers to the great atoning sacrifice, which, in the fulness of time, was to be offered for the sins of the world.

That Noah's offering was presented in faith, we have the fullest assurance; for God accepted it, and followed it with the richest promises to the patriarch and his posterity: "I will not again curse the ground for man's sake, neither will I any more smite every living thing as I have done." And God "blessed Noah and his sons, and said unto them, Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth. And the dread of you shall be upon every beast of the earth, and upon every fowl of the air, and upon all the fishes of the sea. Every moving thing that liveth shall be meat unto you. Even as the green herb have I given you all things" (Gen. ix. 1-3).

Here was a new grant to the human family, — permission to take the life of animals, and to eat their flesh. The antediluvians had no permission from God to eat flesh. Their sustenance was

to be the herb of the field (Gen. i. 29). But, while flesh was granted to the sons of Noah, the blood of the animal was strictly forbidden.*

The death-penalty was affixed, at this time, to the crime of murder. This seems not to have been exacted before the Flood. Cain was not put to death for his murder; and neither was Lamech, one of the posterity of Cain (Gen. iv. 24). And this laxity of law may be one of the reasons why the earth, at that time, was filled with violence. But now God says, "At the hand of every man's brother will I require the life of man. Whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed" (Gen. ix. 6). This regulation could not have been intended, as some have thought, for the Jews alone; for it was made hundreds of years before the Jews, as a distinct people, had an existence. Uttered now, at the very re-organization of the world, it was intended, obviously, for the race. It is to be regarded as of universal and perpetual obligation.

God established a covenant with Noah and his posterity at this time, and set his bow in the cloud as a token of the covenant, that he would no more destroy the earth with a flood. We are not to understand from this that the rainbow had never before appeared unto men. If there were clouds and rain before the Flood, we think it must have been seen occasionally. But a new *significance* was now given to the rainbow: "I do *appoint* my bow in the cloud" (for the word rendered *set* may well signify *appoint*); "and it shall be a token of the covenant between me and the earth." †

How long Noah and his sons dwelt near the spot where they had left the ark, we are unable to say, — probably not less than twenty years. It was here that the good man planted a vineyard, and drank too freely of the wine thereof, and exposed himself to the derision of a son and grandson. Canaan, a son of Ham, born after the Flood, was now old enough to be joined with his father in the curse, as, in all probability, he had been in the transgression: "Cursed be Canaan; a servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren."

We hear nothing of Noah after this sad affair, except that he lived three hundred and fifty years, — almost to the time of Abra-

* The reason for the prohibition of blood is not here assigned; but it is given by Moses in Lev. xvii. 10, 11: "The life of the flesh is in the blood, and I have given it to you upon the altar to make an atonement for your souls; for it is the blood that maketh atonement for the soul."

† The rainbow is always used in Scripture as the symbol of *grace*, returning after wrath. — See Ezek. i. 27, 28; Rev. iv. 3, and x. 1.

ham; but where he lived, and of what he did, through all this long period, we have not the slightest information in the sacred history. In the opinion of some, he did not migrate with his three sons to the land of Shinar, but remained in the East, had another family, and that China, and perhaps some other Eastern countries, were settled directly by him.* Indeed, many have thought that Fohi, the deified patriarch of China, was no other than Noah.

This supposition, if admitted, will account for the utter silence of Scripture respecting Noah during the last three hundred years of his life, — a fact which is all but unaccountable on any other supposition. It accounts, also, for the early settlement of some Oriental countries. China seems to have been settled as early as Egypt; and yet we have no account of its having been so early reached by any of the descendants of Shem, Ham, or Japheth.

I know it is said of these three sons of Noah, that “*by them* was the whole earth overspread” (Gen. ix. 19). But then the earth in this passage may include only those portions of it with which Moses was acquainted, and which are referred to in other parts of the sacred history, — just as the like phraseology is used in other Scriptures to denote a vast empire, or the whole world, as known to the writer at the time.†

But, whatever became of Noah, we know, that, after a time, his three sons, with their wives and descendants, “*journeyed from the east,*” and came and settled in the land of Shinar. This, as I before said, was the Valley of the Tigris, including, probably, the greater part of Mesopotamia. It was in this country that the human race was first planted. It was in this vicinity, somewhere, that the ark was built. Hence, when Shem, Ham, and Japheth came again into this fertile and beautiful valley, they found themselves at home. The Flood, no doubt, had made some changes; but it had left many familiar objects. Here were the old rivers, — the Pison, the Gihon, the Hiddekel or Tigris, and the Euphrates. Here was the extended plain, the valley in which, perhaps, they were born.

No sooner had the emigrants arrived here from the east than they determined to make this their permanent abode. Their first labor was to cultivate the soil, and prepare habitations for themselves and their families. But, in process of time, they projected a great public undertaking. That they might get to themselves a

* See Shuckford's Connection, vol. i. p. 101.

† See Ezra i. 2; Rom. x. 18.

name, and prevent the possibility of their being scattered, or destroyed by another flood, they resolved to build a city, and a tower whose top should reach even unto heaven (Gen. xi. 4): and so they set themselves, with all their might, to erect what was afterwards called the Tower of Babel; and, as the plain where they dwelt had no stones, they made brick, and stuck them together with slime, or bitumen, with which the country abounded.

It has been thought by some, that the descendants of Shem, Ham, and Japheth, could not have been sufficiently numerous, at this time, to engage in so vast an undertaking; but this has been said without due consideration. Peleg, in whose days the earth was divided, was in the fourth generation from Shem. He was born about a hundred years after the Flood, and lived two hundred and nine years. The confusion of tongues, and the dividing of the earth, took place at some time during his life, — say, from one to three hundred years after the Flood. At the close of the first hundred years after the Flood, the descendants of Shem, Ham, and Japheth, may be supposed to have amounted to several thousands. At the end of two hundred years, they may have amounted to millions. They had a knowledge of the arts, as stated in the last chapter; and were competent every way to undertake the work which the sacred historian has ascribed to them.

But as this was a vain work, undertaken in pride, selfishness, and unbelief, and in contradiction to the designs of Heaven, God was displeased with it, and took measures to frustrate it. Instead of dwelling together, and rallying round a great central city and tower, God designed that the human family should be separated, — scattered abroad over the face of the earth: and in order to accomplish *his* purpose, and defeat their own, he took the wisest measure possible; in the words of Scripture, he “came down and confounded their language, so that they could not understand one another’s speech.” Various interpretations have been put upon the words here used; but their meaning, as it seems to me, is very obvious. God gave the human family a language at the first. It was not a thing of human invention, but the gift of God. God adapted the human organs to the use of a language: and he gave a language, undoubtedly, to the first human pair; so that Adam and Eve could converse together, and converse with God, and teach their children to talk, as we do ours. And the God who gave a language could easily change it, or (to use the inspired Word) could *confound* it. He could cause those who all their lives had used one

language to forget it instantly, and to speak another. This involved a miracle, no doubt; but God is able to perform miracles, and he always has performed them when occasion required. The change here experienced was very like to that which was wrought on the apostles at the day of Pentecost. They were endowed instantly with the gift of tongues, or with the ability to converse in languages which they had not learned. The apostles did not, indeed, like those at Babel, forget their former tongues; but they received the greater gift of speaking in new tongues.

This measure of confounding the language of the men at Babel was effectual. As they could not understand one another's speech, it was clear that they could not longer labor and dwell together; — so "they left off to build their city; and the Lord scattered them abroad upon the face of all the earth."

It has been often asked, "What was the *original* language, — that used by the antediluvians, and by the descendants of Noah down to the time of which we speak?" I know not that this question can be answered positively; and yet I have a strong impression that the original language was the Hebrew. In support of this opinion, I will urge but a single fact. The proper names of many of the antediluvians are Hebrew, — derived from Hebrew roots, and having Hebrew significations. Thus Adam, in Hebrew, signifies *red earth*; because it was from such earth that the body of the first man was formed. So Eve signifies, in Hebrew, *living*, or *life-giving*; because she was to be the mother of all living. Cain signifies a *possession*, an *acquisition*; because his mother said at his birth, "I have gotten a man from the Lord." Abel signifies *mourning*, *sorrow*; because of the sorrow of his parents, perhaps, for their sins, or for their hard labor in subduing the earth. Seth signifies something *put* or *substituted*; because Seth was given in the place of Abel, who had been killed. I might proceed in this way, and define most of the antediluvian names. Now, it is hardly probable that these names were translated into Hebrew from some other language. But if they were not translated; if they were originally what they now are; in other words, if the original name of Adam was *Adam*, and of Eve, *Eve*, and so of the rest, — then it is quite certain that the original, primeval language was Hebrew. This language seems to have descended to God's chosen people in the line of Shem, as all the Shemitic languages to this day are but *derivatives*, *offshoots*, from the original Hebrew.*

* It has been ascertained that the most ancient form of the Sanscrit was of Semitic origin. — See Princeton Review for July, 1866, p. 395.

The scriptural account of the confounding of languages at Babel is confirmed in the existing languages of the world. These languages are numerous, and variously diversified. The most of them are *derivative* languages; but a few seem to have been originally distinct. And yet — as was remarked in a previous chapter — the elements, the laws, the general structure and principles, of language, are everywhere the same, — a fact pointing us back to a period when there was but one language, as the Scriptures represent.

The site of the Tower of Babel was, undoubtedly, the same as that of the ancient city of Babylon. Indeed, the first builders of Babylon seem to have carried out, so far as they could, the original design of the builders of Babel. They enclosed the Tower of Babel with a wall, and built up a magnificent city around it. It stood on the Euphrates, in north latitude 35°. The remains of the tower were long visible, and may be even to this day. They are spoken of expressly by Berosus, Herodotus, and other ancient historians. One tells us that “the first race of men, big, with a fond conceit of the bulk and strength of their bodies, built, in the place where Babylon now stands, a tower of so prodigious a height, that it seemed to touch the skies, but that the wind and the gods overthrew the mighty structure upon their heads.” Another says, “The city of Babylon was first built by giants who escaped from the Flood; that these giants erected the most famous tower in all history; that the tower was dashed to pieces by the mighty power of God; and that the giants were dispersed, and scattered over the face of the whole earth.”*

When the language of these Babel-builders had been confounded, so that they could no longer have intercourse one with another, they began to separate, and to be scattered abroad. And yet they were not scattered accidentally and promiscuously. There seems to have been method in their dispersion. They are said to have been settled “after their tongues, and after their families, in their nations” (Gen. x. 5).

In the times of the patriarchs, the progenitor of a family or tribe was their ruler and priest, and had his posterity around him. In this sense, Shem, Ham, and Japheth were each of them patriarchs; and each of their sons was a patriarch under them. And, in the confounding of tongues, it is likely that the members of each large family or tribe had a tongue by themselves. They could under-

* See Eusebius's *Chronicon*, p. 24; also his *Preparatio Evang.*, book ix. chap. 14.

stand one another, but could not understand the men of another tribe. This would separate the different families, or tribes, while it kept the members of each particular tribe together.

In speaking of the scattered tribes, I shall begin with that of Japheth; for he, though commonly mentioned last, was really the eldest of the sons of Noah.* Japheth had seven sons; viz., Gomer, Magog, Madai, Javan, Tubal, Meshech, and Tiras. The family of Gomer is supposed to have established themselves in the ancient Phrygia, bordering on the Hellespont, the Sea of Marmora, and the Black Sea. From Magog descended the Scythians and modern Tartars, inhabiting Northern and Central Asia. Madai was the father of the Medes, inhabiting a country lying south of the Caspian Sea. From Javan descended the Ionians, or Greeks. The settlement of Meshech lay east of that of Gomer, on the south-eastern shore of the Black Sea. The colony of Tubal was farther east,—between those of Meshech and Madai, and between the Black and Caspian Seas. Tiras settled what was afterwards called, from his name, Thrace.

Of the grandchildren of Japheth, Moses mentions only two families; viz., those of Gomer and Javan. The sons of Gomer were Ashkenaz, Riphath, and Togarmah. The sons of Javan were Elishah, Tarshish, Kittim, and Dodanim. “By these,” says the sacred writer, “were the isles of the Gentiles divided in their lands.” By these was the greater part of Europe peopled. We are ourselves the descendants of Japheth in the lines of Javan or Gomer. Ashkenaz gave his name to what is now called the Black Sea. It was called by the Greeks the Sea of Axenos, or the Axene Sea; from whence it came to be called the Euxine, or Black Sea. Tarshish gave his name to what is now the Mediterranean Sea. “The ships of Tarshish,” of which we hear so much in the Scriptures, were ships that sailed on the Mediterranean. † Germany is thought to have received its name from Gomer.

Shem, the second son of Noah, had five sons; viz., Elam, Ashur, Arphaxad, Lud, and Aram. Elam was the father of the ancient Persians. Ashur settled Assyria; and from him the country received its name. Arphaxad seems to have remained with his

* Ham was the youngest son (see Gen. ix. 24). Shem was a hundred years old two years after the Flood; at which time, Noah's first-born, Japheth, was a hundred and two years old.—Compare Gen. xi. 10, v. 32, and vii. 6.

† There was doubtless some port, perhaps more than one, called Tarshish; but this name also belonged to the sea.—See Ps. xlvi. 7; Isa. lx. 9.

father in the land of Shinar. He was the ancestor of Abraham ; and the original Hebrew language (if that was the original) continued in his family. Josephus assigns Lud to Lydia ; but of this there is some reason to doubt. The descendants of Aram settled Syria and Armenia. From Aram, the name Armenia is supposed to be derived. Padan-Aram, where Laban dwelt, was in the country assigned to Aram.

Of the grandchildren of Shem, as of Japheth, only two families are mentioned ; viz., those of Arphaxad and Aram. Arphaxad begat Salah, and Salah begat Eber, from whom the Hebrews had their name. Eber had two sons, — Peleg and Joktan. In the time of Peleg, the languages of men were confounded, and the earth was divided. Joktan had thirteen sons, who all migrated eastward. It is not unlikely that the people of India, and of all South-eastern Asia, were originally the descendants of Joktan. The name of one of Joktan's sons was Ophir ; and the probability is, that Ophir, the ancient land of gold, was somewhere in India.

Aram, another of the sons of Shem, had four sons ; viz., Uz and Hul and Gether and Mash. These all settled in the territory before assigned to Aram ; viz., Syria and Armenia. Uz is generally thought to have founded the city of Damascus, — the oldest city, probably, now on the earth.

Ham, the youngest of the sons of Noah, had four sons ; viz., Cush, Mizraim, Phut, and Canaan. Cush first lived east of the Euphrates, near its mouth ; and his country was watered by the ancient Gihon. But he afterwards migrated into South-eastern Arabia, and then over the Red Sea into Africa. Cush had six sons ; viz., Seba, Havilah, Sabta, Raamah, Sabtecha, and Nimrod. The first five of them settled with their father in Arabia and Africa, and are called, in our Bibles, Ethiopians. They are a colored race, which spread themselves over the greater part of Africa. Nimrod seems not to have left the land of Shinar. “ He was a mighty hunter before the Lord ; and the beginning of his kingdom was Babel and Erech and Accad and Calnah.” He was a warrior as well as hunter, and a leader in the mad project of building the Tower of Babel.

Egypt was early settled by Mizraim and his seven sons ; perhaps, also, by his father Ham. Hence Egypt is called, in the Scriptures, “ the land of Ham.”

The descendants of Phut are supposed also to have migrated into Africa, and to have settled Lybia. The descendants of

Canaan were the original inhabitants of the land of Canaan, who were dispossessed by the Israelites when they came out of Egypt. The Philistines, who inhabited a part of Canaan, were not among the posterity of Canaan, but came out of Egypt at an early period.

I have thus traced, in as few words as possible, the manner in which the earth was originally settled by the sons of Noah. Of these, the children of Ham seem to have been at the first the most powerful. Nimrod ruled, for a time, Chaldæa, or the land of Shinar; also in Arabia, Egypt, Ethiopia, and Canaan, the sons of Ham had powerful kingdoms.

But at length the Shemites began to distinguish themselves, and to prevail. Persia, Assyria, Syria, Armenia, and India were settled by the sons of Shem. At length, they drove out the posterity of Ham from Arabia and Canaan, and possessed those countries. From this period, the Hamites have been confined chiefly to Africa.

In later times, the children of Japheth have distinguished themselves above all others. Greece, Rome, Germany, France, Spain, England, indeed all Western and Northern Europe, and Northern Asia, were peopled by the sons of Japheth. God has greatly enlarged Japheth, and caused him to dwell in the tents of Shem. In general, it may be said that Japheth has Europe and Northern Asia; that the descendants of Shem have the rest of Asia;* and that Ham has Africa.

Peleg, in whose time the earth was divided, was in the fourth generation from Shem, or the fifth from Noah. Peleg was the father of Reu, who was the father of Serug, who was the father of Nahor, who was the father of Terah, who was the father of Abraham. Abraham, therefore, was in the fifth generation from Peleg, and the tenth from Noah, and was born about three hundred and fifty-two years after the Flood. His ancestors had always lived in Mesopotamia or Chaldæa; and there Abraham was born, in "Ur of the Chaldees." It is not my purpose now to enter upon a life of Abraham: that will be the subject of several succeeding chapters.

The tenth and eleventh chapters of Genesis, over which we have passed, may seem to the casual reader as little more than a dry list

* Excepting China, if we may suppose that country to have been settled by a younger family of Noah.

of names ; but they really contain the seeds of all subsequent history. More reliable knowledge of the different races of men, and of the early settlement of the earth, — more true ethnology, — may be gathered from these two chapters than from all ancient history besides.

CHAPTER XIV.

ABRAHAM AND HIS TIMES.

AT the close of the last chapter, it was remarked that the patriarch Abraham was born at "Ur of the Chaldees," about three hundred and fifty-two years after the Flood. There has been some difficulty in fixing the location of the ancient Ur; but I see no good reason for questioning the universal tradition of the Jews, that it is the same as the modern Orfa, situated in the northern part of Chaldæa, and now one of the stations of the American Board of Missions. It was called by the Greeks Edessa, and was the capital of King Agbarus, who is reported to have received a letter from our Saviour with his portrait, and became the first Christian king.* The modern city lies on the edge of one of those rugged spurs which descend from the mountains of Armenia into the Assyrian plains. The place is easily, almost naturally, fortified; and, besides, it is blessed with an abundant spring of the purest water, which makes the spot an oasis,—a paradise in the Chaldæan wilderness. In this beautiful city, from which, even now, the traveller reluctantly tears himself away, the patriarch Abraham was born, and spent the earlier portion of his life.

Abraham was in the tenth generation from Noah, in the line of Shem. His father Terah had three sons, whose names are given in the Bible; viz., Haran, Nahor, and Abraham. Haran was sixty years older than Abraham, and died in Ur, leaving two daughters and a son. The daughters' names were Milcah and Iscah: the son's name was Lot. Milcah was married to her uncle Nahor; † and some have thought that Iscah was but another name for Sarah, the wife of Abraham. But this contradicts the account of Abraham himself, who makes Sarah to be a half-sister, the daughter of Terah by a second wife: "She is the daughter of my father,

* It hardly need be said that no credence should be given to this report.

† Gen. xi. 27-29.

but not the daughter of my mother.”* These, then, constituted the family at the close of their residence in Ur, — Terah, Nahor, and Abraham, with their wives, and Lot.

Idolatry, in different forms, was now making progress in the earth, and had infected the family of Terah; for Joshua says expressly, “Your fathers dwelt, in old time, on the other side of the flood,” i.e., beyond the Euphrates, — “even Terah, the father of Abraham and the father of Nahor; and they served other gods.” † It does not appear that Abraham ever practised idolatry; or, if he did, he was early weaned from it; for, before he left Ur, we find him a firm believer and a devout worshipper of the God of heaven. It was while he dwelt at Ur that he received his first call from God to leave the land of his nativity, and go into a foreign country, — a call which he prepared at once to obey. ‡ The object of this call undoubtedly was to separate him and his family from the contamination of idols, and thus preserve and perpetuate the knowledge of the true God in the earth. How the call was made known to Abraham, we are not informed. We only know that it was an intelligible call, — so much so as to satisfy, not only Abraham, but the other members of the family; for they all listened to it, — Terah, Nahor and his wife, Abraham and his wife, and Lot, — and removed at once to a place which (in honor of the eldest son and brother of the family, now deceased) they called Haran. § If we have been right in the location of Ur, Haran was about a day’s journey south of it, — a place of much importance in after-ages, and remarkable for its wells. Here the family dwelt until the death of Terah, at the advanced age of two hundred and five.

Abraham was now seventy-five years old; and, soon after his father’s death, he received another call from God, very similar to the former: “Get thee out from thy country, and from thy kindred, and from thy father’s house, unto a land which I will show thee. And I will make of thee a great nation, and I will bless thee, and make thy name great; and in thee shall all the families of the earth be blessed.” ||

With this requisition, as in the former instance, Abraham hesitated not at all to comply. He believed God, and he obeyed him. Leaving behind him his brother Nahor and family, he took his wife, and Lot, his brother’s son, and all the substance that they

* Gen. xx. 12.

† Josh. xxiv. 2.

‡ Acts vii. 2, 3.

§ Also called Padan-Aram.

|| Gen. xii. 1-3.

had gathered in Haran, — consisting of servants, flocks, and herds, — and departed to go into the land of Canaan.

Canaan, it will be recollected, was far to the south and west of Haran, and was thinly inhabited at this time by the descendants of Canaan, a son of Ham, from whom the country received its name. The Canaanites were mostly idolaters; and yet the knowledge of the true God was not entirely lost among them. Melchizedek, and several others with whom Abraham had intercourse, seem to have feared and worshipped the same God as himself.

How long Abraham was on his journey to Canaan, and what were the incidents of it, we are not informed. It is generally thought that he touched at Damascus; and the fact that his most trusty servant, years afterwards, is called “Eliezer of Damascus,” gives color to this supposition. Being under the special guidance and blessing of Heaven, his path was undoubtedly made plain and safe to him. He arrived first at the Plain of Morah, near to Sichem, — the same which was afterwards Samaria. Here he encamped for some considerable time, and builded an altar unto the Lord. Here also the Lord appeared unto him, and gave him a promise that the land to which he had come should be given to his posterity for a possession.

From Sichem, Abraham removed into what was afterwards Mount Ephraim, and pitched his tent between Bethel and Hai. Here also he builded an altar, and called on the name of the Lord.

From Bethel, Abraham proceeded southward, through what was afterwards the land of Judah; but, encountering a grievous famine, he was constrained to go into Egypt for bread. Josephus has a story that Abraham went into Egypt, partly that he might confer with the Egyptian priests in respect to divine things; and that here he instructed them in mathematics and astronomy. But of all this, the Bible, which is our only reliable authority, says nothing. He went into Egypt because of the famine, and for the temporary supply of his wants. Whether or not he had any intercourse with the priests, we are not informed. He found a Pharaoh on the throne, at the head of an organized government. The Egyptians, however, must have been a scattered and weak people compared with what they were at a subsequent period.

The only event of interest pertaining to Abraham in Egypt, which has come to our knowledge, was his culpable denial of his wife. Sarah was a beautiful woman; and Abraham feared to be

known as her husband, lest the king, or some of his courtiers, should destroy him for her sake ; and so he passed himself off as her brother, and persuaded her to be to him as a sister. She was, indeed, his half-sister, as I have before said, — the daughter of his father, but not of his mother. Still, there was a concealment practised, a crooked and inconsistent policy pursued, a manifest want of faith in God, which was altogether unworthy of Abraham, and which might be expected to involve the parties in trouble. And so the event very shortly proved ; for Pharaoh, being pleased with the lady, and understanding her to be the sister of Abraham, sent and took her to himself. He also entreated Abraham well for her sake, and made him presents of sheep and oxen, man-servants and maid-servants, camels and asses. But Pharaoh was not long deceived in regard to the true relation between Sarah and Abraham. He learned that she was the stranger's wife ; and so, sending for Abraham, he sharply reproved him, and sent him away : “ What is this that thou hast done unto me ? Why didst thou not tell me that she was thy wife ? Why saidst thou, She is my sister ? So I might have taken her to me to wife. Now, therefore, behold thy wife : take her, and go thy way.” *

So Abraham and his wife and Lot went up out of Egypt, being very rich in cattle, in silver, and in gold. He returned through the southern part of Canaan ; and, coming to his former residence between Bethel and Hai, he repaired the altar which he had formerly built, and devoutly called on the name of the Lord.

Lot and Abraham had hitherto dwelt together ; but now their substance had so much increased, and their circumstances were so changed, that they found it inconvenient thus to live any longer. Their cattle mingled ; their herdsmen quarrelled ; and their flocks, when together, required a wider extent of pasturage than they could reasonably claim of the native inhabitants. In this emergency, Abraham took Lot aside, stated the case to him, and kindly proposed that he should make choice of a place of settlement for himself : “ Is not the whole land before thee ? Separate thyself, I pray thee, from me. If thou wilt take the left hand, then I will go to the right ; or, if thou depart to the right, then I will go to the left.”

This generous proposition was accepted by Lot ; and he concluded to remove from his venerated uncle to the fertile regions

* Gen. xii. 18, 19.

of the east and south. Perceiving the valley of the Jordan that it was well watered, even as the land of Egypt or the garden of the Lord, he resolved to go and settle there. Proceeding gradually down this fertile valley, he came at length to the Plain of Sodom, before the cities built upon it had been destroyed.

After the separation between Lot and Abraham, the latter was favored with another divine appearance and revelation. God renewed his promises to the father of the faithful in the most ample terms, assuring him that his seed should yet be in number as the dust of the earth, and that the whole surrounding region, from north to south and from east to west, should be given to them for a possession.

Not long after this, Abraham departed from Bethel, and journeyed southward to the Plain of Mamre, not far from the ancient city of Hebron; and here, as was his invariable custom, he built an altar unto the Lord. He formed an acquaintance too, and an alliance, with some of the principal inhabitants of the place, — with Mamre, from whom the locality derived its name, and with his two brothers, Aner and Eshcol.

While Abraham dwelt at Mamre, an event occurred which served to exhibit the character of the patriarch in a new light. Four confederate kings, or chieftains, from the lands of Shinar and of Elam, — that old cradle of the human race, — sallied forth on a war of conquest. One of these was “Chederlaomer, king of Elam;” and Mr. Rawlinson tells us, that, “in the monumental records of Babylonia, we have mention of a king, apparently of Elamitic origin, as reigning at this time, whose name is, on good grounds, identified with Chederlaomer,” who is also called “the *Ravager of the West.*” * These kings swept over the intervening countries, conquered the Amorites and Amalekites in Northern Arabia, and came to a pitched battle with the kings of Sodom and Gomorrah, and others who were confederate with them. In this battle, the kings of the east were victorious; Sodom and Gomorrah and the neighboring cities were taken; and all the people (among whom were Lot and his family) were carried away captives. When the news of this disaster reached Abraham, he was greatly distressed by it, particularly at the fate of Lot; and he resolved at once to attempt his recovery. He armed his own servants, three hundred and eighteen men; he enlisted his confederates, Mamre, Aner, and Eshcol; and, by long and forced

* Gen. xiv. 1; Historical Evidences, p. 73.

marches, he overtook the freebooters at a place in Syria called Dan.* He came upon them by surprise in the night, and smote them, and pursued them unto Hobah, which is nigh to Damascus. This expedition, which involved a march of from three to four hundred miles, was entirely successful. Abraham recovered and brought back all the spoil which the conquering kings had taken. He brought back Lot also, and all his goods, and all the captives, male and female.

One of the first persons who came out to meet Abraham on his return was the subdued and humbled king of Sodom. "And the king of Sodom said unto Abraham, Give me the persons, and take the goods to thyself." But Abraham declined the offer, saying, "I have lifted up my hand unto the Lord, the most high God, the possessor of heaven and earth, that I would not take any thing that is thine, — not so much as a thread or a shoe-latchet, — lest thou shouldst say, *I have made Abraham rich.*"

Another great personage who came out to congratulate Abraham on his victory was Melchizedek. Much inquiry has been made as to this Melchizedek. Who was he? What was he? I have no doubt that he was just what he is represented to be in the fourteenth chapter of Genesis, — king of Salem, a city which was afterwards called Jerusalem; and also a priest of the most high God. He united in himself, like the more ancient patriarchs generally, the offices of king and priest. He brought forth bread and wine to refresh the conquerors after their long and weary march. He also blessed Abraham in the name of the most high God; and, in consideration of his sacred as well as regal character, Abraham gave him tithes of all that he possessed.

This Melchizedek was a venerable and holy man, — a noble specimen of patriarchal piety and godliness. He was an eminent type or representative of Christ, who, like him, was both a king and a priest. Our Saviour is expressly said to have been "made a priest after the order of Melchizedek." †

In regard to what is said of this Melchizedek in the Epistle to the Hebrews, that he was "without father, without mother, without descent, having neither beginning of days nor end of life," I acquiesce entirely in the opinion of the most judicious interpreters, that this is true, not literally, but *genealogically*. The Jews relied much upon their genealogies. Every one must have his genealogy,

* Not Dan in the land of Israel, but a much older city in Syria, called Dan-jaan (2 Sam. xxiv. 6).

† Heb. vii. 17.

and must have his place in it. He who could not point to the name of his father and mother, to his origin and descent in the genealogies, was said to have none. He whose birth and death could not be indicated was said to have no beginning of days, or end of life. And all this was true of Melchizedek. He bursts upon us suddenly, unexpectedly, in the history, and then disappears forever from our sight. He had no genealogy, so far as we know, and so far as Moses knew. Genealogically speaking, he was without father, mother, or descent; without beginning of days, or end of life. And in this respect also he was a type of Christ, who, as to his higher nature, was, literally, what Melchizedek was genealogically, — without a proper father or mother or descent; without beginning of days, or end of life.

But to return from Melchizedek to Abraham. At the close of his successful military expedition, he seems to have returned to Mamre, where he was favored with another divine vision, and with the most comfortable intercourse and communion with Heaven. Knowing the wealth and power of the kings he had so recently vanquished, he might reasonably expect another invasion from them. But the Lord said unto him, "Fear not, Abraham: I am thy shield, and thine exceeding reward."

On this occasion, Abraham undertook (what he had not attempted before) to expostulate with God, and to inquire of him particularly as to the import and meaning of his promises: "Behold, to me thou hast given no seed as yet, and one born in my house is my heir." But the Lord said unto him, "This shall not be thine heir; but thine own natural son shall be thine heir. And the Lord brought him forth, and said, Look now towards heaven, and tell, if thou canst, the number of the stars.* And he said unto him, So shall thy seed be." And Abraham believed the word of the Lord; and his faith was counted unto him for righteousness, i.e. for *justification*.†

The Lord next proceeds to repeat and enlarge his promise, that the natural seed of Abraham should inherit, not only the land of Canaan, but the whole country lying between the eastern boundary of Egypt and the great River Euphrates.‡ He predicts, indeed, that, previous to the fulfilment of this promise, the children of

* On this passage the Jews seem to have founded their tradition as to Abraham's great knowledge of astronomy.

† Gen. xv. 6; Rom. iv. 3.

‡ This promise was fulfilled in the times of David and Solomon.

Abraham must be brought into circumstances of great trial and affliction: "Thy seed shall be a stranger in a land that is not theirs, and shall serve them; and they shall afflict them four hundred years. But that nation whom they shall serve will I judge; and afterward shall they come out with great substance. But thou shalt go to thy grave in peace."

For the greater assurance of Abraham, God was pleased to confirm all these promises to him by covenant, after the most ancient form of covenanting: "Take me a heifer three years old, and a she-goat three years old, and a ram three years old, and a turtle-dove, and a young pigeon; and, when thou hast slain them, divide them in the midst, and lay the pieces one over against another." Between the severed pieces Abraham is supposed to have passed, to denote his acceptance of the covenant; and, when the sun went down, the Lord also passed between them in the appearance of a smoking furnace and a burning lamp.

This is the most ancient form of ratifying a covenant of which we have any knowledge. The parties passing between the severed pieces of the slaughtered victims were understood to invoke the most terrible judgments on themselves in case they proved unfaithful. The language of the transaction was virtually this: "As the limbs of these animals are cut asunder, so may our bodies be torn asunder if we prove perfidious."

We have an example of a similar form of covenanting in Homer. The Greeks and Trojans having agreed to determine the quarrel between them by single combat, and the terms having been solemnly adjusted and consented to on both sides, the ratification of the covenant is thus described: "The Grecian prince drew the sacred knife, and cut off a lock of wool from the heads of each of the devoted lambs, which being distributed among the princes of the contending parties, with hands uplifted, and with a loud voice, he thus prayed: 'O Father Jove, most glorious and most mighty! O thou sun, who seest and hearest every thing! ye rivers, thou earth, and ye powers of the world below who punish the false and the perjured! be ye witnesses, and preserve this covenant inviolate.' Then, having repeated the words of the covenant in the audience of all, he cleft asunder the heads of the consecrated lambs, placed their palpitating limbs opposite each other on the ground, poured sacred wine upon them, and then prayed, or rather imprecated, as follows: 'O Jupiter Almighty, and ye other immortals! whoever shall first transgress this solemn oath, may his brains and

those of his children flow upon the ground like this wine; and let his wife be severed from him, and be given to another!"* * *

Abraham had now dwelt ten years in the land of Canaan. He had received the promise of a numerous posterity, who were to be given to him by natural descent. His wife Sarah had as yet no child, nor had she any prospect of being ever a mother. Her faith, so far as *she* was concerned, began to fail; and she came to her husband with a strange proposal. She had in her household an Egyptian maid-servant named Hagar, — probably one of those which Pharaoh gave to her when she came out of Egypt, — and she proposed to her husband to take Hagar to his bed. "It may be that I may obtain children by her. And Abraham listened to the voice of Sarah."

But this expedient, which originated in unbelief, soon began to bring forth the bitter fruits of sin. Hagar was no longer the quiet, submissive servant that she had been. She began to be lifted up with pride, and to despise her mistress; and this provoked Sarah to treat her harshly and cruelly. In consequence of such treatment, Hagar fled from her mistress, probably with a design of returning into Egypt. She was found by a fountain of water in the desert, in the way to Shur. Here the angel of the Lord appeared to her, promised her a son and a numerous posterity, told her what kind of character her son would be, and encouraged her to return, and submit herself to her mistress. Accordingly, she did return, and brought forth a son, to whom the angel had already given the name of Ishmael.

The next thirteen years of Abraham's life seem to have passed quietly at Mamre. A prince and a shepherd, he lived at ease, honored and beloved by all his acquaintance, with his numerous flocks and his household around him. But, when he was ninety and nine years old, the Lord appeared again to him, renewed to him and to his posterity the promise of Canaan, and assured him that he should have a numerous seed in the line, not only of Hagar and Ishmael, but of Sarah: "She also shall have a son, and I will bless her. She shall be a mother of nations, and kings shall spring of her."

At this time, God proceeded to consummate what all along he had kept in view in his dealings with Abraham, — the formation of a *visible church, a covenant people*, in his family, of which he was to be the patriarchal head.

* Iliad, b. iii. l. 338.

The world was already relapsing into idolatry. Men did not like to retain God in their knowledge; and the true God whom they had rejected was about to reject them. He was about to give them up, as Paul expresses it, “to vile affections” and a “reprobate mind.”* Still, God will have a covenant people on the earth; and his original design, as I have before remarked, in calling Abraham from the land of his nativity, and bringing him into Canaan, was to save him and his house from the contamination of idols, and preserve the true religion in his family. This was the object of all the trials to which he had been subjected, and of the revelations and promises, which, from time to time, had been made to him. And now, when he was almost a hundred years old, the great design was to be consummated. Accordingly, God says to him, “I am the Almighty God: walk before me, and be thou perfect. And I will establish my covenant between me and thee, and thy seed after thee in their generations, *to be a God to thee, and to thy seed after thee.* And this is my covenant, which ye shall keep between me and thee, and thy seed after thee: *Every man-child among you shall be circumcised.* Ye shall circumcise the flesh of your foreskin, and it shall be a *token* of the covenant betwixt me and you. He that is eight days old among you shall be circumcised, — every man-child in your generations. He that is born in thy house, and he that is bought with thy money, must needs be circumcised; and my covenant shall be in your flesh for an everlasting covenant. And the uncircumcised man-child, whose flesh of his foreskin is not circumcised, shall be cut off from his people: he hath broken my covenant.

“And Abraham took Ishmael his son, and all that were born in his house, and all that were bought with his money, — every male among the servants of Abraham, — and circumcised the flesh of their foreskin in the selfsame day, as God had said unto him. And Abraham was ninety and nine years old when he was circumcised.” †

After the explanation of this transaction in other parts of the Bible, more especially in the writings of Paul, the design and import of it can hardly be mistaken. God here propounds a covenant to Abraham and to his household, into which they enter. A visible token is appended to the covenant, which all the males of the family receive. They are thus constituted *God’s visible covenant people*; or, in other words, *his church*. Hence, from this

* Rom. i. 24–28.

† Gen. chap. xvii.

time, God begins to speak of the posterity of Abraham, or such of them as adhered to the covenant, as *his people*, and to speak of himself as *their covenant God*.

Circumcision, though apparently a strange religious rite, was yet a very significant one : it denoted the *cutting-off* from the heart of all carnal, sensual affections ; or, in other words, a *circumcision of the heart*, which is the same as *regeneration*. Thus the command, "Circumcise the foreskin of your heart," is equivalent to another divine command, "Make you a new heart and a new spirit." In this view, the outward rite of circumcision has the same significance as *water-baptism*, which, we are told, denotes "the washing of regeneration, and renewing of the Holy Ghost."

Circumcision too, like baptism, was "a *seal of the righteousness of faith*:" in other words, it sealed a covenant which *promised* the righteousness of faith, or (which is the same) justification by faith.*

Thus the import of circumcision, as explained in other parts of the Bible, shows it to have been a *church ordinance*, — as really so as baptism ; and the receiving of it at the command of God constituted the family of Abraham, as I said, a *visible church*, and the only visible church for a long time existing in the world.

The covenant with Abraham, as interpreted in other parts of the Bible, had not only a literal, but a *spiritual* import, which the patriarch and his pious descendants undoubtedly understood. Thus the promise of a Seed in which all the nations and families of the earth should be blessed was understood to be a promise of Christ and of the blessings of the gospel. So the promise of a numerous, numberless posterity looked beyond the literal descendants of Abraham, and included all true believers in Christ. Thus Paul says, "If ye be Christ's, then are ye *Abraham's seed*, and heirs according to the promise." † And the promise of Canaan for an everlasting possession included something more than an earthly inheritance : it looked to "a better, that is, a heavenly country," — to the Canaan of everlasting rest.

It has been made a question, whether *true piety* was required in the covenant with Abraham, and in the church of which he was the head. But, in view of the remarks which have been made, I see not how such a question can be entertained. Can a covenant which requires the circumcision of the heart, or regeneration,

* Rom. iv. 11.

† Gal. iii. 29.

and in which God says, "Walk before me, and be thou perfect," and the visible token of which is represented as "the seal of the righteousness of faith," — can such a covenant require any thing less of those who enter into it than true piety? That there were hypocrites in the Church of Israel, — at times many hypocrites, — there can be no doubt; and so there have been in the Christian Church: but this does not impair the validity of the Church or its covenant. All those who unite with our churches must be either pious persons or hypocrites; and the same was true of those connected with the Church of Israel.

I have dwelt the longer on this covenant transaction between God and Abraham on account of its high importance in the history of the Church. I do not say that there was no visible church on the earth previous to this time, — even before the Flood. Undoubtedly there was a church: but all the old patriarchal institutes had been perverted and corrupted; the whole world was relapsing together into idolatry; and, if the Church of God was to be perpetuated, new and extraordinary measures must be adopted. Hence the call of Abraham from the land of his nativity, and God's repeated appearances and revelations to him, and at length the formal institution of a church in his family, with a solemn covenant and a new and significant initiatory rite.

CHAPTER XV.

ABRAHAM AND HIS TIMES. — CONTINUED.

IN the last chapter, we traced the history of Abraham to the time of the establishment of a church in his family, — when he and his house became the *visible covenant people of God*. At this time, God promised Abraham that Sarah his wife should bear him a son, to be called Isaac; and that the everlasting covenant should be established in his family.

After a short period, this promise was renewed in a still more formal and solemn manner. As Abraham was sitting in his tent-door, in the oak-grove at Mamre, he saw three strangers coming towards him. He rose from his seat, went forth to meet them, and bowed himself to the ground; and, addressing himself to the chief one of them, he said, “My lord, I pray thee, turn not away from thy servant, but let a little water be brought to wash your feet: and rest yourselves under this tree; and I will bring bread, and comfort ye your hearts; and afterwards ye shall pass on.” A noble example, this, of primitive patriarchal hospitality.

The strangers, who seemed to be men, acceded to the request of Abraham; and a bountiful repast was soon provided. To this they sat down; and, while the patriarch waited on them, they did eat. If it be asked how these celestial visitants could eat natural food, I answer, It may be that they assumed natural bodies for the occasion; in which case they really ate, like other men. But if we suppose them to have had no other than spiritual bodies, then their eating could have been only apparent: at any rate, they *seemed* to eat. And, while the repast was going on, one of them inquired for Sarah: and, upon being told that she was in the tent, he said, “I will surely return at the appropriate time; and Sarah, thy wife, shall have a son.” This conversation was overheard by Sarah; and, considering the strangeness and the improbability of the assurance, she laughed at it; and, when she was reproved for her

laughter and unbelief, she denied that she did laugh. But the Lord, who now plainly discovered himself to be a divine messenger, said, "Nay, but thou didst laugh."

Upon this, the conversation ceased; and, the repast being ended, the strangers rose up to depart. And, as they seemed to be travelling towards Sodom, Abraham accompanied them to bring them on their way; and, as they went, the chief of them (who was now understood by Abraham to be but a visible manifestation of the Lord Jehovah) acquainted the patriarch with his purpose to destroy Sodom and Gomorrah for their wickedness, — grounding the fearful revelation on his peculiar favor to Abraham, and the assurance he had that he would command his children and his household after him, and that they would keep the way of the Lord to do justice and judgment.

Meanwhile, the two angels had left them, and proceeded towards Sodom; but Abraham remained communing with the Lord. And here we have those remarkable intercessions for a guilty, debauched, and abandoned city, which we find recorded in the eighteenth chapter of Genesis: "Wilt thou destroy the righteous with the wicked? That be far from thee, Lord, to do after this manner, that the righteous should be as the wicked. Shall not the Judge of all the earth do right? Peradventure, there be *fifty* righteous in the city; or, if not fifty, *forty*; or, if not forty, there must be *thirty*; or *twenty* certainly; or at least *ten*." And the Lord said, "I will not destroy the city if only ten righteous persons are found in it." Abraham could proceed no further. He could ask no more. He ceased praying, and returned to his place.

Meanwhile, the two angels were entering Sodom. They were received by Lot in the gate, and were conducted to his house; and here they were beset by riotous men, whose lust and passion could by no means be restrained, until they were miraculously struck with blindness, and groped in vain to find the door.

Lot was now warned of the impending destruction, and directed to get his family and his substance together, and be ready in the morning to leave the city; and, when there was some delay in the morning, the angels hastened Lot. They even laid hold upon him, and upon his wife, and upon his two daughters, and brought them forth without the city, and said, "Escape for thy life: look not behind thee, tarry not in all the plain, lest thou be consumed." And Lot fled into Zoar at the rising of the sun; and the Lord rained upon Sodom brimstone and fire out of heaven, and overthrew those

cities, and all the inhabitants thereof, and all that grew upon the ground. And Lot's wife, who was a heathenish, wicked woman, looked back from behind him, and she became a pillar of salt.

And Abraham gat up early in the morning to the place where he stood before the Lord (the hill is still pointed out amongst the many summits near Hebron, commanding a view down into the deep gulf which separates the mountains of Judæa from those of Moab on the other side); and he looked towards Sodom, and towards the land of the plain, and, lo! the smoke of the country went up as the smoke of a furnace.

Here, now, is a recorded fact in regard to the fate of the ancient Sodom and Gomorrah, and the other cities of the Plain of Siddim. They were burned up in a storm of fire from heaven; and the plain on which they stood became, as Moses tells us, "a salt sea."* The same is called the *Asphaltites*, or *Dead Sea*. The Jordan and several smaller streams pour their waters into it; but it has no visible outlet. The waters are carried off, probably, by an abundant evaporation. This remarkable collection of water is about seventy miles long from north to south, with an average breadth of from ten to twenty miles. It properly consists of two parts. The northern portion, into which the Jordan empties, is very deep: the southern part is shallow. The deeper portion was probably a sea before the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah: the southern or shallow portion is thought to have been the ancient Plain of Siddim, on which the doomed cities stood. On the eastern shore of this southern portion is the site of the ancient Zoar, into which Lot and his daughters escaped. Farther east are the mountains of Moab, into which they wandered, and where Lot spent the remainder of his life. Near the same shore of the Dead Sea was the pillar of salt, which Josephus assures us he had seen.† A remarkable pillar of mineral fossil salt is still standing there. It was seen by Lieut. Lynch and his party in the year 1848, and has been seen by many others.

The burning of Sodom and Gomorrah is not only mentioned by Moses, but is referred to by our Saviour and other inspired men.‡ The question now arises, Are there any traditions of this event in other writers? and do appearances around the Dead Sea indicate that such a catastrophe ever occurred there? That Josephus and other Jewish and Christian writers should speak of it is a matter

* Gen. xiv. 3.

† Antiquities, book i. chap. 11.

‡ Luke xvii. 28, 29.

of course: but do we find any thing of the kind in ancient heathen writers? and what is the opinion of unprejudiced modern travellers and explorers? Diodorus Siculus, after having described the Lake Asphaltites, says, that, in his day, the adjacent country was still on fire, and sent forth a grievous smell, to which he imputes the sickliness and short lives of the neighboring inhabitants.* Strabo, having made mention of the same lake, tells us that the craggy and burnt rocks and caverns round about, and the soil, all turned to ashes and dust, give credit to a report among the people, that formerly several cities stood there, of which Sodom was the chief; but that by earthquakes, and fire breaking out, some of them were entirely swallowed up, and others were forsaken of their inhabitants.† Tacitus describes the lake much after the same manner; and then adds, that not far from it are fields, now barren, which are reported to have been formerly very fruitful, being adorned with large cities which were burnt by lightning, and that the country still retains traces of their destruction.‡

I might give similar quotations from other ancient writers; but it will be enough to add the testimony of Lieut. Lynch, an American officer who explored the Jordan and the Dead Sea, under a commission from the United-States Government, only a few years ago. Near the close of his journal, this gentleman says, "We entered upon this sea with conflicting opinions. One of our party was sceptical, and another a professed unbeliever of the Mosaical account. After a close investigation of twenty-two days, we are unanimous in the conviction of the truth of the scriptural account of the destruction of the cities of the plain. I record with diffidence the conclusions we have reached, as a protest against the shallow deductions of would-be unbelievers."§

After the destruction of Sodom, in which Lot seems to have lost all his substance, he retired, with his two daughters, into the mountains east of the Dead Sea, and dwelt there in a cave. The Bible faithfully records the story of his incest with his daughters, and of the two sons, Moab and Ammon, which were born unto him. From these descended the Moabites and Ammonites, who stood in close relation to the Israelites, and of whom we hear so much in the sacred history.

Almost immediately after the destruction of Sodom, Abraham removed from Mamre, — perhaps to escape the sight and the stench

* Lib. xix.

† Lib. x.

‡ Lib. v.

§ Lynch's Narrative, p. 380.

of the ruined cities,—and came and dwelt among the Philistines at Gerar. These Philistines were the descendants of Mizraim, a son of Ham, who came early out of Egypt, and possessed themselves of the south-western maritime coasts of Canaan. Gerar was at this time one of their chief cities, whose king was Abimelech.

In coming here, Abraham fell into the same error that he had formerly committed in Egypt. He denied his wife, passing her off as his sister; whereupon Abimelech took her, and was about to make her his own wife. But God warned him of his danger in a dream, forbade him to have intercourse with Sarah, told him who she was, and bade him restore her to her husband. Then Abimelech called Abraham, reproved him for the deception which he had practised, gave him back his wife, and with her valuable presents,—sheep and oxen, man-servants and maid-servants. He also gave him full permission to dwell anywhere in his country that he chose.

Not long after these occurrences, the divine promise to Abraham was fulfilled, and Sarah brought forth a son. They called his name Isaac, as the Lord had commanded; and, on the eighth day, he was circumcised. And the child grew, and was weaned; and Abraham made a great feast at the weaning of Isaac.

It was at this time, or a little later, that Sarah saw Ishmael mocking her son, and treating him with contempt. At this she was offended, and demanded that Hagar and Ishmael should be dismissed from the family, and sent away. Abraham loved Ishmael, and was unwilling to comply; but, having taken counsel of God, he yielded to what he found to be the divine pleasure. He directed Hagar to take her son, with provisions and water, and to go out into the wilderness; intending, no doubt, to provide for her future wants. She departed into the Desert of Beersheba, where she and her son came nigh perishing with thirst. But an angel appeared unto her as he had done on a former occasion, led her to a fountain of water, and so preserved their lives. And here Ishmael remained with his mother, grew up to manhood, and became a very skilful archer and hunter. His mother took him a wife out of the land of Egypt.

It had before been predicted of Ishmael that he would be a wild man; that his hand would be against every man, and every man's hand against him; but that he should live in the presence of his brethren. It had been predicted that he would be fruitful, and multiply, and that his seed should become a great nation.* And

* Gen. xvi. 10, 12.

all this has been, and is, remarkably fulfilled. He had himself twelve sons, who are spoken of as princes, having castles and towns.* Partly by overcoming the original settlers of Arabia, and partly by mingling with them, Ishmael is justly regarded as the patriarch and progenitor of the Arabs,—a people that have never been conquered, and perhaps never will be. When Alexander and his victorious army overran a great part of the East, the Arabians were the only nation which sent him no ambassador, and made no submission to him. Antigonus, one of Alexander's successors, made an attempt upon the Arabs; but he was repulsed with the loss of eighty thousand men. The Romans and Parthians were long rivals for the empire of the East; but neither of them could either tame or subdue the wandering hordes of Arabia. The Romans made repeated and vigorous attempts upon this people, from the days of Pompey to those of Severus; but all in vain. Ishmael's hand was against every man, and every man's hand against him; and still he lived in the presence of his brethren. In later times, the Arabs, under the name of Saracens,† attacked the Romans, took from them the greater part of their dominion, and erected a vast empire of their own. The hordes of Arabia remain to this day the same wild, roving, independent, and unconquerable people, fulfilling in a remarkable degree the predictions which were uttered respecting them almost four thousand years ago.

Abraham was still dwelling in the country of Abimelech when Isaac was born and was growing up to manhood. Here he digged, for his own convenience and that of his flocks, a well, which the herdsmen of Abimelech violently took away; and, when Abimelech came to him to form a treaty of perpetual peace, Abraham told him the story of the well. Abimelech at once restored the well, and then entered into a solemn treaty or covenant, and confirmed it with an oath. In commemoration of this event, the well, with the country round it, was called *Beersheba*, or *the well of the oath*. Here Abraham builded an altar, and planted a grove, and called on the name of the Lord; and here he sojourned in the land of the Philistines many days.

It was while he resided at Beersheba that he received that most trying and mysterious injunction: "Take now thy son, thine only son Isaac, and get thee into the land of Moriah, and offer him there as a burnt-offering upon one of the mountains that I shall tell thee of."

* Gen. xxv. 16.

† From *sarac*, to plunder.

It has been made a question whether such a command as this could possibly have come from God; and whether, if it did, it could have been the duty of Abraham to yield to it. But I see no difficulty in the case. God did not command Abraham to *murder* his son,—to slay him with malicious intent. Such a command God could not have given; or, if he had, it could not have been the duty of Abraham to comply with it. God required nothing of Abraham which he might not perform in the exercise of the holiest and best affections. God had a better right to Isaac than Abraham had. He had given the son; and he had a right to take him away in any manner that he saw best,—by sickness, by wild beasts, by some sudden stroke of providence, or by the hand of his own father. “Go to Mount Moriah, and there offer up thy son as a burnt-sacrifice upon my altar.” Abraham saw at once that God had a right to lay such an injunction upon him; and, with his usual promptness, he prepared to obey. He was cheered, no doubt, by the thought, that if, in obedience to the divine command, he took the life of his son, God was able to raise him from the dead. He believed that God *would* raise him from the dead, and fulfil, through him, all his past gracious assurances of a numerous posterity.*

But, whatever the result might be, present duty was clear. He must go to Mount Moriah, and there offer up Isaac as a burnt-sacrifice. Moriah was the mountain on which Solomon afterwards built the temple.† One part of it was probably Calvary, where our Lord was crucified. It could not have been less than a hundred miles from Beersheba to this place. Accordingly, we are told that Abraham did not reach it until the third day after commencing his journey.

When Abraham came near to the place, on the third day, he left his servants and his beasts behind, while he and Isaac ascended the hill together. As they walk slowly and thoughtfully on, Isaac says to his father, “Behold the fire and the wood; but where is the lamb for a burnt-offering?” And Abraham said, “My son, God will provide himself a lamb for a burnt-offering.” It was at this dreadful moment, undoubtedly, that Abraham explained to Isaac the cause and object of the journey; told him what he had been commanded to do, and obtained his consent that the sacrifice should be made. So they came to the place; and Abraham builded an altar, and laid the wood upon it. He also bound his son, and laid

* See Heb. xi. 19.

† 2 Chron. iii. 1.

him upon the altar, and then took the knife, with the intent and the expectation to slay his son. But, as the trial was now complete, the Lord interposed to prevent the sacrifice. "Lay not thine hand upon the lad, neither do thou any thing unto him; for now I know that thou fearest God, seeing thou hast not withheld thy son, thine only son, from me. And Abraham lifted up his eyes, and looked, and, behold, behind him was a ram, caught in a thicket by his horns; and Abraham went and took the ram, and offered him up for a burnt-offering in place of his son."

The design of this whole transaction seems to have been twofold: 1. To try the faith and the obedience of Abraham. As he was to be "the father of the faithful," the patriarch and visible head of God's covenant people, it was proper that his faith should be severely tried. 2. This transaction was designed, undoubtedly, to furnish to Abraham, and through him to the whole ancient Church, a type, a symbol, of the sacrifice of Christ. As Abraham, in effect, offered up his son, so God would, in *fact*, offer up his. He would do it on the same mountain, — perhaps in the very same place. The consent of the victims in both cases was gained. Isaac was willing to be made a sacrifice at the instance of his father, and at the command of God; and our Saviour's life was not taken against his will. He laid it down of himself. A more significant emblem of the sufferings of Christ could hardly have been given to the ancient Church than was furnished in the transaction of which we have spoken.

Accordingly, when the scene was over, God renewed his gracious assurances to Abraham in stronger terms, and more ample measure, than ever before: "By myself I have sworn, because thou hast done this thing, and hast not withheld thy son, thine only son, that, in blessing, I will bless thee; and, in multiplying, I will multiply thy seed as the stars of heaven, and as the sand which is upon the seashore; and in thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed."

From the scene on Moriah, Abraham and his son and his servants returned to Beersheba, where he dwelt for a time, and then removed to Hebron, in the land of Canaan. And here Sarah died, at the age of a hundred and twenty-seven, — thirty-seven years after the birth of Isaac. And, when the mourning for Sarah was ended, Abraham applied to the children of Heth — the native inhabitants of Hebron — for a burying-place in which to deposit the remains of his long-loved companion. The Hittites generously

proposed to him to occupy any of their sepulchres: "None of us will withhold his sepulchre from thee, but that thou mayest bury thy dead." Abraham declined their proposal, however, and asked that he might purchase the Cave of Machpelah, and hold it as a place of burial. The owner of the cave now proposed to give it to Abraham, with the field adjoining it, without money and without price: "The field give I thee, and the cave that is therein. Bury thy dead." This noble generosity on the part of the Hittites not only speaks well of them as a people, but is in the highest degree honorable to Abraham. If his deportment among them had not been uniformly upright and kind, they never had dealt with him after this manner.

Still, the generous proposal to take the land and the cave as a gift, Abraham felt constrained in the most respectful manner to decline. He chose to purchase it at its full value; and, to gratify him in this respect, a price was set upon it, which was promptly paid: "Abraham weighed unto Ephron, the owner of the land, the silver which he had named; viz., four hundred shekels of silver, current money with the merchant.* And the field, and the cave, and all the trees that were within the field, were made sure unto Abraham in the presence of the children of Heth."

This is the first commercial transaction of which we have any account in history; and it seems to have been one of the most equitable and honorable that ever was negotiated.

When the business-transaction had been amicably settled, Abraham buried his wife in the Cave of Machpelah; and there, after a time, he was buried himself. And so were Isaac and Rebekah and Jacob and Leah buried there, and perhaps others of the same family. †

Abraham was now an old man, and was very desirous of seeing his son Isaac married, and settled in the world, before his death. So he called his eldest servant to him, the chief steward of his house, and charged him that he should not take a wife for his son of the daughters of Canaan, but "go," says he, "to my country," i. e. to Haran, "and to my kindred, and take a wife unto my son from thence." And, the more strictly to bind his steward to a faithful

* About two hundred and twenty-five dollars of our money.

† Over this cavern now stands a Turkish mosque, into which no Jew nor Christian has been permitted, until very recently, to enter. By special favor, the Prince of Wales and his suite, on their late visit to the Holy Land, were permitted to enter the mosque, but not the cavern beneath it. This is entirely closed, and has never been seen by any one within the range of memory or tradition. — See *Stanley's Lectures on the Jewish Church*, p. 37.

performance of the charge enjoined, he administered to him a solemn oath; telling him at the same time, that if he came to Haran, and a suitable woman of their kindred would not return with him, he should be clear of the oath which he had taken. Thus charged and sworn, Eliezer the steward set out at once on his long journey, with a retinue of servants and camels suitable to Abraham's quality and estate. Of the incidents of the journey we are not informed. We only know, that, in good time, he arrived at Haran, whence Abraham removed when he came into Canaan, some sixty-five years before, and where he had left his brother Nahor. Here he rested his camels at evening by a well of water, and lifted up his heart in prayer to God for his direction and blessing. He prayed, that, from among the young women who should come out of the city to the well, God would clearly indicate to him the one whom he had raised up to be the wife of Isaac. And his prayer was heard. Without going into all the particulars of this wonderful story, suffice it to say, that, while he was yet praying, Rebekah, a grand-daughter of Nahor, and a second cousin of Isaac, came out to the well with her pitcher for water. She answered to all the conditions which Eliezer had mentioned in his prayer: so that he knew at once that she was the person for whom he was sent. He made himself known to her, gave her valuable presents, and was invited to her father's house. He here told his story, circumstantially, from beginning to end; and, when he was through, he said, "Now, if ye will deal kindly and truly with my master, tell me; and, if not, tell me; that I may turn to the right hand or to the left." And Bethuel the father of Rebekah, and Laban her brother, answered, and said, "The thing proceedeth from the Lord: we cannot speak unto thee bad or good. Behold, Rebekah is before thee: take her and go, and let her be thy master's son's wife, as the Lord hath spoken."

Although the consent of the family was now gained as to Rebekah's marriage to Isaac, they would fain have retained her a few days before sending her away. But Eliezer said no: "Hinder me not, seeing the Lord hath prospered me. Send me away, that I may go to my master." And so, with the consent of Rebekah, she was sent away on the morrow, with her nurse and other female servants, and with the blessing of her father and brother: "Be thou the mother of thousands of millions, and let thy seed possess the gate of those that hate them."

Eliezer is now on his way back to Hebron, with his camels, his

servants, and his precious charge. And, as he drew near to his master's home, he saw Isaac abroad in the field, where he had gone to meditate at eventide. And, when Rebekah saw him, she alighted from her camel, and took a veil, and covered herself. And Eliezer told Isaac all things that he had donè. And Isaac brought Rebekah into his mother Sarah's tent, and she became his wife. The union so happily consummated was a source of mutual satisfaction. Isaac, we know, was an affectionate husband: he loved Rebekah; and was comforted, by means of her, after his mother's death.

Though Abraham was now a hundred and forty years old, yet it may be said of him, as it was afterwards of Moses, "His eye was not dim, neither was his natural force abated." He was a healthful and vigorous old man, enjoying in peace, plenty, and honor, the fruits of a temperate and upright life. Isaac was happily married and settled; and the father began to think that it might add to his happiness and usefulness to be married also. He was at this time only ten years older than Terah was at his birth, and of the same age with Terah at the birth of Sarah.

The second wife of Abraham was Keturah, — a pious woman, probably, of his own household. She bare him six sons; viz., Zimran, Jokshan, Medan, Midian, Ishbak, and Shuah. Of these, Midian was the father of the Midianites, of whom we hear often in the sacred history. Shuah may have been the progenitor of Bildad the Shuhite, one of the three friends of Job. Among the grandsons of Abraham by Keturah was Sheba, whose descendants became a nation, and whose queen made a visit to Solomon in the time of his glory. So true was it of Abraham, according to promise, that he became the father of many nations.

Where Abraham dwelt after his second marriage, we are not informed; only we know that it was in the extreme south of the land of Canaan, not far from the desert which separates Canaan from Egypt. It may have been at Hebron or Beersheba; or still farther south, at the well Lahai-roi. At this latter place, we know that Isaac dwelt after his father's death (Gen. xxv. 11).

Although a young family was now growing up around Abraham, he well knew that Isaac was the child of promise. It was through him that the blessings of the covenant were to come upon the world. Accordingly, his substance in the land of Canaan was all given to Isaac; while to his other children he gave gifts, and sent them, before his death, into the east country. The sons of Keturah seem to have mingled with the Ishmaelites and the Moabites.

Their relations with the Israelites were intimate, both in war and peace. When Moses fled from the court of Pharaoh, he dwelt forty years among the Midianites, and married the daughter of a priest of Midian.

At length, laden with honors as with years, the patriarch Abraham left the world. He died thirty-five years after his marriage with Keturah, — at the age of a hundred and seventy-five. It is pleasant to know that Ishmael united with Isaac in paying honors to his venerable father at his funeral. He was buried, as already stated, in the Cave of Machpelah, where, more than forty years before, he had deposited the remains of his beloved Sarah.

CHAPTER XVI.

ABRAHAM AND ISAAC.

IN the last chapter, we continued the history of Abraham to his death. It might be expected that a man so eminent for wisdom and goodness, and so well known in all the principal countries of the East, would leave some memorial of himself beyond the line of his own posterity. And so we find it. The name of Abraham was long known among not only the Israelites, but other ancient nations. Thus Berosus, the Chaldæan, speaks of him as “a man righteous and great, and skilled in celestial science.” And Hecateus, who resided at the court of the Ptolemies in Egypt, wrote a work in his praise. Nicolaus of Damascus tells of his coming out of Chaldæa into Syria, and thence removing into Canaan, where his posterity became exceedingly numerous.* Eusebius quotes Eupolemus and Antipanus, heathen writers, both of whom make honorable mention of Abraham, and note some of the principal events in his history.†

The fame of Abraham in the countries where he lived may be learned from the legends which are still current respecting him. The first, which we give in the language of the Koran, shows the manner in which (amidst prevailing idolatries) the mind of Abraham became established in the doctrine of one God: “When night overshadowed him, he saw a star, and said, *This is my Lord*. But, when the star set, he said, *I will not have this*. Then the moon arose, and he said, *This is my Lord*. But the moon set also; and he said, *If I follow this, I shall be led astray*. Next the sun arose, and he said, *This, surely, is my Lord*. But the sun went down; and he exclaimed, *O my people! I am clear of all these things*. I now turn my *face to Him who made the heavens and the earth*.”

Another Abrahamic legend, which is of Persian origin, shows

* See Antiquities of Josephus, book i. chap. 8.

† Præp. Evan., lib. ix. chap. 17.

how the venerable patriarch obtained the idea of religious toleration. We quote from Jeremy Taylor's "Liberty of Prophesying:" "When Abraham sat at his tent-door, according to his custom, waiting to entertain strangers, he espied a venerable man, stooping, and leaning on his staff, weary with age and travel, who was a hundred years old. He received him kindly into his tent, washed his feet, provided him a supper, and caused him to sit down; but, observing that the old man did not ask a blessing on his meat, he inquired why he did not worship the God of heaven. The old man replied, that he worshipped fire, and no other God. At this Abraham grew angry, thrust him out of his tent, and exposed him, unguarded, to all the evils of the night. Then God called to Abraham out of heaven, and asked him where the stranger was. He replied, *I thrust him away from me because he did not worship thee. But God answered, I have suffered him these hundred years, though he dishonored me; and couldst thou not endure him for a single night, when he gave thee no trouble?* Upon this Abraham took him back again, and gave him hospitable entertainment and wise instruction. Go thou, and do likewise."

The history of Abraham, over which we have passed, is of great value to us as *an example*. He was an example to his spiritual children of nearly every grace and virtue of religion. His life goes to illustrate, first of all, the nature and the efficacy of *faith*, — that faith which springs from the heart, and controls the life. When Abraham received a revelation from God, *he believed it*; and when a command was issued, growing out of such revelation, he knew no other way than to *obey it*. Thus, when called to leave his country and go to a foreign land, he went, asking no questions. And, when called to the dreadful act of sacrificing his son, he did the same: he prepared at once to make the sacrifice, trusting in God to fulfil his promise in raising him from the dead.

Abraham was also an example in patient *waiting upon God*. We are apt to be in a hurry, expecting God to fulfil his promises *right off*, — in our own way and time, — or not at all. But Abraham understood God's method of dealing with his creatures better than this. He had early a promise of a numerous posterity; but it was twenty-five long years after he entered Canaan before the child of promise was born. He had promise after promise that the land of Canaan should be given to him and his posterity for a possession; but he lived not to see the fulfilment of these promises. Still he doubted not that they would be fulfilled; and, in God's own way and time, they were.

Abraham was an example, to all believers, of a *truly devotional spirit*. He loved God, and loved his worship. He loved to have intercourse and communion with him. Accordingly, wherever he pitched his tent, — at Sichem, at Bethel, at Mamre, at Beersheba, — from the time of his coming into Canaan to the day of his death, we find him erecting an altar, and calling on the name of the Lord. Such was his habit, his course of life, everywhere. No man could sojourn a day in the family of Abraham without understanding that he was a friend and worshipper of the God of heaven.

Abraham was an example, to all men, of strict *worldly integrity and generosity*. Witness his generous treatment of Lot when he told him to take his choice in what part of the land to dwell: “If thou wilt take the right hand, then I will go to the left; or if thou depart to the left hand, then I will go to the right.” Witness his generous treatment of those who suffered in the sacking of Sodom: “I will not take from thee so much as a thread or a shoe-latchet, lest thou shouldst say, I have made Abraham rich.” Witness also his persistent uprightness in purchasing the field of Machpelah of the children of Heth. How much have Christians in our own time to learn of the patriarch Abraham in respect to this matter of worldly integrity! How much more would the gospel have been honored, how much less disgraced, if all Christians had been as upright as he!

I might speak of many other traits in which Abraham was an example to us all. Witness his princely hospitality in receiving the strangers who came to him at Mamre, when he had the honor of “entertaining angels unawares.” Witness his deep feeling and anxiety for sinful men who were about to be destroyed, as evinced in his fervent intercessions for the Sodomites. This was very like Paul, who could not speak without weeping of those who were enemies of the cross of Christ; or, rather, it was like the great Seed of Abraham, who beheld Jerusalem from the brow of Olivet, and wept over it.

And, when he came to the close of life, Abraham was an example to all heads of families in making a satisfactory disposition of his worldly estate. He set not only his heart, but his house, in order. He made large gifts to Ishmael and to the sons of Keturah, and sent them away into the east country; while Isaac, as the son of promise, he retained, and richly endowed in the land of Canaan.

After all, Abraham was not a perfect man. He did not claim to

be, nor is he so set before us in the Scriptures. His denial of his wife on two separate occasions was strangely inconsistent with his general character, and was followed (as such expedients commonly are) with unpleasant results. His consenting to the proposal of Sarah in regard to Hagar was also a blot upon his character, which produced the appropriate fruits of bitterness and sorrow. God is faithful to correct his children when they wander from him, and thus restore them to the right way.

Abraham, though he lived to a good old age, could not live always. Though he sustained his probation, and performed his part nobly on the earth, and left a name behind him second to that of no mere man in point of honor and influence, yet he could not be exempted from the stroke of death. Like the long line of patriarchs who had gone before him, he died. His dust still reposes in the Cave of Machpelah, awaiting the resurrection of the just.

From Abraham, we now turn to contemplate briefly the life of Isaac. For twenty years after his marriage, he continued childless; when Rebecca was delivered of two sons at a birth. Esau and Jacob had been the subjects of much prayer, and of divine predictions, before they were born. It had been foretold that they would be the fathers of two nations, — of two sorts of people, — and that the elder should serve the younger. Esau, the elder, was a hairy man, a cunning hunter, a man of the field; but Jacob was a plain man, a shepherd, dwelling in tents. Esau was the special favorite of his father; but Jacob, of his mother. These boys were fifteen years old when their grandfather Abraham died. They, no doubt, had often seen him, and had the benefit of his counsels and his prayers.

While Jacob and Esau were in early manhood (though we know not the precise year), an event occurred which had an important influence on their future lives. Jacob had prepared a mess of pottage; and Esau, coming home faint and hungry from the field, asked that he might partake of it. And Jacob said, "Yes, if you will consent to sell me your birthright." To this Esau consented, under oath, saying, "I am faint, and ready to die; and what good shall this birthright do me?" So he sold his birthright unto Jacob, ate of the pottage, and went his way.

The question has been asked, What was it, precisely, which Esau sold, and Jacob purchased, at this time? It was, undoubtedly, the peculiar privileges, which, according to patriarchal usages, belonged to the first-born. Among these pre-eminently, in the

case before us, were those *covenant blessings* which had been promised to Abraham and Isaac. These were what Esau despised; these were what he sold for a mess of pottage; these were what, when the blessing had been given to Jacob, he could not recover, though he "sought them carefully with tears." It was the selling of these rich covenant blessings for a mess of pottage which led the apostle to speak of him as "a profane person."* He might have bartered away any mere temporal privileges without incurring such a charge; but to sell for such a price the blessings of the everlasting covenant was indeed profane.

Isaac seems never to have travelled far from his birthplace, in the extreme south of Canaan. He purposed, in a season of famine, to go into Egypt; but the Lord prohibited him, saying, "Sojourn in this land, and I will be with thee, and bless thee;" repeating at the same time the rich covenant promises which had been so often made to his father. So Isaac turned aside, and dwelt at Gerar, which was only a short distance from his usual abode.

Here he found an Abimelech on the throne, — probably a descendant of the Abimelech who reigned there in the time of Abraham. And here Isaac fell into the same error which his father had committed before him; viz., the denial of his wife. He said of Rebekah that she was his sister; being afraid to call her his wife, lest the people of the land should kill him for her sake. But Abimelech soon discovered that she was his wife, when he sharply reproved Isaac for his equivocation. He did not, however, send him away, or inflict upon him any punishment: so far from this, he granted him protection, saying to his people, "Whoever toucheth this man or his wife, with intent to injure them, shall surely be put to death."

Isaac abode several years among the Philistines, at Gerar, and was remarkably prospered in all his worldly interests. The seed which he sowed yielded him a hundred-fold. He had flocks and herds, and great store of servants. His prosperity at length excited the envy of the Philistines, and they began to annoy him. They filled up the wells which his father had digged; and, when the servants of Isaac digged new wells, the herdsmen of Gerar strove with them, and drove them away. At length, Abimelech came to Isaac, and said, "Go from us; for thou art mightier than we." So Isaac departed unto Beersheba, and built an altar there, and

* Heb. xii. 16.

called upon the name of the Lord ; and the Lord appeared to him, and blessed him, and confirmed to him the promises which were so often made to Abraham his father.

While Isaac abode at Beersheba, Abimelech and his chief captain came to him, and entered into a treaty of perpetual peace and friendship. They were led to do this under the impression that the Lord certainly favored Isaac, and that it would be hazardous to contend with him further.

When Esau was forty years old, without consulting his parents, he connected himself in marriage with two Canaanitish women ; viz., Judith and Bashemath, of the daughters of Heth. And these, it is said, were “ a grief of mind to Isaac and Rebekah ; ” or, as the Septuagint translates it, “ they quarrelled with Isaac and Rebekah.” At any rate, the connection was an unhappy one, which served more than ever to alienate the heart of Rebekah from her eldest son. Still they seem to have lived together, or near to each other, at Beersheba or Mamre or Hebron, for a series of years. Isaac, a quiet old gentleman, was at the head of the household ; Esau was an expert hunter, who supplied his father with venison, of which he was very fond ; while Jacob had charge of the flocks and herds.

When Isaac was a hundred and thirty-five years old, and his eyes were dim that he could not see, he one day directed Esau to take his quiver and bow, and go out into the field and procure some venison : “ And make me savory meat,” said he, “ such as I love, that I may eat, and that my soul may bless thee before I die.” And Esau did as his father had commanded. He went to the field to hunt for venison.

Meanwhile, Rebekah — who had heard what had passed, and who was resolved that the paternal blessing should rest, not on the head of Esau, but on that of Jacob — called her younger son, and concerted with him a plan by which her purpose might be carried into effect : “ Go now to the flock, and fetch me from thence two kids of the goats, and I will make of them savory meat such as your father loveth ; and thou shalt bring it to him that he may eat, and may bless thee before his death.” But Jacob objected : “ Though my father cannot see, he can feel ; and as Esau is a hairy man, and I am a smooth man, he will put forth his hand to feel of me, and will know that I am a deceiver ; and so shall I bring a curse upon myself, and not a blessing.” But Rebekah said, “ Trust me for that : only do as I have directed.”

So Jacob went, and brought the kids to his mother. And she made the savory meat; and she took Esau's raiment, and put it upon Jacob, and put the skins of the kids upon his hands and upon the smooth part of his neck, and told him to take the meat and carry it to his father. He did so, and, by dint of deception and falsehood, effectually imposed upon the good old man, and secured to himself the blessing which was intended for Esau: "God give thee of the dew of heaven and the fatness of the earth, and plenty of corn and wine. Let peoples serve thee, and nations bow down to thee. Be lord over thy brethren, and let thy mother's sons bow down to thee. Cursed be every one that curseth thee, and blessed be he that blesseth thee."

Isaac had scarcely done pronouncing this blessing, when Esau came in with *his* savory meat that he might receive his father's blessing. The deceit which had been practised was at once discovered, much to the distress of both Isaac and Esau. But the blessing had been pronounced, and could not be revoked. And Esau wept aloud, and said, "Hast thou but one blessing, my father? Bless me, even me also, O my father!" Overcome by his entreaties, Isaac bestowed upon him such a blessing as he could, — not to revoke that which had been given to Jacob, but in consistency with it: "Behold, thy dwelling shall be the fatness of the earth, and of the dew of heaven from above. By thy sword thou shalt live, and shalt serve thy brother; and it shall come to pass, when thou shalt have the dominion, that thou shalt break his yoke from off thy neck."

It is no excuse for Rebekah or Jacob, that, in securing the blessing as they did, they were fulfilling a divine purpose, which had been disclosed even before Jacob and Esau were born. The means which they used were altogether unworthy of them. They were base and sinful; and, in resorting to them, they have left a stain upon their characters, which no length of years can wash away. No wonder that Esau was offended with his brother; and we scarcely wonder, that, in the heat of his anger, he should threaten his brother's life.

Rebekah heard of his threats, and was alarmed; and, to screen her beloved son from danger, she proposed to him to flee to Haran, to the house of her brother Laban, and there remain until Esau's anger should be appeased. And, to secure the consent of Isaac to the proposal, she coupled with it another object, — the procuring of a wife for Jacob from among her kindred: "I am weary of my

life," said she to her husband, "because of the daughters of Heth. If Jacob take a wife from among them, what good shall my life do me?"

This thought struck Isaac most agreeably. So he called Jacob to him, and charged him not to take a wife of the daughters of Canaan; but "go thou to Padan-aram, to the house of Bethuel, thy mother's father, and take thee a wife of the daughters of Laban, thy mother's brother." And, having renewed his blessing upon Jacob, he sent him away.

Jacob was now about seventy-five years of age.* The particulars of his journey, of his residence in the family of Laban, and of his return to Canaan after the lapse of some twenty years, will be treated of in another place. Rebekah supposed, probably, that he would be absent but a little while. She expected him soon to return, with one of her nieces for his wife, to be a comfort to her in her declining years. But the probability is that she never saw him more. She seems to have died some twenty years after this, —about the time that Jacob left Padan-aram for Canaan, —and was buried in the cave at Machpelah.†

Of Isaac we hear very little after this time. He continued to reside at Mamre until the return of Jacob, after an absence of about thirty years, twenty of which were spent with Laban, and ten at Shechem and Bethel and in the more northerly parts of Canaan.

Supposing Jacob to have returned to Mamre at the end of thirty years, his own age at that time would have been a hundred and five, and that of his father a hundred and sixty-five. Isaac lived, after this, about fifteen years, soothed and comforted, no doubt, by the kind attentions of his children and household. He died at the advanced age of a hundred and eighty, and was buried by his sons in the family cemetery at Machpelah.

Of the character of Isaac, little need be said. That he was truly pious, there can be no doubt. With less capacity and enterprise than either Abraham or Jacob, he was distinguished chiefly for the virtues of social and domestic life. If he never startles us by any

* Jacob was a hundred and thirty years old when he stood before Pharaoh (Gen. xlvii. 9). Joseph was at this time about forty years old (compare Gen. xli. 46 with Gen. xlv. 11). Hence Jacob was ninety years older than Joseph. Joseph was born about fifteen years after Jacob went to reside with Laban. Hence Jacob was seventy-five years old when he went.

† We infer that Rebekah died about this time, since we find Deborah, her nurse, in the family of Jacob soon after his return to Canaan (Gen. xxxv. 8). She would not have left Rebekah while she lived.

stirring adventures or great undertakings, he was one whom all about him must have respected and loved, — whose name is still honored, and shall go down with honor to the end of the world.

We close with some additional notices of the life of Esau. After Jacob's departure to Padan-aram, Esau married Mahaletb,* a daughter of Ishmael, thinking thereby to gratify Isaac and Rebekah. He resided for a time either with his father, or near him, in the land of Canaan. But, before Jacob's return from the east, he had migrated, with his family and dependants, to Seir, a mountainous region lying south of the Dead Sea. He was an expert warrior as well as hunter; for he conquered the Horites, the original inhabitants of Seir, with whom his descendants afterwards intermarried.† He probably visited his father often while he lived, and was present to assist at his burial.

Esau seems to have possessed a good natural disposition and a tender heart. He exhibited many kind and estimable social qualities. But his idolatrous connections drew him and his descendants away from the service and worship of the true God, and involved them in all the corruptions of heathenism.

Esau was also called *Edom*, i.e. *Red*; and his descendants were commonly called Edomites. They became numerous and powerful, possessing the whole country lying immediately south of Canaan, even unto the borders of the Red Sea.‡ Indeed, it was from Edom, *the Red*, that the Red Sea is supposed to have derived its name.§

We have no account in the Scriptures of Esau's age or death. He probably died in Mount Seir, and was not buried in the family sepulchre at Machpelah.

Ishmael survived his father Abraham about fifty years, and died at the age of a hundred and thirty-seven, — fifty-six years before the death of Isaac.

* This Mahaletb is also called Bashemath. The other wives of Esau seem to have taken new names at their marriage. Thus Adah, the daughter of Elon the Hittite, and Aholibamah, the daughter of Anah the Hivite, are also called Bashemath and Judith. Anah, the father of Aholibamah, is also called Beeri, from his having found some warm springs in the desert. Compare Gen. xxxvi. 2, 3, with xxvi. 34, xxviii. 9, xxxvi. 24.

† See Deut. ii. 12; also Gen. xxxvi. 20-30.

‡ See 1 Kings ix. 26.

§ The waters of the Red Sea are as clear and pure as those of the Mediterranean; and there is no sedge or seaweed, or reddish vegetation, growing in it or on its shores.

CHAPTER XVII.

JACOB AND JOSEPH.

IN the last chapter, we pursued the history of the patriarch Jacob, in its connection with that of Isaac his father, to the time of his being sent from home to escape the wrath of his brother Esau. The journey from Beersheba, in the extreme south of Canaan, to Haran, or Padan-aram, beyond the Euphrates, cannot be less than five hundred miles. The circumstances of the case required that Jacob should be sent away privately, without any parade or expensive outfit. He entered upon his long journey on foot and alone. As to the incidents of it, we only know what took place at Bethel. As he passed along in weariness and solitude, oppressed with a sense of his cares and dangers, night overtook him in a certain place where was no dwelling and no inhabitant. The sun was set; and with a stone for his pillow, and the canopy of heaven for a covering, he laid him down to rest. In his sleep, he was favored with a most remarkable vision. He saw a ladder standing upon the earth, the top of which reached unto heaven; and, behold, the angels of God were ascending and descending upon it. And the Lord Jehovah stood above it, and there graciously repeated and confirmed the promises which had before been made to Abraham and to Isaac: "The land on which thou liest, to thee will I give it, and to thy seed; and thy seed shall be as the dust of the earth; and thou shalt spread abroad to the east, and to the west, and to the north, and to the south; and in thy seed shall all the families of the earth be blessed. And behold I am with thee, and will keep thee in all places whither thou goest: and I will bring thee again unto this land; for I will not leave thee until I have accomplished all that which I have promised.

"And Jacob awaked out of his sleep, and said, Surely the Lord is in this place, and I knew it not. And he was afraid, and said, How dreadful is this place! This is none other than the house of God and the gate of heaven."

The vision which he had seen, the voice he had heard, filled the mind of the patriarch with holy awe. He set up the stone on which he had lain for an anointed pillar, and called the name of it *Bethel*, — *the house of God*. And he vowed a vow, saying, “If God will be with me, and will keep me in the way which I go, and will give me bread to eat, and raiment to put on, so that I come again to my father’s house in peace, then shall the Lord be my God. And this stone which I have set for a pillar shall be *Bethel*, — *God’s house*; and, of all that the Lord shall give me, I will surely give a tenth unto thee.”

Encouraged by his vision, Jacob went joyfully on his way, and soon came to the place of his destination. Almost the first person he saw was Rachel, the daughter of his uncle Laban, who came to water her father’s flock. He made himself known to her, assisted her in watering the sheep, was at once invited to Laban’s house, and became a member of his family. And here he remained twenty years, having the principal charge of Laban’s flocks. Fourteen years he served his uncle for his two daughters, Leah and Rachel; and six years he tended the herds and flocks upon shares; a certain portion of the increase belonging, by contract, to himself.

During these six years, the Lord prospered Jacob greatly. His substance increased so rapidly as to excite the envy of Laban and his sons. They said, “Jacob hath taken away all that was our father’s; and of that which was our father’s hath he gotten all this wealth.”

Meanwhile, Jacob’s family had increased. He had become the father of twelve children, — eleven sons and one daughter. He began to think that it was time for him to provide more distinctly for his own, and, in order to this, that he must return into Canaan. Indeed, he was admonished to do so by an express revelation from God. So he called for his wives, Leah and Rachel, explained to them his purpose, and readily obtained their consent and approbation.

Then Jacob took his wives and his children, his flocks and his herds, and all his substance, and departed secretly from Padan-aram while Laban was absent shearing his sheep. Jacob had been gone three days before Laban heard of it. He then collected a great company, and pursued after Jacob, and on the seventh day overtook him in Mount Gilead. This mountain was about forty miles east of the Sea of Galilee, in a region called in the New Testament Trachonitis.

It was the purpose of Laban, undoubtedly, to capture Jacob, and by force to take him back; but the Lord appeared to him in a dream, and warned him to desist: "Take heed that thou speak not to Jacob either good or bad." So they met, and, after some mutual chiding and reproof, entered into a covenant. And they made a great heap of stones, and called it *Gilead*, that is, *witness*; because it was to remain as a token, a witness, between the contracting parties. Hence the place was called ever afterwards *Mount Gilead*. And, having feasted together, Jacob and his father-in-law parted in peace, and Laban returned to his place.

One of the complaints of Laban against Jacob was, that he, or some of his company, had stolen his *images*, his *household gods*. But Rachel, who had taken them, had so effectually concealed them, that they could not be found. We learn from this fact that Laban and his family were idolaters, and that Rachel herself had not yet been weaned from this detestable practice.

No sooner had Laban departed, and Jacob was relieved of his fears in respect to him, than he began to be distressed with apprehensions from another quarter. He was now approaching the land of Canaan, and must expect soon to meet his brother Esau; and, knowing his brother's long-cherished resentment, he dreaded the result. And though he was encouraged at Mahanaim by a vision of angels, still his mind was not at ease: so he selected some of his more trusty servants, and sent them to Mount Seir to meet Esau, that they might tell him of his approach, and crave his forgiveness and his favor. As the journey from Mahanaim to Seir was more than a hundred miles, the embassy must have occasioned Jacob no little delay; and, when the messengers returned, their report, instead of allaying his fears, served greatly to increase them: "Thy brother Esau cometh out to meet thee, and four hundred men with him."

No wonder Jacob was alarmed. Encumbered as he was with his wives and his children, his flocks and his herds, and with few or no means of defence, what could he do against such a force? Having no other resource, Jacob betook himself at once to prayer: "O Lord God of my fathers Abraham and Isaac; the Lord which said unto me, Return unto thy country, and I will deal well with thee: I am not worthy of the least of all the mercies and of all the truth which thou hast showed unto thy servant; for with my staff I passed over this Jordan, and now I am become two bands. Deliver me, I pray thee, from the hand of my brother

Esau ; for I fear him, lest he come and smite the mother with the children."

Nor did Jacob satisfy himself with mere supplication. He felt the importance of *means* as well as prayers : so he took a rich present of goats and sheep and camels and kine and asses, and divided them into several companies, and sent them forward, one after another, to meet his brother, that, if possible, he might appease and melt him by these successive gifts. And, having arranged all things in the best possible manner, he betook himself again to prayer. He remained all night alone with God, and seems to have had a most remarkable manifestation of the Divine Presence. A man appeared to him, — whether in the body or out of the body, I cannot tell, — and wrestled with him the greater part of the night, and prevailed not against him.* This wrestling, though literal, was but the symbol of a mightier struggle which was going on in Jacob's heart. Towards morning, the stranger — seeing he could prevail in no other way — touched the hollow of Jacob's thigh, and instantly maimed him. The sinew of the thigh contracted and shrank.† By this Jacob knew, if he did not know before, that his companion was a divine person ; and this only rendered him the more importunate. So when the messenger said, "Let me go, for the day breaketh," Jacob replied, "I will not let thee go except thou bless me," — a remarkable instance, this, of power and perseverance in prayer. Jacob obtained the desired blessing. He obtained also this noble testimony : "As a prince hast thou power with God and with man, and hast prevailed." It was at this time, too, that his name was changed : "Thou shalt no more be called Jacob" (the *supplanter*) ; "but thou shalt be called *Israel*" (the *prince of God*).

Jacob's prayer and his success are beautifully set forth in one of Wesley's hymns, beginning thus : —

"Come, O thou traveller unknown,
Whom still I hold, but cannot see !
My company before is gone,
And I am left alone with thee.
With thee all night I mean to stay,
And wrestle till the break of day."

* From the most ancient times, wrestling has been regarded as a symbol of prayer. To this day, the religious exercises of some Orientals consist in wrestling, and are conducted, often, with such vehemence as to dislocate the joints. — See *Wolff's Travels and Adventures*, chap. 22.

† To this day, the Jews abstain from eating the backs of animals. — See Rosenmuller *in loc.*

The day following this remarkable transaction, Jacob and Esau came together, and the interview was one of great kindness and tenderness: "Esau ran to meet Jacob, and fell on his neck, and kissed him; and they both wept." Jacob introduced him to his wives and children, showed him his flocks and herds, and persuaded him, against his will, to accept the presents which had been sent to him. Esau, on his part, invited Jacob to accompany him to Mount Seir, and dwell with him, or at least to accept a body-guard to conduct him and his family into Canaan; both which offers Jacob thought proper to decline. The brothers separated with the strongest professions of friendship and love; and, though they must often have met afterwards, they seem never to have quarrelled more.

Jacob's first remove after this was to Succoth, a ford of the Jordan, where he built him a house, and made booths for his cattle. Hence the name of the place, "Succoth" (*booths*). How long he remained here, we know not, — probably but a little while.

He next passed over the Jordan into Canaan, and settled at Shalem, near to Shechem, where he bought a piece of ground, and built an altar unto the Lord.* Here, it will be remembered, Abraham encamped when he first came from Haran into Canaan. Here Jacob must have remained some ten or twelve years. Why he was not in more haste to pass into the south of Canaan, and dwell with his father, we do not know. While Jacob abode here, his mother died; and Deborah, Rebekah's nurse, came to reside with him at Shechem.

We infer that Jacob must have remained several years at this place, from the fact that his daughter Dinah, who could not have been more than five or six years old when he left Padan-aram, here came to be marriageable; and her hand was earnestly sought by Shechem, a prince of the country. It was the contemplated match between Shechem and Dinah which led to the removal of Jacob. Shechem had got possession of Dinah, and had dishonored her. This so provoked her brothers, that they rose upon the men of the place, and slew them. They captured their city, took their spoil, and rescued Dinah out of their hands.

This outrage was committed without the knowledge or consent of Jacob. He was distressed on account of it; and, for fear that the

* In Gen. xlviii. 22, Jacob says that he took this piece of ground out of the hand of the Amorite with his sword and with his bow. Probably the Amorites took possession of it after the purchase, and he was obliged to recover it by force.

people of the land would rise upon him and destroy him, he yielded to a divine monition, and removed his residence to Bethel. Jacob had another reason for going to Bethel. He had not yet fulfilled the vow which he made when on his way to Padan-aram, that if the Lord would be with him, and return him in safety to his native land, then *the Lord should be his God*, and the stone which he had erected should be to him as *the house of God*, and a sanctuary for his worship.

As preparatory to the solemnities to be performed at Bethel, Jacob required of his household that they should put away all the strange gods that were among them, and change their raiment, and be clean; and they gave up their idols and their ear-rings, and Jacob took them, and buried them under an oak at Shechem. And they journeyed, and came to Bethel; and Jacob built there an altar to the Lord, who appeared to him in the way when he fled from his brother Esau.

From the occurrences here mentioned, it is evident that idolatry had long been practised at Padan-aram. It had been practised by Terah and Nahor and Bethuel and Laban; and, when Rachel was about to leave her father's house, she stole his images, and kept them until the removal to Bethel, when Jacob took them away and buried them, and we hear of them no more.

After the solemnities at Bethel, God appeared again to Jacob, assuring him that he should be the father of nations, and that all the land of Canaan should be given to his seed for a possession. It was while he remained at Bethel that good old Deborah died. She had been given to Rebekah, when she left her father's house, to be her nurse and the nurse of her children. She had probably nursed Jacob in his infancy; and now she had come to end her days with him. She was buried, in great honor, under an oak at Bethel.

And Jacob and his company journeyed southward, and came to Ephrath, the same as Bethlehem. Here Rachel died in childbed, after giving birth to her second son, Benjamin. She was buried at Ephrath; and Jacob set up a pillar upon her grave, which was standing in the days of Moses, and, some think, is standing at the present time. At any rate, a place called the Tomb of Rachel is still shown to pilgrims and travellers in the vicinity of Bethlehem.

From Bethlehem Jacob journeyed still farther south, and came to his aged father at Mamre. He may have personally visited him before; but now he had come, with his family and household, to

reside with him or near him,—to be his support and comfort in declining years.

Isaac must have been, at this time, about a hundred and sixty-five years old. He had lost his eyesight, and had been bereaved of his wife: still he seems to have been enjoying a quiet old age. He lived fifteen years after the return of Jacob, and died at the advanced period of a hundred and eighty years,—five years older than his father Abraham. His sons were both present at his burial, and seem to have come to an amicable division of his estate. Esau took his portion, and departed to Mount Seir. Their riches were too great for them to dwell together: “The land wherein they were strangers could not bear them, because of the multitude of their cattle.”

When Jacob returned to his father’s house, he must have been about a hundred and five years old. His sons were several of them grown to manhood. As his numerous flocks could not be accommodated with pasturage where they were, Jacob trusted his sons to drive them to a distance from home, and to have the charge of them.

For one of his sons Jacob had a peculiar affection,—I may even say, a dangerous partiality. This was Joseph, an amiable and pious youth, about seventeen years of age, the first-born of his beloved Rachel. He did not suffer Joseph to be long from home; though, when the older sons were absent, he would send him occasionally to inquire after their welfare.

Jacob’s manifest partiality for Joseph excited the envy of his brethren; and this was greatly increased by the prophetic dreams of Joseph, which he had the simplicity to relate, importing that the whole family would some day be subordinated to him. Inflamed by their prejudices, the elder brothers meditated mischief against Joseph; and Providence soon enabled them to put their plans in execution. They were tending the flocks, first at Shechem,—perhaps on the parcel of ground which their father had purchased,—and afterwards at Dothan, which was still farther from Mamre. “And Jacob said to Joseph, Go, I pray thee, and see if it be well with thy brethren and with the flocks, and bring me word again. So he went out from his father to go to his brethren; and, when they saw him at a distance, they said one to another, Behold, the dreamer cometh!” And they conspired against him to kill him. They were dissuaded, however, from this bloody purpose, and concluded to sell him into slavery. So they sold him to a com-

pany of Midianites, who were going into Egypt, for twenty pieces of silver. At the same time, they took his coat, — a beautiful coat, which a father's fondness had provided, — and smeared it with the blood of a kid, and sent it to their father, hoping in this way to satisfy him that Joseph had been torn in pieces by ravenous beasts; and this was the conclusion to which Jacob naturally came: "Joseph is, without doubt, rent in pieces, — an evil beast hath devoured him." And Jacob rent his clothes, and put sackcloth on his loins, and mourned for his son many days. So great was his grief, that he refused to be comforted, saying, "I will go down to the grave to my son mourning."

We cannot pursue this sad story without remarking, that these elder sons of Jacob must have been, at this period, very wicked, unprincipled young men. They could not have had the training and instruction which Abraham bestowed upon Isaac. Their mothers were probably idolaters, envious of each other, and often at variance. Their father was much from home, in charge of Laban's flocks and his own; he had little opportunity to command his children and his household after him; and they grew up in the practice of wickedness. Witness their murder of the Shechemites, of which I have already spoken; witness the conduct of Reuben in defiling his father's bed;* witness their unfeeling, inhuman treatment of Joseph, and their cold-blooded hypocrisy in deceiving and distressing their venerable father, and in keeping up the deception for a course of years.

But to return to Joseph. The Midianites who bought him took him with them into Egypt, and sold him to Potiphar, one of the chief officers in the court of Pharaoh; and here the Lord was with him, and greatly prospered him. His conduct was so judicious and trustworthy, that Potiphar set him over his house, and confided to him all that he had.

The story of Joseph in Egypt is so admirably told by the sacred writer, that I will not undertake to paraphrase or abridge it: I would rather refer the reader to the narrative itself. With an inimitable simplicity, and with a sufficient degree of particularity, Moses has told us of the great favor which was shown to Joseph by his master; of his wife's most wicked design against the young man's chastity; of her wrath and revenge when she found herself defeated; of his being unjustly cast into prison; of the kind regard of the keeper of the prison towards him; of his interpreting the

* Gen. xxxv. 22.

dreams of the chief butler and baker; and, finally, of his being called to interpret the dreams of Pharaoh, which proved the occasion of his enlargement. He tells Pharaoh of the coming seven years of plenty, to be followed by seven years of famine; and advises him to gather together in storehouses all the surplus food of the first seven years, and lay it up against the years of want, that so there may be bread in the land of Egypt, and the people perish not. This excellent advice was accepted by Pharaoh; and Joseph was put in charge of the whole business of collecting, storing, and distributing the abundance of Egypt. In fact, Joseph was made governor over all Egypt; was married to an honorable woman, a daughter of the priest of On, and rode in the second chariot of the kingdom; while subject courtiers ran before him, and cried, "*Bow the knee!*"

Nor did the high advancement of Joseph detract at all from his diligence in the discharge of official duty. For the first seven years, the earth brought forth by handfuls: and Joseph gathered corn as the sand of the sea, very much, until he left numbering; for it could not be numbered. Meanwhile, two sons were born to him in Egypt (Manasseh and Ephraim), who afterwards became heads of distinct tribes in Israel.

Joseph was seventeen years old when he was carried into Egypt: when he was taken out of prison to interpret the dreams of Pharaoh, he was thirty years old;* hence thirteen years had elapsed, which time he had spent either in the service of Potiphar or in prison. Seven years more were spent in laying up corn in the storehouses of Egypt; and then the predicted famine came,—a famine which prevailed not only in Egypt, but in all the surrounding countries.

As the fertility of Egypt is caused by the annual overflow of the Nile; so when the rains of the upper country are withheld, and the river is confined within its banks, a famine, desolating and terrible, is the direct result. There were two such famines in the eleventh and twelfth centuries: the first, like that of Joseph, lasted for seven years; of the other, the most fearful details are given by an eye-witness. I extract the passage, that we may see what an Egyptian famine is, and from what a terrible calamity Joseph was a means of delivering the country: "When the famine began, large numbers emigrated. The poor ate carrion, corpses, and dogs: they went further, devouring even little children.

* See Gen. xxxvii. 2, xli. 46.

The eating of human flesh became so common as to excite no surprise. The people spoke and heard of it as an indifferent thing." "As for the number of the poor who perished, God only knows how great it was. The traveller often passed through a large village without seeing a single inhabitant. In one village, we saw the dwellers of each house, — husband, wife, and children, — all dead. In another, where, till lately, there had been four hundred weaving-shops, we saw the weavers dead in their looms, and all their families dead around them. The road between Egypt and Syria was like a vast field sown with human bodies, or rather like a plain which had just been swept by the mower's scythe. It had become as a banquet-hall of the birds, wild beasts, and dogs, which gorged on the flesh of men." Such are but a few of the horrors which an Arabian author details;* but they are enough to account for the strong language of Scripture in describing Joseph's famine: "The land of Egypt fainted by reason of the famine. Give us bread; for why should we die before thine eyes, both we and our land? Buy us and our land for bread, and we will be servants to Pharaoh; and give us seed that we may not die, and that the land be not desolate." †

But it is time that we turn from Joseph and Egypt, and notice the state of things in the south of Canaan. Jacob was still residing at the old homestead at Hebron, or Mamre, or in that vicinity. He had buried his aged father, and also Leah; both of whom were laid in the cave at Machpelah. Joseph's brethren were all of them married, and had families of their own. Even Benjamin, the youngest, had a family of sons. He was the darling and delight of his father after the supposed loss of Joseph.

Meanwhile, the famine began to pinch them in the land of Canaan; and Jacob said to his sons, "Behold, I have heard that there is corn in Egypt. Get you down thither and buy for us, that we perish not." So the ten older sons of Jacob went down into Egypt to buy corn, leaving Benjamin at home with his father. And, when they came to Joseph, he recognized them at once, though they knew not him. And they bowed themselves before him, with their faces to the earth; thus fulfilling, unwittingly, his early dream of their sheaves doing obeisance to his sheaf. And Joseph, wishing to try them, spake roughly unto them, charged them with being spies, and put them in prison three days. But

* Abd-el-Latif, in Miss Martineau's *Eastern Travels*, chap. xx.

† Gen. xlvii. 13-20.

they assured him that they were not spies. They told him truthfully who they were, and whence and for what purpose they had come. They told him, too, of their aged father, and of their younger brother, whom they had left at home. Joseph thus learned, without being suspected, that his father and Benjamin were still alive.

It was finally arranged that one of their number, Simeon, should be left in Egypt as a hostage; that the rest should return to Canaan with bread for their households; and that, when they came again for corn, their youngest brother should come with them.

It is remarkable that this treatment on the part of Joseph should have had the effect to arouse the consciences of his brethren as to their past cruel treatment of him. They said one to another, without dreaming that the governor understood them, "We are verily guilty concerning our brother Joseph, in that we saw the anguish of his soul when he besought us, and we would not hear: therefore is this distress come upon us."*

Having confined Simeon, Joseph filled the sacks of his other brethren with corn, put their money privately into their sacks, gave them provisions for their journey, and sent them away. They returned in safety to their father, and told him all that had befallen them, — how the governor had treated them, had imprisoned them as spies, had retained Simeon as a hostage, and charged them, on their peril, not to return, unless their younger brother came with them. They told him, also, of their surprise and fear when they found that the price of their corn had been returned to them.

This intelligence was perplexing and painful to the good old patriarch, more especially that part of it which related to Benjamin. "Already," said he, "am I bereaved of my children. Joseph is not, and Simeon is not; and ye will take away Benjamin also. No: my son shall not go down with you. Should any mischief befall him, I could not survive it. Ye would bring down my gray hairs with sorrow to the grave."

In this perplexity and trial we leave the patriarch and his family, to resume and conclude the story in the following chapter.

* Gen. xlii. 21.

CHAPTER XVIII.

JACOB AND JOSEPH. — CONCLUDED.

IN our last, we followed the history of Jacob to the time of the famine, and to the return of his sons from their first journey into Egypt for the purchase of corn. They came back under a solemn injunction from the governor not to appear again in Egypt without their youngest brother. And Jacob was peremptory in his purpose that Benjamin should not go.

But the famine continued to be more and more severe. The corn which had been brought from Egypt was consumed. Various arguments had been used to induce Jacob to part with Benjamin, but to no purpose. But at length hunger accomplished what persuasion could not: Jacob yields the point, and concludes to send Benjamin with his brethren. He also directs that the returned money should be carried back to the governor, and with it a present such as they in their distress might be able to afford: "And God Almighty bless you, and give you mercy before the man, that he may send you back, and Benjamin with you."

So the sons of Jacob departed, and went a second time into Egypt. And Joseph made a feast for them in his own house, and inquired kindly after the health of their father. And, when he saw Benjamin, he said, "Is this the younger brother of whom ye spake? And he said, God be gracious to you, my son."

By this time, the feelings of Joseph overcame him. He was obliged to retire to his chamber and weep. He soon returned, however, and, to the astonishment of his unconscious brethren, seated them at table according to their respective ages. "How should the governor of Egypt know," they thought, "what our ages are?" And to increase their astonishment, when he filled their plates, he sent Benjamin five times as much as either of the rest.

However, the dinner passed pleasantly away; and, when it was

over, Joseph commanded his steward to fill the men's sacks with food, — as much as they could carry, — to put their money again into their sacks, to put his own silver cup into the sack of Benjamin, the youngest, and to send them away.

But scarcely had they left the city when Joseph sent his servants after them, charging them with stealing his cup, and ordering them back to answer for their fault. They solemnly denied the charge, affirming that they knew nothing of the matter. They even consented that he on whom the cup was found should be put to death. Their asses were at once unladed; their sacks were searched; and the cup was found in the sack of Benjamin, the youngest.

Their mortification and distress at this discovery can hardly be conceived. They rent their clothes; they returned to the city; they fell down before the governor, and said, "What shall we speak unto thee? or how shall we clear ourselves? Behold, we are thy servants, both we, and he with whom the cup is found." But Joseph said, "No: God forbid! He only in whose hand the cup is found shall be my servant; but as for you, return ye in peace unto your father."

Then Judah, who, by common consent, seems to have been chief speaker and spokesman among his brethren, presented himself before the governor, and gave utterance to one of the most touching and powerful speeches that ever fell from mortal lips. For simplicity, appropriateness, and melting pathos, I know nothing like it in all the specimens of ancient or modern oratory. After a brief introduction, Judah recounts to the governor the substance of what passed at their first interview, — how the governor inquired after their father and their younger brother; and enjoined, as the condition of seeing him again, that their younger brother must come with them. "And we said, He is the child of our father's old age; and his brother is dead, and his father loveth him. He cannot leave his father; for, if he should leave him, his father would die. But thou saidst, Except thy younger brother come down with you, ye shall see my face no more. And, when we came to our father, we told him the words of my lord. And when our father said again to us, Go down to Egypt, and buy us food, we answered, We cannot go down except our youngest brother be with us. And our father answered, Ye know that my wife Rachel bare me two sons; and one went out from me, and was torn in pieces, and I saw him no more. And if ye take this also from me, and mischief befall him, ye shall bring down my gray hairs with

sorrow to the grave. Now, therefore, when we be come to our father, and he seeth that the young man is not with us, he will surely die, and his life will be set to our account. For thy servant became surety for him unto my father, saying, If I bring him not unto thee, then shall I bear the blame to my father forever. How, then, shall I go up to my father, and my younger brother is not with me? How can I see the evil that shall come on my father?"

At this point, Judah ceased speaking; for the governor could hear no more. He instantly ordered away all his servants. He wept and sobbed aloud. And he said unto his brethren, "I am Joseph, whom ye sold into Egypt. Doth my father yet live?"

The feelings of his brethren at this moment were unutterable. They stood dumb, confounded, and troubled in his presence. But he encouraged them to come near to him, and said, "Be not grieved nor angry with yourselves that ye sold me into Egypt; for God did send me before you to save your lives with a great deliverance. Haste ye now, and go up to my father, and say unto him, Thy son Joseph is yet alive; and God hath exalted him, and made him lord over all Egypt. Come down unto me; tarry not. Five more years of the famine still remain, in which there shall be neither earing nor harvest. Come down unto me, and dwell near me in the land of Goshen, thou, and thy children, and thy children's children, and thy flocks and thy herds, and all that thou hast; and there will I nourish thee; lest thou and thy household come to poverty. And Joseph fell upon his brother Benjamin's neck, and wept; and Benjamin wept upon his neck. Moreover, he kissed all his brethren, and wept upon them; and after that his brethren talked with him."

Some critics have thought, on reading this narrative, that Joseph's object in putting his cup into Benjamin's sack, and getting him back, was to separate him from the rest of his brethren, retain him in his service, and let the others go. But a moment's reflection must have satisfied him that this was impossible. How could he retain Benjamin with him, and not acknowledge him as a brother? And how could he make himself known to him, and keep his father and his other brethren in ignorance? No: the object of Joseph's strange treatment of his brethren, from first to last, was undoubtedly to *try them*. He wished to see whether adversity had humbled them; what their feelings were towards their father and towards their younger brother; whether they were men to be trusted; and whether he might safely bring them near to himself. When he

had satisfied himself on points such as these, he was willing to avow his relation to them, — to own and treat them as brethren.

The fact that Joseph's brethren had come to him, and been acknowledged by him, was soon known in the house of Pharaoh; and it pleased Pharaoh well and his servants. And Pharaoh commanded that the men should return at once to their father with carriages, and with abundant provision for the way; and that they should bring their father, their wives, their children, and all their substance, into Egypt; promising to give them the good of the land of Egypt, and that they should eat the fat of the land. Joseph also gave them rich presents, and sent more valuable presents to his father; and with his advice and blessing he sent them away.

And when they had come into the land of Canaan, and had saluted their father, they told him of all that they had seen and heard. "Joseph is yet alive! He is governor over the land of Egypt! You are invited to repair to him without delay! Behold the rich presents and the carriages which he has sent!"

These tidings were too much for the heart of Jacob. He fainted, and was for a time as one dead. But he revived, and said, "It is enough. Joseph my son is yet alive! I will go and see him before I die."

Whether the sons of Jacob confessed to him at this time their wickedness in selling Joseph into Egypt, we are not informed; though it is to be presumed they did. They were not in a situation to keep any thing back. Besides, if they had been disposed to cover up their guilt, they must have known that it could not long be concealed. It may be hoped, therefore, that they made a full confession, and were forgiven.

As soon as possible, Jacob entered upon his journey, taking Beer-sheba, the southernmost point of Canaan, in his way. And here, to encourage him, the God of Abraham and Isaac appeared unto him, renewed his promises, and assured him of divine protection and support: "Fear not to go down into Egypt; for I am with thee, and will make of thee there a great nation; and I will bring thee up from thence, and Joseph shall be with thee to close thine eyes in death." So Jacob and his family went prosperously on, and soon came into the land of Egypt.

There is some discrepancy as to the number of Jacob's family who went into Egypt. Moses, in one place, says there were sixty-six; in the following verse, he says there were seventy;* while

* Gen. xlv. 26, 27.

Stephen (Acts vii. 14) says there were seventy-five. But this diversity results from the different ways in which they are reckoned. Reckoning only the lineal descendants of Jacob, — those who, in the language of the sacred writer, “came out of his loins,” excluding the patriarch himself, and Joseph and his two sons, who were already in Egypt, — and the number is sixty-six. Adding Jacob, Joseph, and his two sons, and the number is seventy. Excluding these last four, and adding nine (the number of Jacob’s sons’ wives who went into Egypt), and the number is seventy-five. And that the sons’ wives were included in the reckoning of Stephen, is evident from his language: “All his *kindred* were threescore and fifteen souls.” The sons’ wives, surely, were in the number of Jacob’s kindred.

There is another difficulty respecting Jacob’s family which went into Egypt, which has been much insisted on by infidel writers. In the catalogue of this family (Gen. xlv.), we find the names of Judah’s grandsons, viz. Hezron and Hamul (ver. 12); whereas it is certain that Pharez, the father of these children, could not have been at this time more than four or five years old, and consequently was incapable of having children. The solution of the difficulty is obviously this: Certain names are on this catalogue, among “those who went with Jacob into Egypt,” who were either in Egypt before, or who were born there afterwards. Thus the two sons of Joseph were born in Egypt before Jacob went there; yet they are numbered with those who “came with Jacob into Egypt.”* So the two grandsons of Judah were put in the catalogue, although they must have been born after the migration. Perhaps their names were inserted because they took the places of Er and Onan, two of Judah’s sons who died in the land of Canaan.

The design of the catalogue seems to have been to exhibit the family of Jacob as it was when he went into Egypt, or shortly after; although three of the family were already there, and two must have been born after the patriarch left the promised land.

It is likely that some of the ten sons of Benjamin whose names are in the catalogue (ver. 21) were born after the journey into Egypt, as Benjamin, at this time, could not have been more than twenty-five years old, and (unless he was a polygamist) could hardly have had ten sons.

It had been arranged by Joseph, that, on the arrival of his father

* See ver. 8 and 26.

in Egypt, he should stop in Goshen, a fertile country lying east of the Nile, in a part of Egypt nearest to Canaan. Memphis, the capital of Lower Egypt, and the residence of Pharaoh, was distant about twenty miles. The ancient On, or Heliopolis, of which Joseph's father-in-law was priest, was still nearer to Goshen.

When Joseph heard of his father's arrival, he made ready his chariot, and went out to meet him; and, when he saw him, he fell on his neck, and wept there a long time. And Jacob said to Joseph, "Now let me die; for I have seen thy face, and thou art yet alive."

And Joseph returned to the city, and told Pharaoh, saying, "My father and my brethren, with their flocks and herds, and all that they have, are come out of the land of Canaan; and, behold, they are in Goshen." And Joseph presented five of his brethren unto Pharaoh, who inquired after their occupation. And they said, "Thy servants are shepherds, both we and our fathers; and we have no pasture for our flocks in the land of Canaan because of the famine. We pray thee, let thy servants dwell in the land of Goshen." Joseph also presented his father to Pharaoh; and the venerable patriarch blessed Pharaoh. And Pharaoh said unto him, "How old art thou? And Jacob answered, The days of the years of my pilgrimage are one hundred and thirty years. Few and evil have the days of the years of my life been; and I have not attained unto the years of the life of my fathers."

Then Pharaoh said to Joseph, "Thy father and thy brethren are come unto thee. Behold, the land of Egypt is before thee. In the best of the land make thy father and thy brethren to dwell. In the land of Goshen let them dwell." So Joseph placed his father and his brethren in the land of Goshen, otherwise called the land of Rameses, as Pharaoh had commanded; and there he nourished them, and all that pertained to them, during the remaining years of famine.

When the important matter of receiving and settling his father and brethren had been despatched, Joseph returned to the business of his station. Under the pressure of famine, he first gathered up all the *money* that was found in Egypt and Canaan, in payment for corn. Then he took of the people their cattle, their horses, their asses, and flocks, for which he fed them a whole year. After that, he purchased their lands for Pharaoh, excepting such as belonged to the priests; and, when the famine was over, he gave them seed to sow their land, reserving a fifth part of the product

for Pharaoh, and leaving four-fifths to the cultivators of the soil.

The administration of Joseph in this matter has often been made the subject of reproach, but certainly without sufficient reason. It must be remembered that he was acting, not for himself, but for Pharaoh. A man may be generous in disposing of his own goods; but there is no virtue in being generous with the property of another. Joseph bought the corn of the people in a time of plenty, with Pharaoh's money; and bought it, so far as we know, at a fair price. He carefully stored it and kept it at Pharaoh's expense; and, when the famine came, he sold the corn for Pharaoh at a fair price. The people came to him voluntarily, with their money, their cattle, and their lands; and he took them for Pharaoh, thereby saving the people alive; and, when the famine was over, he gave them seed to sow the land, and permitted them to cultivate it upon shares, reserving only a fifth part of the produce for the lawful owner, and leaving four-fifths for themselves. In view of these facts, we submit whether Joseph should be regarded as an oppressor of the Egyptians, and not rather as an inestimable benefactor. He was an instrument, in the hand of Providence, of saving their lives,—of saving their country from desolation, and them from destruction; and so he was regarded to the day of his death.

Jacob lived, after he went into Egypt, seventeen years,—perhaps the most quiet part of his life. He had his children, his grandchildren, and probably his great-grandchildren, around him; for it is said that his family grew and multiplied exceedingly. He saw Joseph occasionally, as the intervals of business would permit; and, at one of his visits, he took an oath of him that he would not bury him in the land of Egypt: "I would lie with my fathers," said he: "bury me in their burying-place, in the Cave of Machpelah."

At length, the time came for Jacob to die; and Joseph, hearing of his sickness, went up to him to Goshen, carrying his two sons with him. And Jacob blessed Joseph, and blessed his sons, adopting them, and making them heads of tribes, as though they were his own: "May the Angel which redeemed me from all evil bless the lads; and let my name be named on them, and the name of my fathers Abraham and Isaac; and let them grow into a multitude in the midst of the earth." At this time, Israel gave to Joseph, in addition to his portion among his brethren, the parcel

of ground which he had purchased of Hamor, the father of Shechem, and which he had defended with his sword and with his bow. Here the bones of Joseph were afterwards buried, and the same became a burying-place for the children of Ephraim.*

Jacob, finding that death was near, summoned his children around his bed to hear his last words: "Gather yourselves together, ye sons of Jacob, that I may tell you what shall befall you in the last days." It would be interesting, had we time, to go over with all these monitory and prophetic words. The patriarch addresses each of his sons successively, according to their ages, — not personally, but as the heads of tribes, — and notes, in few words, the leading characteristics and events of their history. Addressing Judah, he says, "The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor a lawgiver from between his feet, until *Shiloh* come; and unto him shall the gathering of the people be." Jacob here predicts that one from the tribe of Judah should have supreme authority in Israel; which was fulfilled in David and Solomon. He also predicts, that, before all traces of royal authority should pass away from Judah, *Shiloh*, the great Messenger of the covenant, should appear; which was fulfilled in our Lord Jesus Christ.

The blessing of Joseph was specially rich and abiding: "The blessing of thy father shall prevail above the blessings of my progenitors unto the utmost bound of the everlasting hills. They shall be upon the head of Joseph; upon the head of him who was separate from his brethren."

When Jacob had ended these prophetic sayings, he charged his sons, unitedly, to bury him, not in Egypt, but in the Cave of Machpelah, which is before Mamre, in the land of Canaan. "There," said he, "they buried Abraham, and Sarah his wife; there they buried Isaac, and Rebekah his wife; and there I buried Leah."

And now the venerable patriarch had nought to do but to die: so he drew up his feet in the bed, and yielded up the ghost, and was gathered to his people; and Joseph fell upon his father's face, and wept over him, and kissed him, — thus testifying in death, as well as in life, the ardor of his filial love.

The first care of Joseph, after the death of his father, was to

* Stephen says in our English Bible that Abraham bought this piece of ground; but the word "Abraham," in our copies, is undoubtedly an interpolation. The verse should read, "And Jacob went down into Egypt and died, he and our fathers; and they were carried unto Sychem, and were laid in a sepulchre which he (Jacob) purchased," &c. (Acts vii. 16.)

have his body embalmed, after the manner of the Egyptians. This, and the mourning connected with it, occupied seventy days. Meanwhile, Joseph acquainted Pharaoh with his father's wishes, and with his own oath and promise to him, as to the place of his burial: "My father made me swear, saying, In my grave which I have prepared in the land of Canaan, there shalt thou bury me. Now, therefore, let me go up, I pray thee, and bury my father, and I will come to thee again." And Pharaoh not only gave consent, but commissioned a great company of his servants, and of the elders of his house, to accompany Joseph and his brethren and their families on this melancholy expedition: so there went up both chariots and horsemen, a great multitude. It may be doubted whether there ever was such a funeral procession before or since. Here was a great company,—how many we know not,—Egyptians and Israelites, chariots and horsemen and footmen, moving on, with Oriental pomp and magnificence, a distance of between two and three hundred miles; and all for what?—to deposit the remains of a venerable man, a holy man, the sire and the patriarch of Israel, in their last resting-place,—the grave which he had himself prepared. And, when they came near to the place, they paused, and mourned with a very great and sore lamentation seven days; insomuch that the Canaanites took notice of it, and said, "This is a grievous mourning to the Egyptians." So they buried Jacob by the side of his father and mother, his grandfather and grandmother, in the Cave of Machpelah; and then they returned into Egypt.

There is some doubt as to the route taken by this great funeral cavalcade in going from Egypt into Canaan. Some have thought that they passed up on the eastern side of the Dead Sea and the Jordan; inasmuch as it is said that the floor of Atad, where they mourned seven days, was "beyond Jordan" (Gen. 1. 10). But this, we think, is said in reference to Moses, who was on the east side of the Jordan when the narrative was written. To him, the floor of Atad would be "beyond Jordan."

There are two objections to the supposition that the funeral procession of Jacob came into Canaan by crossing the Jordan from the east. The first is, that this would greatly increase the distance. The other is, that the people who were so much affected by the mourning at Atad are said to be Canaanites; whereas, if we place Atad on the east of the Jordan, the surrounding people would be Moabites or Midianites. On the whole, there can be no doubt that

this great funeral procession took the direct route from Egypt to Canaan,—the same which the sons of Jacob repeatedly passed over seventeen years before. This would be a long journey for a funeral; whereas the other route would increase the distance more than one-half.

When the sons of Jacob had returned from burying their father, the brethren of Joseph were afraid lest he should remember their former ill treatment of him, and undertake to avenge it; so they sent unto him the following message: “Thy father did command before he died, saying, Go unto Joseph, and say unto him, Forgive, I pray thee now, the trespass of thy brethren, and their sin; for they did unto thee evil. Now, therefore, we come unto thee, and implore thy forgiveness. Forgive the trespass of thy servants,—the servants of the God of thy father.”

The sequel showed how little they knew the heart of Joseph. He had long before forgiven them. He wept when their message was laid before him. Then his brethren fell down before him, and said with the utmost submission and humility, “We are thy servants.” But Joseph cheered and comforted them, saying, “Fear not: seek God’s forgiveness, and you may be sure of mine. Ye thought evil against me; but God meant it for good; to save much people alive, as it is this day. I will nourish you and your little ones: fear not.”

We have little account of Joseph after this period. We only know that he lived in Egypt more than fifty years, enjoying, as he was entitled to, the favor of the king. He lived to see, not only his children and grandchildren, but his great-grandchildren, a numerous posterity. He died at the age of a hundred and ten.

Before his death, he sent for his brethren, and said unto them, “God will surely visit you, and bring you out of this land unto the land which he sware to Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob; and, when ye go out, carry my bones with you.” So they embalmed the body of Joseph, and put it in a coffin, and it remained in Egypt until the departure of the children of Israel.

We see in the narrative over which we have passed *the wonders of God’s providence*, and the safety, under all circumstances, of putting our trust in him. He is able to bring light out of the deepest darkness, and to make even the sins of men contribute to his praise. Without furnishing the least excuse for human wickedness, he overrules it, in thousands of instances,—perhaps we

should say in every instance in which he permits it, — for his own glory and the greatest good. Jacob did not intend or expect to marry Leah. By a vile trick, she was imposed upon him; and yet she was to be the progenitress of the Messiah. Without her connection with Jacob, the Saviour of the world had not appeared. Jacob loved Joseph, and did not intend ever to be separated from him; and yet Joseph must be torn away by wicked hands, and sent into an apparently hopeless exile, in order to save Jacob and his family from destruction. The case of Joseph was hard enough while a slave in the house of Potiphar; but it must be made still harder and darker by his being unjustly accused, and thrown into prison, and continued there for a course of years: and all this to prepare the way for his future high advancement and usefulness. And yet who thanks Laban for his vile imposition, or Potiphar's wife for her false accusation, or Joseph's brethren for selling him to the Midianites? "Ye thought evil against me; but *God* meant it for good." A voluntary act of sin is one thing: God's overruling that act, in opposition to all its natural tendencies and to the intentions of its perpetrator, for his own glory and the greatest good, is quite another thing. The perpetrator is without excuse; but the overruling providence of God in it is praiseworthy and glorious.

We learn from the case of Joseph and his brethren the truth of one of the sayings of Moses, "Be sure your sin will find you out." Their cruelty to Joseph was perpetrated secretly: it was known to no one except themselves. They took effectual means to conceal it from their father, and to quiet any suspicions which he might otherwise have been led to entertain. They had heard nothing of the matter for years, and thought that they should hear of it no more; and yet they did. In a manner the most unexpected and overwhelming, it was suddenly brought to light: "I am Joseph, your brother, whom ye sold into Egypt." Oh, what a voice was that! How it stunned and confounded them! What could they say? A voice from the eternal throne could not have startled and astonished them more! It is for us to learn a lesson from this disclosure: "He that covereth his sins," or attempteth to cover them, "shall not prosper." "Be sure your sin will find you out."

The narrative before us has a lesson for the young. We see how God is wont to deal with those young persons whom he is preparing for eminent usefulness in the church and world. God had destined

Joseph to one of the highest stations of honor and usefulness then on the earth. But he does not immediately advance him to it. Joseph is not yet prepared for it. He must first be tried and proved, instructed and humbled. He must learn lessons in the school of adversity which he could learn nowhere else: and so he was torn from the embrace of his father, and sold by his own brothers into slavery; and then cast into a loathsome dungeon, where he was confined for years. Dark days, these, for afflicted Joseph! Verily he had reason to say of the Almighty, in whom he trusted, "Clouds and darkness are round about him." And yet all this was but a necessary discipline. It was just what the young man needed in order to his highest good. Without it, he could not have been prepared for his future advancement and glory.

Let not the young in our day shrink from trials, or be disheartened under them. Trust in God, wait patiently upon him, and do his will, and your trials will not injure you. You will come out of the furnace like silver, and find that every trial has been made a blessing.

CHAPTER XIX.

MOSES AND HIS TIMES.

THE last chapter closed with the death of Joseph. He lived, in all, a hundred and ten years, — fifty-four years after the death of his father.

There is some diversity of statement in Scripture as to the time of the sojourn of the Israelites in Egypt. It is said in Exod. xii. 40 that “the sojourning of the children of Israel (who dwelt in Egypt) was four hundred and thirty years.” It does not follow from the language here used, either in the original or in the translation, that their sojourning *in Egypt* was four hundred and thirty years; but only that such was the period of their sojourning in a foreign land, without any settled home. Accordingly, it has been ascertained that the period here referred to commenced with the call of Abraham to leave his native country and go into a foreign land. Abraham was seventy-five years old when he was summoned to go into Canaan. Twenty-five years after this, Isaac was born. Sixty years later, Jacob was born. And Jacob was a hundred and thirty years old when he went into Egypt. Putting these numbers together, — $25 + 60 + 130$, — makes 215 years. And Josephus tells us that the residence of the Israelites in Egypt was 215 years; making 430 in all.*

And this agrees with the statement of Paul in Gal. iii. 17: “The covenant which was before confirmed of God in Christ, the law, which was *four hundred and thirty years after*, cannot disannul, that it should make the promise of none effect.” The promise, the covenant here spoken of, was first made to Abraham when he was

* Antiq., book ii. chap. 15, sect. 2. This statement of Josephus is altogether probable, since Moses, who brought the Israelites out of Egypt, was only in the fourth generation from Jacob. Jacob begat Levi; and Levi, Kohath; and Kohath, Amram; and Amram, Moses (Exod. vi. 16–20.) From the death of Levi to the birth of Moses was only fifty-eight years. And this accords with God’s promise to Abraham: “*In the fourth generation, they (thy posterity) shall come hither again*” (Gen. xv. 16).

called to leave his native land (Gen. xii. 1-3). The Mosaic law began to be delivered the same year in which the Israelites left Egypt; and this was four hundred and thirty years after the original promise.

But there is another period spoken of in this connection. God says to Abraham, "*Thy seed* shall be a stranger in a land that is not theirs, and shall serve them; and they shall afflict them four hundred years" (Gen. xv. 13). We have a parallel passage in Acts vii. 6: "God spake to Abraham on this wise, that *his seed* should sojourn in a strange land, and they should bring them into bondage, and evil entreat them four hundred years." It will be seen that both these passages have respect, not to Abraham personally, but to *his seed*. The period indicated could not commence, therefore, until Abraham's child of promise was born,— which was from twenty-five to thirty years after Abraham came into Canaan; and this would leave four hundred years to be accomplished before the exodus from Egypt. So much in the way of harmonizing these seemingly discrepant statements.

After the death of Joseph and his brethren, and all the men of that generation, there seems to have been a revolution, a change of dynasty, in Egypt. A king arose that knew not Joseph, and that had no sympathy with the Hebrews; and as they were rapidly increasing in number, and the land was likely to be filled with them, the new government thought to oppress them, and by hard treatment to keep them down. The king, evidently, was afraid of them, lest, by becoming numerous, they should be dangerous to the Egyptians: so he compelled them to build treasure-cities for himself, and set over them taskmasters to afflict them with their burdens. But the more the Hebrews were afflicted and oppressed, the more they multiplied.

The next cruel artifice of Pharaoh was to destroy all the male children. In order to this, he laid an injunction upon the Hebrew midwives to destroy all the male children that were born, but to save the female infants alive. But the midwives feared God, and contrived to evade the bloody commission which was laid upon them. They would not carry it into effect.

Nothing daunted, Pharaoh now resorts to another expedient. He commands that every son that is born to the Hebrews shall be cast into the river, but that every daughter shall be spared. It was while this bloody edict was in force, that Moses, the great leader and lawgiver of Israel, was born. His father's name was Amram, a

grandson of Levi; and his mother's name was Jochebed, a daughter of Levi. These parents had two children older than Moses, who were born before the murderous decree above spoken of was enacted; viz., Miriam and Aaron. But the life of Moses was forfeited before his birth. His parents succeeded, however, in concealing him three months; and, when this was no longer possible, his fond mother prepared a little ark of bulrushes, daubed it with slime and pitch, put him into it, and laid it in the flags by the river's brink. And she set his sister Miriam to watch at a little distance, that she might see what became of the child. How many little children had been thus exposed, and how many had been destroyed by crocodiles and other monsters, we are not informed.

But God had other designs respecting Moses than that he should go to fatten the monsters of the Nile. He was to act a more important part, and exert a wider influence, than any other mere man ever did exert in the history of the world.* Accordingly, a succession of incidents, the most remarkable and interesting, was planned and carried out in providence for his deliverance. A daughter of the cruel Pharaoh comes down to the river to bathe; and, as she walks along by the side of it, she discovers the little ark. Prompted by curiosity, she sends one of her maidens to fetch it. And, when she had opened it, she saw the child; and the babe wept. And she had compassion on it, and said, "This is one of the Hebrew's children."

At this critical moment, Miriam, who was near at hand, ran up to Pharaoh's daughter, and said, "Shall I go and call thee a nurse of the Hebrew women, that she may nurse the child for thee? and Pharaoh's daughter said, Go. And Miriam went and called the child's mother. And Pharaoh's daughter said unto her, Take this child, and nurse it for me, and I will give thee thy wages; and the mother took the child, and nursed it."

Was ever any thing more natural, and at the same time more

* The fame of Moses extended beyond his own people. It was known among the heathen of his own times and of much later times. The following is Strabo's account of him: "Moses, an Egyptian priest, who possessed a considerable tract in Lower Egypt, unable longer to bear what existed there, departed thence to Syria; and with him went out many who honored the Divine Being. For Moses maintained and taught that the Egyptians were not right in likening God to beasts and cattle; nor yet the Africans, nor the Greeks, in fashioning their gods in the form of men. He held that this only is God, which encompasses all of us, — earth and sea and heaven, and the order of the world, and the nature of things. Of this, who that had any sense would try to invent an image like to any thing which exists among ourselves? Far better to abandon all statuary and sculpture, all setting-apart of sacred precincts and shrines, and to pay reverence without any image whatever."

wonderful, than this? There is not an improbable incident in all the story; and yet we have here a train of incidents, which, in a few hours, restores the little abandoned one to the arms of its mother, to be nursed, not only in safety, but in honor, and at a rich price, to be paid from the coffers of the cruel king. Surely the resources of God's wisdom and goodness are exhaustless, and should never be despaired of by his suffering people.

How long Moses continued with his mother, we do not know, — probably some four or five years, until the usual time of weaning; when he was restored to his adopted mother, and trained up under her care. She called his name Moses from the Hebrew *Masha*, which signifies something drawn from the water.

It was part of God's wonderful providence in respect to Moses that he should be educated in the court of Pharaoh, where he could be instructed (as we are assured he was) "in all the wisdom of the Egyptians." What this wisdom was, however, we do not very definitely know. No doubt, he was instructed in the Hebrew and Egyptian languages, and enabled to speak and write both with accuracy and elegance. He was instructed, too, in geometry and astronomy. The former of these sciences was of special use to the Egyptians in determining the boundaries of their lands, which were annually washed away by the overflowing of the river: the latter was of use in determining the seasons of the year.

The Egyptians had also some knowledge of architecture, as is evident from their pyramids and other costly structures. Their architecture was heavy and inelegant, however, compared with that of the Greeks.

The Egyptians were skilled, to some extent, in the medical art; though their skill was less employed, probably, in healing the sick, than in preserving the bodies of the dead. Joseph, we are told, employed the *physicians* to embalm the body of his father.

The Egyptians understood, likewise, the art of war, in which it is altogether probable that Moses was instructed. Josephus has a story of his leading forth the Egyptian army in a war with the Ethiopians. This may be true, though we have no account of it in the Scriptures.

The philosophy and religion of the ancient Egyptians was pantheistic: "All things are full of God, and are but the developments of God." Hence this people were led to observe signs and omens, and to practise enchantments and magical arts. Hence, also, they were led to worship, not only the lights of heaven, but birds and

beasts and creeping things. These were all of them divine. God was more strikingly developed in some than in others, but to some extent in them all. Fetichism has always been a result of pantheism.

Without doubt, Moses was instructed in this philosophy and theology; but he soon learned to despise them. In childhood, he learned that he was a Hebrew; he kept up an intercourse with the Hebrews; and, instead of being decoyed into the abominations of Egypt, he became a devout worshipper of Israel's God.

Upon one of his visits to his brethren, when he was forty years old, he saw an Egyptian smiting and abusing a Hebrew. In the heat of his indignation, he slew the Egyptian, and buried him in the sand. He seems to have had a presentiment, at this time, that he was raised up to be the deliverer of his people; but they were not yet prepared to receive him as such.* The day following that in which he slew the Egyptian, he saw two of the Hebrews engaged in strife. He reprov'd the aggressor, and endeavored to bring about a reconciliation; but the wrong-doer tartly replied, "Who made thee a prince and a judge over us? Wilt thou kill me as thou didst the Egyptian yesterday?" Moses learned from this reply that the fact of his having killed the Egyptian was known; and, fearing the wrath of Pharaoh, he fled into the land of Midian.

Midian, it will be recollected, was one of the sons of Abraham by Keturah. These sons all settled in Arabia, southward and eastward from the home of Isaac, where their descendants mingled with the Edomites and Ishmaelites. At the time of Moses, they had penetrated southward as far as Sinai and Horeb. It was into this region that Moses fled from the wrath of Pharaoh. Here he became acquainted in the family of Jethro, a priest of Midian, whose flocks he tended, and whose daughter Zipporah he married.†

This Jethro (who is also called Reuel and Raguel) was a wise, faithful, judicious man, and a worshipper of the true God. On one occasion, we find him offering sacrifices to the God of Israel.‡ Moses dwelt with him forty years, and became the father of two

* See Acts vii. 25.

† This part of Arabia was also called *Cushan*, or Ethiopia: "I saw the tents of *Cushan* in affliction, and the curtains of the land of *Midian* did tremble" (Hab. iii. 7). Hence Moses was reproached for having married an *Ethiopian* woman (Num. xii. 1).

‡ Exod. xviii. 12.

sons. How Moses employed himself during this long period, we are not informed. It seems to have been the quietest and happiest portion of his life. His occupation as a shepherd must have afforded him much opportunity for reflection, and communion with God. He may have written, during this period, the Book of Genesis. He may also have written the Book of Job.

This is not the place for any lengthened discussion in regard either to Job, or the book which bears his name. My own opinion is, that Job was a veritable historical personage; that he was an eminently pious man; that he lived in North-eastern Arabia, not far from Syria, and pretty far back in the patriarchal age. All the recorded circumstances respecting him, — such as his great age, amounting in all to not less than two hundred years; the nature of his property, as consisting in flocks and herds; the religious rites which he practised, which were purely patriarchal; the wandering tribes which plundered him, and the friends who visited him, — all agree to this supposition. The story of his unexampled suffering, of his controversy with his friends, of his final deliverance and subsequent prosperity, would, of necessity, be widely known, and could hardly fail to come to the ears of Moses during his long residence in Arabia. Moses was perfectly competent, both as a poet and an historian, to write such a book; and what more natural supposition than that he should employ some portion of his leisure in preparing it? The book contains a clear reference to the Deluge,* but none to the Jewish law; which shows that it must have been written previous to the giving of the law. The consideration, which, more than any other, satisfies me that Moses was the author of this book, is its unquestioned position in the canon of the Old Testament. Would the Israelites have so early accepted this book, and so pertinaciously retained it among their other Scriptures, had it been of heathen or doubtful origin; had they not been able to trace it to their great lawgiver and judge? Nor does the fact that the book contains some Syriac and Arabic expressions militate at all against this supposition. The story, it must be remembered, was of Arabian origin. The book, too, was written in Arabia, and by one who had long been a dweller in that country. Why, then, should it not bear some marks of its original?

The object of Moses in writing the book (on supposition that he did write it) may have been to instruct and comfort his suffering people in Egypt; to lead them to put their trust in God, and cheer

* See Job xxii. 15, 16.

them with the hope of a speedy deliverance, — even as Job had been delivered.*

Near the close of Moses' residence with Jethro, he led his flock, on one occasion, to the other side of the desert, and came to Horeb, the mount of God. And here he witnessed a most remarkable phenomenon, — a flame of fire streaming forth from a bush, and yet the bush was not consumed; and, as he turned aside to look at the wonderful appearance, a voice came forth from the burning bush, warning him not to approach too near, and calling upon him to take the shoes from his feet, since the place where he stood was holy ground.

As Moses stood and listened in reverent wonder, the voice proceeded to say, "I am the God of thy fathers, the God of Abraham, and of Isaac, and of Jacob." The God of Israel having thus revealed himself, he goes on to assure Moses that he had seen the increased oppression of his brethren in Egypt, and heard their cry, and had come down to deliver them. "Come now," says he, "and I will send thee unto Pharaoh, that thou mayest bring my people out of Egypt." But Moses excuses himself from so hazardous a service: "Who am I that I should stand before Pharaoh, and bring forth the children of Israel out of Egypt?" God, therefore, encourages him by an assurance of his continual presence; reveals himself to him by a new name, I AM THAT I AM; promises him the gift of miracles, with which to confound all gainsayers; and actually performs a miracle in the presence and by the hand of Moses, to satisfy him as to the reality and divine authority of his mission. Still Moses pleads to be excused. He is unwilling, evidently, to leave his beloved retirement, and enter upon so great a work: "O Lord, I am not eloquent; but I am slow of speech, and of a slow tongue." Hereupon God promises to be with his mouth, and to teach him what to say; and not only so, but to give him Aaron his brother for an assistant, who was known to be an eloquent man.

Moses, who had already stood out too long, dare not persist in his excuses any further. He left his flock to the care of his servants, returned to Jethro, told him what he had seen and heard, and asked permission to go and visit his oppressed brethren in Egypt; and, without one word of objection, Jethro told him to go in peace.

Moses now, at the age of eighty years, was just entering on the

* The Talmudists tell us that Moses did write the Book of Job. —

great work of his life,—that work for which his whole previous course had been one of preparation. He took his wife and his two sons, took also the rod of God in his hand, and set out upon his journey into Egypt. In the progress of the journey, we are told that God met him, not, as before, with words of promise and encouragement, but in language of threatening and rebuke. Owing to the reluctance of his wife, or for some other cause, Moses had not circumcised his youngest son. This would have been an offence in any Israelite, but was specially so in Moses at this time. He was going forth to be the leader and lawgiver of his people; and surely it did not become him to be a breaker of the law. Besides, his example would have great influence, and might lead to a general neglect of the important rite of circumcision. Under all the circumstances, we see that God had good reason to be angry with his servant, and to require that the wrong should be put away; and it *was* promptly put away. The mother herself consented to perform the bloody rite, to which before she had been averse. And from this point Zipporah and the children seem to have returned to their home in Midian, where they remained until after the escape of the Israelites from Egypt.

Before Moses entered Egypt, Aaron, being warned of God, went out into the desert to meet him. The brothers had not met, probably, for a long period; and now they came together under peculiar circumstances. They met under a joint commission from God. They had it in charge to perform a work which no unaided mortal could ever achieve. They first went to the elders of Israel, delivered their message, and performed their miracles before them; and the people, we are told, believed, rejoiced, and bowed their heads, and worshipped the Lord.

After this, Moses and Aaron ventured into the presence of Pharaoh, and said, “Thus saith the Lord, let my people go, that they may hold a feast unto me in the wilderness.” But Pharaoh answered proudly and insolently, “Who is the Lord, that I should obey his voice? I know not the Lord; neither will I let Israel go.” He went on to chide Moses and Aaron for hindering the people in their work. He insisted that the people were idle; they had not enough to do; and proceeded to increase their already intolerable burthens. They must make brick as before, but should have no straw; and, if the usual tale of brick was not delivered, they should be beaten. And, when the people expostulated, he refused to listen, but repeated the charge, “Ye are idle; ye are idle.”

Such was the result of the first application to Pharaoh for deliverance. The people were discouraged, and began to murmur. Moses, also, was discouraged: so that, when God ordered him to go again to Pharaoh, he replied, "Behold, the children of Israel will not hearken to me; how, then, shall Pharaoh hear me, who am of uncircumcised lips?"

But God told him to go and deliver his message; reminding him at the same time of his promises to Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob, and assuring him, that, though Pharaoh might be obstinate for a while, he should at length be humbled, and should consent to let the people go. And Moses and Aaron did as the Lord commanded. They went in and stood before Pharaoh; repeated, in God's name, the request which they had before made; and, to assure him of the divine authority under which they acted, they cast down their rod before him, and it became a serpent. Pharaoh was, of course, astonished; and he called around him his magicians, to see if they could do the same with their enchantments. And the magicians did it, or they seemed to do it; for they cast down every man his rod, and they became serpents. Howbeit, Aaron's serpent prevailed against theirs, and swallowed them up. But Pharaoh's heart was hardened, and he refused to let Israel go.

Moses' next interview with Pharaoh was by the side of the river. He demanded of the monarch the release of the Israelites; and assured him, in case of refusal, that the waters of the river should be turned into blood. But Pharaoh was not at all disposed to yield. Wherefore the mystic rod was lifted, and instantly the waters of Egypt — the river, the ponds, the pools of water — were changed into blood; and so they continued for seven successive days. This was a terrible infliction; yet it had no softening effect upon the hard heart of Pharaoh. He called his magicians again; and they succeeded in doing, in a small way, what Moses had done throughout the land, — they changed water into blood.

When time had been given to recover from this infliction, Moses was directed to go again unto Pharaoh, and say, "Thus saith the Lord, Let my people go, that they may serve me. And, if thou refuse, behold, I will smite all thy land with frogs: they shall come up into thine house, and into thy bed-chamber, and into thy bed, and into the houses of thy servants, and upon all the people; and the whole land shall be full of frogs." But Pharaoh disregarded the warning. So the terrible rod was again stretched out,

and the frogs came. They came in such multitudes, that they literally covered the land of Egypt. And though the magicians succeeded in imitating the miracle, yet the infliction was so disgusting and annoying, that Pharaoh could not endure it. He called for Moses and Aaron, and besought them that they would entreat the Lord to take away the frogs; and solemnly promised, in case they were removed, that the Israelites might go and do sacrifice unto the Lord. So Moses entreated the Lord, and the nuisance was abated. The filthy creatures were taken away. But, with the removal of the judgment, Pharaoh's promise was forgotten: he refused to let Israel go.

It may be proper to pause here a moment, and inquire what these magicians *actually did* with their enchantments. Did they really work miracles? Did they truly change their rods into serpents, and water into blood, and miraculously increase the number of frogs? In answer to these inquiries, it may be remarked, in the first place, that no being but God can perform a proper miracle. A true miracle involves a suspension or contravention of the regular course of Nature; and as God has established this course, so he alone can suspend or contravene it. Magicians, conjurers, necromancers, devils, and those who act under their influence, may do strange things,—things which may seem to us supernatural and unaccountable; but they cannot perform proper miracles. This is the prerogative of God alone.

This being premised, the case before us may be resolved in one of two ways. Moses performed proper miracles; or, rather, God performed them through his instrumentality. And now, if we are to suppose that the magicians did the same things, they did them as *mere instruments in the hand of God*. God used them as his instruments in performing the miracles, that he might the more thoroughly try the heart of Pharaoh, and the more illustriously display his own power and glory.

But it is very doubtful whether any real miracle was performed by the magicians. They did certain things *with their enchantments*, which is equivalent to saying that they did not really do them at all. By a sleight of hand, they *seemed* to do them. They imposed upon the eyes of spectators, as jugglers then did all over the East, and as they do in our own times. We must either make this supposition, or we must suppose, as I said, that God wrought the miracles through their means, and for some worthy end.

But to return to the narrative. God next directs Moses and

Aaron to smite the ground with their rod, that the dust of it may become lice. They did so; and instantly the sands of Egypt are changed into little crawling vermin, which our translators denominate lice. And the lice swarmed upon men and beasts throughout all the land of Egypt.

The magicians now acknowledge themselves outdone. They could make frogs, or seem to make them; but they could not make lice. They went unto Pharaoh, and told him that they were convinced. This is the finger of God. Nevertheless, Pharaoh's heart was hardened, and he refused to let Israel go.

Again, therefore, God makes his demand upon the relentless monarch: "Let my people go, that they may serve me; and, if thou refuse, behold, I will send swarms of flies upon thee,"—biting, stinging, tormenting flies,— "and they shall be upon thee and thy servants, and upon all thy people. But in the land of Goshen, where Israel dwells, there shall be no flies." And the Lord did so. The flies came, and filled all the houses in the land of Egypt. But the land of Goshen escaped: none of the flies were there.

This judgment seems to have been more astounding to the rebel monarch than the preceding. He was afflicted and distressed by it. So he called for Moses and Aaron, and proposed that the people should hold a sacrifice unto the Lord their God in the land of Egypt, where they were. But Moses said, "No: we cannot do this. We shall sacrifice the abomination of the Egyptians unto the Lord our God, and they will stone us." Pharaoh consented, therefore, that they should go out of Egypt. "Only," said he, "go not far away. And entreat the Lord that these tormenting flies may be destroyed." So Moses went out from Pharaoh, and prayed unto the Lord; and the judgment was removed. Still, strange as it may seem, the heart of Pharaoh was hardened, and he would not let the people go.

In mercy, therefore, God was pleased to try him again: "Let my people go, that they may serve me; else I will visit all thy cattle—thy horses, thine asses, thy camels, thine oxen, and thy sheep—with a deadly murrain: and, while the disease shall be upon all thy cattle, it shall not touch the cattle of the Israelites; they shall live." And all this was verified on the following day. The cattle of Egypt in great multitudes died; but the flocks of the Israelites were spared alive.

Though Pharaoh saw the general destruction, and must have

been convinced that it was the hand of God, still he persisted in his obstinacy. He seemed determined to outbrave Omnipotence. Hence God resolves to try him further.

He now directs Moses and Aaron to take handfuls of ashes from the furnace, in the sight of Pharaoh, and throw them into the air, to be blown about everywhere by the winds of heaven; and, wherever these ashes fly, they carry a fatal poison with them. The bodies of the Egyptians begin to break out in swelling scabs and ulcers, and their whole surface becomes a noisome spring of sores. So far from resisting or counterfeiting this torturing plague, the magicians themselves fell under it. The boils and blisters covered them. In their misery, they went to Pharaoh, and warned him not to trifle further with the mighty power of God.

But Pharaoh will not listen either to Moses or to them. His heart is still hardened. So God sends him another message: "Let my people go, that they may serve me; else I will send upon Egypt a terrible storm of hail, such as hath not been from the beginning even until now. Send, therefore, and shelter what of thy cattle is left, that the hail destroy them not." And such of the Egyptians as feared the Lord gathered their cattle into houses; while others left them in the field. And, on the morrow, the threatened judgment came. A storm of thunder, lightning, and hail burst upon devoted Egypt,—the more terrible to the inhabitants because such a scene had never before been witnessed there. The fire ran along the ground, and the hail smote all that was in the field. It destroyed man and beast, and brake down every herb and tree. Only in the land of Goshen, where the Israelites dwelt, there was no hail.

Pharaoh was now terribly frightened. He sent in haste for Moses and Aaron, and said, "It is enough: the Lord is righteous; but I and my people are wicked. Entreat the Lord for me that there be no more such mighty thunderings and hail, and I will let you go, and ye shall stay no longer." And Moses, though he had no great confidence in the monarch's promises, consented once more to intercede on his behalf. In answer to the prayer of Moses, the storm passed quickly over, the sky became clear, and the thunder, the rain, and the hail were stayed. And now what does Pharaoh do? Does he remember his promise to fulfil it? No: he sins yet more, and hardens his heart,—both he and his servants,—and will not let the children of Israel go.

CHAPTER XX.

MOSES AND HIS TIMES. — CONTINUED.

IN our last chapter, we traced the history of Moses through his childhood and the earlier part of his life in Egypt, and through his exile in the land of Midian, to the time of his return to Egypt, under a commission from God, to effect the deliverance of his afflicted people. We gave an account of his repeated interviews with Pharaoh, of the miracles which were wrought before him, and the judgments which were inflicted upon him and his land, — the frogs, the lice, the flies, the murrain upon his cattle, the boils and blisters upon his people, the whole river turned into blood, and (what was more terrifying to the Egyptians than all the rest) the dreadful thunder and lightning and hail.

It has been thought by some that God's treatment of Pharaoh was hard and cruel. I ask, on the contrary, was it not forbearing and merciful? Where shall we look for such an instance of forbearance as in the case before us?

God had raised up Pharaoh, and blessed him with riches and honor and power; he had placed him upon the throne of perhaps the greatest kingdom then on the earth; he had placed his people Israel for a time in his hand; and he had cruelly, murderously, oppressed them. God called upon him repeatedly to relax the hard hand of oppression, and let his people go, that they might serve him; accompanying the call, in every instance, with the most astounding miracles, — enough to convince any mortal that the message had come from God. He extorted from Pharaoh promise after promise, that, if the inflicted judgment could be removed, he would let Israel go. And yet he did not: he hardened his heart yet more and more, both he and his servants; and the oppressed Israelites are retained. And now what is to be done? Will God wait upon Pharaoh any longer, and try him further? or will he lift his hand in vengeance, and cut him off?

The sequel shows that God's thoughts and ways are not like ours. He has a yet further probation in reserve for cruel Pharaoh. So he threatens him with swarms of locusts, — one of the most terrible inflictions that are ever visited upon the children of the East. They are to cover the face of the earth, so that one cannot see the ground; they are to fill the houses of Pharaoh and his servants, and eat up all that the hail has left. This threat alarmed the servants of Pharaoh, and they entreated the hardened monarch to yield: "Knowest thou not, that, in this unequal contest, Egypt is already spoiled?" So Moses and Aaron are called for, and a compromise is attempted. The *men* of Israel may go and serve the Lord; but their wives and children must be left behind. But to this proposal Moses will not accede. Hence he is driven out from the presence of Pharaoh, and the judgment comes. God causes an east wind to blow all that day and night; and the next day the land is covered and darkened with the locusts. Swarm after swarm comes up from the east, and settles down upon the devoted country, till not a green thing is left in all the land of Egypt. And now the same scene is acted over as in the former instances. Pharaoh is affrighted and humbled. He confesses his sins, and prays to be forgiven: "Entreat the Lord only this once that he will take away the locusts, and I will let the people go." Moses, therefore, consents to intercede again; and again the judgment is removed; and again Pharaoh's heart is hardened, that he will not let the people go.

Without going to the king with his usual message, Moses now stretches out his hand towards heaven, and calls for *darkness*, — a thick, impenetrable darkness, that may be felt. And instantly the orbs of heaven are, as it were, quenched: at any rate, they are obscured and covered, so that not a ray of light from them, for three whole days, falls upon the desolate land of Egypt. At the same time, there was light in all the dwellings of the children of Israel. And now Pharaoh is again aroused. He calls for Moses and Aaron, and again tries to compound the matter with them: "You may take your wives and children; but leave your flocks and herds behind." But, on this point, Moses is inflexible; he can make no concessions: "The flocks and herds must go with us; there shall not a hoof be left behind."

At this, Pharaoh is enraged: he drives God's messengers from him, and tells them never to come into his presence again: "In the day that thou seest my face again, thou shalt die." And Moses

answered, "Thou hast well spoken : I will see thy face no more."

Of the plagues of Egypt (of which some account has been given), it is not enough to say that they were terrific displays of almighty power, attesting, beyond controversy, the divine mission of him at whose word they were sent ; but they were aimed, directly and designedly, at the idolatries of Egypt, with a view to bring them into contempt. For example, as the Egyptians were worshippers of the Nile, God first turns it into blood ; and then he causes it to breed myriads of frogs to annoy and disgust its stupid votaries. As they worshipped brute beasts, and more especially cattle, God sends swarms of flies to torment their divinities, and a grievous murrain to destroy them. Among the objects of their worship were also the sun, moon, and stars. Hence, when these were eclipsed, their divinities utterly failed them. The Egyptian priests were fastidiously cleanly. They were clad in pure white linen, and shaved every part of their bodies once in three days, to prevent lice, or any other impurity, from adhering to them. When, therefore, the whole dust of Egypt was turned into lice, swarming alike upon priest and people, the worship of their divinities was entirely suspended, and the magicians were constrained to confess, "This is the finger of God."

God had now sent ten successive miraculous plagues upon Pharaoh and his people with a view to humble them, and constrain them to send away the Israelites. But all had been to no good purpose. The Israelites were still in bondage, and the heart of the monarch was harder than ever. Still he is in the hands of God ; and the resources of God's power and judgment are not exhausted. He will send one visitation more, and that shall be effectual. "About midnight," saith the Lord, "I will go out into the midst of Egypt, and *all the first-born in the land of Egypt shall die*, from the first-born of Pharaoh that sitteth on the throne unto the first-born of the maid-servant that is behind the mill, and all the first-born of beasts. And there shall be a great cry throughout all the land of Egypt ; but against any of the children of Israel shall not a dog move his tongue. And the Egyptians shall come down unto thee, and bow themselves before thee, saying, Get thee out, and all the people that follow thee ; and after that shall ye go out."

Such was the revelation made beforehand unto Moses : and, in preparation for its fulfilment, the Israelites were directed to go out

among the Egyptians, and ask of them favors, — presents, valuable gifts, jewels of silver, and jewels of gold; for God would not suffer his people to go out from their hard toil and service empty-handed. And the Lord gave the people favor in the sight of the Egyptians, forasmuch as the man Moses was very great in the land, — in the sight of Pharaoh and all his servants. And the Egyptians gave to the children of Israel whatsoever they asked; insomuch that it is said of them, “They spoiled the Egyptians.”

Our translators represent that the Israelites *borrowed* of the Egyptians, under a promise to return what was lent. But such is not the sense of the original; at least, not necessarily. The words translated *borrow* and *lend* may as well be rendered *ask* and *give*. There is no intimation in the original of any fraudulent design on the part of the Israelites.

The Lord directed Moses to do another thing in preparation for the coming judgment. Every household in Israel was to take a lamb of a year old, without blemish; and on the fourteenth day of the month, at even, the lamb was to be slain. He was then to take of the blood of the lamb, and sprinkle the door-posts of his house; and the blood upon the door-posts was to be a sign to the destroying angel that he might *pass over* the houses where it was sprinkled, and not enter into them to destroy. And as to the flesh of the lamb, they were to roast it, and eat it that very night with unleavened bread and with bitter herbs; and so much of it as was not eaten that night was to be burned in the fire.

Such was the origin of the *Passover*, — the most solemn annual festival of the Jews, — first observed on the night in which they went out of Egypt, and observed ever afterward on the fourteenth day of the first month.* It was to be kept seven days, during all which time no leaven was to be found in their houses, and no servile work was to be done.

The people, having received these injunctions, commenced making their preparations accordingly. On the evening of the fourteenth day, the paschal lambs were slain, the door-posts were sprinkled, the flesh was roasted,† the unleavened bread was mixed, and all things were got in readiness, according to the commandment. And now the impending judgment fell. At midnight, the

* The month Abib, or Nisan, answering to a part of our March and April. The Passover was on the first full moon after the equinox.

† The ancient form of roasting the lamb was on a *cruciform wooden spit*; making it an emblem, without intending it, of the Lamb of God upon the cross.

angel of the Lord smote all the first-born of Egypt, both men and beasts, from Pharaoh down to his meanest servant. There was not a house of the Egyptians in which there was not one dead.

And Pharaoh rose up in haste, he and his servants; for there was great distress, and a great cry everywhere. And Pharaoh called for Moses and Aaron by night, and said unto them, "Rise up, and get you forth from among my people, and take with you your wives and your children, your flocks and your herds, and all that ye have; and go serve the Lord as ye have said." The Egyptians, also, were urgent upon the people, that they might send them out of the land in haste; for they said, "We be all dead men." And the Lord gave his people favor in the sight of the Egyptians; and they gave unto them silver and gold and raiment,—all that they desired.

And the children of Israel, improving the favorable moment, commenced their journey out of Egypt immediately. They took their dough before it was leavened, with their kneading-troughs and clothes upon their shoulders; and as all things had been got in readiness previously, by the command of Moses, they entered upon their march at once. The place of their departure was Rameses, in the land of Goshen; and, travelling in a south-east direction about twenty miles, they encamped at Succoth.*

The number which left Egypt were six hundred thousand footmen, besides women and children, and a mixed multitude which went out with them. In all, they could not have been much less than two millions. They took also their flocks and herds, which were very numerous. Here, then, was a vast cavalcade—a vast collection of human beings and brute beasts, to be started on a sudden, at the dead of night—to be marched out into the desert, they hardly knew whither. But then they had an experienced and divinely-commissioned leader; and, what was infinitely better, they had the infallible guidance of their covenant God. He went before them in a pillar of cloud by day, and of fire by night; so that, in following him, they could not mistake the path of duty or of safety.

It has been objected, that the children of Israel, during the two hundred and fifteen years of their abode in Egypt, could not have increased from seventy souls to the number of from one to two

* The exode of the Israelites from Egypt is obscurely mentioned by Manetho. He speaks of Moses by name as a leader in it. — See *Rawlinson's Evidences*, p. 74.

millions ; but a moment's thought will satisfy us that there is no ground for this objection.

In the first place, Joseph charged his brethren to bring, not only their father, but their *households*, with them into Egypt.* These households included, in addition to their wives and children, their laborers and servants. How many servants there were, we are not informed ; † but the males among them had all been circumcised, and they were considered as belonging to the people of God. But, not to insist on this consideration, we are told that the children of Israel “were fruitful, and increased abundantly, and waxed exceeding mighty ; so that the land was filled with them.” It is not supposed that any miracle of multiplication took place ; for none was needed. Only allow that they were uncommonly blessed in this respect, that their children were numerous and healthy, that they married young, and constituted fruitful families (each one for himself), and the supposed difficulty disappears.

I know it was predicted that the Israelites should come out of Egypt in the *fourth* generation ; but this does not imply that *all* the families in Israel were to be limited to four generations. Some of them would be thus limited, as we know that the family of Moses was. There was room in two hundred and fifteen years for ten generations ; and some of them, probably, had as many as that. The family of Joshua, we know, had seven ; for his genealogy is given, to the seventh or eighth generation, in 1 Chron. vii. 20–27. Suppose the original seventy of the Israelites proper (constituting thirty-five couples) to have averaged six generations in two hundred and fifteen years, and that the average increase in each family, from generation to generation, was six (and, considering what is said in the Scriptures of their fruitfulness, this certainly is a moderate estimate), their whole number at the time of the exode would be a million six hundred and thirty-two thousand nine hundred and sixty. If we suppose the average increase in each family to have been seven, the whole number would be not far from four millions.

Or the subject may be illustrated by referring, as in a former chapter, ‡ to the early settlement of our own country. Two hundred and fifty years ago, New England was settled by a few hundreds

* See Gen. xlv. 18.

† Abraham's household numbered, at one time, three hundred and eighteen souls (Gen. xiv. 14).

‡ See Chap. XII.

of poor, persecuted emigrants from the mother-country; and without any uncommon measure of fruitfulness, either promised or realized, what have they become? Who shall compute the number of their descendants? Could they all be brought together, I venture to say that they would constitute a much larger company than that which was led by Moses out of Egypt.

Nearly all the objections urged by Bishop Colenso and others to the statements in the Pentateuch grow out of the alleged multitude in the congregation of Israel. Most of the bishop's objections are too silly and contemptible to require a moment's consideration. Others will be briefly noticed.

Bishop Colenso has much difficulty with the institution of the Passover, on supposition that the number in Israel was as great as Moses represents; for how could notice be given to two millions of people in one day to kill and roast the paschal lamb, and sprinkle their door-posts with the blood, and be ready to commence their march at midnight? And where were they to get a hundred and fifty thousand lambs, which would be needed for the sacrifice?

To all this we answer, The people had long had the promise, that, in a little time, they should be led out of Egypt. They had been expecting it, and getting every thing in readiness for it. They had been told, at least four days previous to the Passover night, what was coming, and had been directed to take their lambs, and to have them ready.* And, as to the number of lambs required, we know that they abounded in cattle and sheep. They had been shepherds during their whole residence in Egypt; and their flocks and herds must have been very numerous. The loss of a hundred and fifty thousand lambs, if so many were needed, would not be felt.

Bishop Colenso supposes that the six hundred thousand footmen of Israel went out of Egypt *armed*; and incredulously asks, "Where did their arms come from?" But it is nowhere said that this great multitude were armed when they went out of Egypt. It is said in our translation that they "went up *harnessed* out of Egypt;" which only implies that they went in military order, rank and file, and not as a confused rabble. They had arms in the wilderness, or some of them had; and these they may have procured, as Josephus intimates, by stripping the dead bodies of the Egyptians who were drowned in the sea.†

The bishop's next difficulty is with the march of the two mil-

* See Exod. xii. 3-6.

† Antiq., book ii. chap. 16, sect. 6.

lions of Israelites from Rameses to the Red Sea. He supposes them to have been aroused suddenly at or near midnight, on the fourteenth day of the first month. They eat what they can of the lamb, and burn the rest. They rush out among their Egyptian neighbors to beg or borrow of them for the journey. They clutch every thing as it is, — their dough before it is leavened, their kneading-troughs and clothes, — and hasten away before the morning. Their train extends for miles in length, and, with their flocks and herds, for many miles.

It is easy to multiply difficulties in a case like this; and the bishop seems intent upon hunting and increasing them. As before remarked, the Israelites had been expecting to go for weeks, perhaps for months, and had been preparing for the journey. Four days before, they were told to have their lambs in readiness, and told when to kill them. On the night of the 14th, they had probably been up all night awaiting the summons; and, when it came, they were soon in their places under their respective leaders, and ready for the march. Those who were not at Rameses would join the company on the way; those who had charge of the flocks were also in readiness; and all were in successful motion before the morning. Probably no army was ever in a better condition to start at a moment's warning than were these Israelites when they went out of Egypt.*

Bishop Colenso finds a difficulty respecting the support of the sheep and cattle of the Israelites during their sojourn in the wilderness: "The people were fed with quails and manna: but what did the flocks eat? and how was it possible for such droves of them to be supported?" That the country through which the Israelites passed was chiefly barren, there can be no doubt; for Moses himself has so described it: and yet it was not all barren. It was capable of sustaining, somehow, a very considerable population. It was into this country that Abraham sent Ishmael and the sons of Keturah; and here they and their posterity lived. Here, also, dwelt the Edomites and the Amalekites. Here Moses kept the flocks of Jethro at the time when he was summoned for the deliverance of his people. Here the Arabs have had their residence through all the intervening ages to the present time. These facts go to show that there was pasturage in the deserts at the time

* It is recorded in Bell's History of Russia, vol. ii., that four hundred thousand Tartars retreated, in a single night, from the confines of Russia into their own native deserts, near the close of the last century.

when the Israelites passed through them, — as much, perhaps, as they needed for their flocks and herds.* They suffered sometimes for water; and, when it could be procured in no other way, it was miraculously furnished from the smitten rocks.

While the Israelites were at the foot of Sinai, the year after their departure from Egypt, God required that all the first-born of the males which had come into the world during the year should be numbered; and the number of them was twenty-two thousand two hundred and seventy-three. Bishop Colenso thinks this number much too large, even supposing the congregation to have been two millions; but it is not necessarily so. Suppose the congregation to be two millions (half males and half females), constituting a million of couples; suppose one in every ninety of these to have been married during the year, and to have had a son (and this, surely, is not an extravagant supposition), — and we have the number required. Or if one-half of the first-born were females, then supposing one in every forty-five to have been married, and to have had a son, and the number, as before, would be complete.

But enough of objections. Let us return to the narrative. When the Israelites had fairly entered upon their journey, and had come to their first encampment, the Lord took occasion to renew upon them the institution of the Passover, to be observed religiously in all generations. This was not only a commemorative ordinance, designed to keep in mind their deliverance from Egypt, but it also had an *onward* aspect. It was a *type*, and is so spoken of in numerous Scriptures, — a type of the deliverance of all true believers from a worse than Egyptian bondage, — from the hard bondage of sin, and the slavery of the Wicked One. It was as answering to the paschal lamb that our Saviour is so often called “the Lamb of God.” Christ is also called “our Passover, slain for us.”

There was another injunction laid upon the Israelites in connection with their deliverance from Egypt. As all the first-born in Israel were spared when the first-born in Egypt were destroyed, God claimed, henceforth, the first-born of Israel, as, in a peculiar sense, his own. The first-born of clean beasts were to be offered up in sacrifice; while the first-born of unclean beasts and of men were to be redeemed by other offerings. Thus our Saviour, who was the first-born of his mother, was redeemed by the offering of “two turtle-doves or two young pigeons” (Luke ii. 24).

* All accounts go to show that the deserts between Egypt and Palestine were far less barren in the time of Moses than they are now.

When the Israelites left Egypt, it was wisely ordered that they should not go up to Canaan the nearest way, as this would have led them through the land of the Philistines, and involved them, necessarily, in bloody and destructive wars. God preferred, rather, to lead them by the way of the Red Sea. They took the bones of Joseph with them.

I have said that their first encampment was at Succoth, a name signifying "booths," or "tents;" and from this circumstance arose one of the annual festivals in Israel, — the feast of *tabernacles*, — that "all their generations might know that the Lord made them to dwell in *booths* when he brought them up out of the land of Egypt."*

From Succoth, the Israelites pursued their journey eastward, unto Etham, on the border of the desert, near the Red Sea. From this point, instead of going directly forward round the northern extremity of what is now Suez, into Arabia, they were directed to turn southward, and encamp at Pihahiroth, between Migdol and the sea. This must have seemed a strange movement to the unbelieving in Israel, as it certainly was to Pharaoh and his people, who constantly kept their spies upon them; for, when Pharaoh learned what course the fugitives had taken, he said at once, "The wilderness hath hedged them in: they are entangled in the wilderness. Up, let us pursue after them, and bring them back." So he mustered all his chariots and horsemen, and madly rushed forth in pursuit of the Israelites.

It is repeatedly said in this connection, as it had been in previous instances, that *the Lord hardened the heart of Pharaoh*. It is said as frequently, that *Pharaoh hardened his own heart*. How are these passages to be understood? How is the seeming discrepancy to be reconciled? I answer, Pharaoh hardened his own heart by voluntarily making promises and breaking them; by voluntarily pursuing a course, which, as men are constituted, tended, of necessity, to harden his heart. God may be said to have hardened his heart, — not by physical force or a special agency, or by interfering in any way with Pharaoh's freedom, but by continuing him in being, in the exercise of all his faculties and powers, and by continuing in regular operation all those laws of matter and of mind, under the influence of which, *as Pharaoh was acting*, his heart must become dreadfully hard. Such a result could not have been prevented but by a miracle, which God was under no

* Lev. xxiii. 43.

obligations to perform. In this view of the case, the two representations are perfectly harmonious. Pharaoh hardened his own heart *voluntarily*,—by his voluntary persistency in sin; and God hardened it *providentially*,—by continuing him under his providential control, and not interposing to prevent the natural consequences of his own obstinacy and wickedness.

But to return to the Israelites, encamped before Pihahiroth, on the shore of the Red Sea. When the unbelieving in Israel learned that the Egyptians were pursuing them, and were close upon them, they were greatly terrified, and began at once to murmur against Moses and against God: “Because there were no graves in Egypt, hast thou taken us away to die in the wilderness? Wherefore hast thou thus dealt with us to bring us forth out of Egypt?” But Moses said unto the people, “Fear not: stand still and see the salvation of the Lord which he will show you to-day; for as to the Egyptians, of whom ye are afraid, ye shall see their faces no more forever.”

And Moses stretched out his hand over the sea, and the Lord caused the sea to go back by a strong east wind all that night, and the waters were divided. And the children of Israel went into the midst of the sea upon dry ground; and the waters were a wall unto them upon the right hand and the left.* And the Egyptians pursued after them into the midst of the sea, not seeming to know whither they went; for the pillar of cloud which stood between them and Israel was light to the latter, but thick darkness unto them. And as it drew towards morning, and the Israelites were all safely landed on the eastern side, Moses stretched out his hand again over the sea, and the divided waters returned unto their place, and whelmed the Egyptian army in one common ruin. There remained not so much as one of them to tell of the destruction which had come upon them. And, when the sun arose, the Israelites saw their dead bodies drifting upon the shore.

No wonder that there was now great rejoicing in the camp of Israel. No wonder that the people shouted, and sang that triumphal song recorded in the fifteenth chapter of Exodus: “I will sing unto the Lord; for he hath triumphed gloriously: the horse and his rider hath he thrown into the sea. The Lord is my strength and my song; and he is become my salvation.”

* According to Josephus and Philo, the passage of the sea was attended by a storm of rain and thunder; and we learn as much from Ps. lxxvii. 17: “The clouds poured out water; the skies sent out a sound; Thine arrows also went abroad.”

There has been much speculation as to the particular part of the Red Sea over which the Israelites crossed; but this cannot now be certainly ascertained.* We only know that it was near the northern extremity of the western arm of the sea, — probably a few miles south of Suez. Here the sea is narrow, — not more than two or three miles over, — and could easily have been crossed in a single night.

There has been a difference of opinion, too, as to the manner in which the sea was divided. Some think that there was no proper miracle in the case; that the east wind drove back the waters so as to leave a fording-place dry. But this does not fully answer to the description of the sacred writer, or to the magnitude of the event as referred to in other parts of the Bible. We know that the east wind drove back the waters, so as to relieve the difficulty of the passage, in part; but we also know that the waters were divided, and stood up as a wall on either side of the Israelites.† Here, then, was a glorious manifestation of the mighty, miraculous power of God for the deliverance of his people and the overthrow of his incorrigible enemies; and so the event is everywhere spoken of and celebrated by the sacred writers.

Leaving the Red Sea, Moses marched his people eastward, three days' journey, into the Desert of Shur; and they found no water. And when they came to the fountains at Marah they could not drink of them; for they were bitter. So the people began to murmur, saying, "What shall we drink?" And Moses cried unto the Lord; and the Lord showed him a tree, from which he took a branch, and cast it into the waters; and they were sweet.

The next remove of the Israelites was in a south-easterly direction, unto Elim, where were twelve fountains of pure water, and threescore and ten palm-trees, — a delightful place for their encampment. Yet they tarried not long to enjoy it; but, pursuing

* A missionary from the East, who sailed up the Red Sea, from Babelmandel to Suez, in the summer of 1868, thinks he has discovered the place where the Israelites crossed. A few miles south of Suez, on the west side of the sea, he discovered two mountains, each about a thousand feet high, jutting down to the sea, and running back westward towards Egypt. Between these high ridges is a plain, about half a mile wide, touching also upon the sea. The missionary (Mr. Cross) thinks that these two mountains may have been the ancient Migdol and Baal-Zephon, and the plain the Pihahiroth, on which the Israelites were encamped, and from which they entered the channel of the sea. The sea is here about five miles in breadth. — See *Watchman and Reflector* for Dec. 3, 1868.

† See Exod. xiv. 22; Ps. lxxviii. 13. Diodorus says that "the native inhabitants of this region had a tradition, from the earliest ages, that once the Red Sea was divided; and, after leaving its bottom for some time dry, it returned again with great fury."

a south-easterly course, they came again upon the shore of the Red Sea. From this point they travelled due east into what was called the Wilderness of Sin.

A full month had now elapsed since the children of Israel came out of Egypt; and the provisions which they brought with them were consumed. And what were they to do? In a dry and barren desert, how were these two millions of people to be fed? The faithless among them regarded their case as hopeless, and began to murmur and complain: "Why have ye brought up this great multitude into the wilderness to kill them here with hunger? Would to God that we had lived and died in Egypt, where we sat by the flesh-pots, and did eat bread to the full!" Then the Lord said unto Moses, "Behold, I will rain bread from heaven for you; and the people shall go out and gather a supply of it day by day. Let none of it be kept over from one day to another, except on the *sixth* day, when ye shall gather twice as much as on any other day; for on the seventh day, the sabbath, it shall not be found." This is the first express mention of the weekly sabbath, from the time of its institution in the Garden of Eden. We have much reason to suppose, however, that it was observed by the patriarchs, since we know that they divided their time into weeks of seven days. The sabbath is referred to here, not as a new institution, but as one already known, and in accordance with which the supply of manna was to be regulated.

At this time, God manifested himself in visible glory to the congregation of Israel, reprovèd their murmurings, and promised them not only bread, but flesh to eat. And in the evening vast multitudes of quails made their appearance, and covered the camp; and the people took of them as many as they needed. And in the morning, when the dew was dried up, small particles of something—they knew not what—covered all the face of the ground. And, when the people saw it, they said, "*Manhu,*"—"What this?" From this circumstance, the substance seems to have been called *manna*. The color of it, we are told, was white, like coriander-seed; and the taste of it was like that of wafers made with honey. And Moses said, "This is the bread which the Lord hath given unto you. Gather it, every one according to his necessities; but let none of it be left until the morning."

The quails which were sent at this time seem to have been but a temporary provision. So many of them as were not taken and destroyed, soon flew away. At a later period, the quails descended

upon the camp of Israel again, and tarried about it for a month. But the manna which was now given was a permanent provision. It continued to be dispensed, day by day, for forty years, until the people arrived at the promised land.

In commemoration of this wonderful supply of bread, God commanded Moses to take a pot, and fill it with manna, and lay it up for a witness to coming generations, that they might learn the goodness of God, and never distrust his providential care.

CHAPTER XXI.

MOSES AND HIS TIMES. — CONTINUED.

IN our last chapter, we followed the congregation of Israel until their escape from Egypt, their final deliverance from Pharaoh, and the commencement of their wanderings in the Arabian deserts. We left them in what was called the Wilderness of Sin, where the manna began to be furnished, and they were supplied with bread.

From the Wilderness of Sin, the people pursued their journey eastward, stopping first at Dophkah, and then at Alush, and then at Rephidim. At this latter place, they were again in distress for want of water. And they went to Moses in impatience and unbelief, and said, "Wherefore hast thou brought us up out of Egypt to kill us and our children and our cattle with thirst? Give us water, that we may drink." And Moses said unto them, "Why do ye chide with me? and wherefore do ye thus tempt the Lord?" And Moses cried unto the Lord, and said, "What shall I do? for this people be ready to stone me." And the Lord commanded Moses to gather the people unto the rock Horeb, and in their presence to smite the rock with his rod. And he did so; and water in abundance poured forth from the smitten rock, and the wants of the people were supplied.

While the Israelites were at Rephidim, the Amalekites came upon them with an army, and fought against them. These Amalekites were a wandering tribe, who lived in the deserts, subsisting, like the Bedouins of our day, in part by plunder. They had watched the movements of this great company just coming out of Egypt, and hoped that they might be an easy prey. But Moses directed Joshua — of whom we now hear for the first time, and who was, by common consent, generalissimo of the armies of Israel — to collect an army, and go out and fight against the Amalekites; while he stood on the top of a hill, with the rod of God in his hand. And Joshua did as he was commanded. And Moses took

his position on a neighboring hill to pray for the success of his people. And so it was, that, when Moses lifted up his hands, Israel prevailed; but, when he let down his hands, Amalek prevailed. And, lest the hands of Moses should be heavy and weary, Aaron and Hur stood on either side of him, and stayed them up.* And Amalek was beaten, and driven back before the armies of Israel. It was at this time that the Lord pronounced a curse upon Amalek, declaring that he should be cut off from being a people; which curse was terribly executed in the days of Saul.†

While the people abode at Rephidim, another event occurred, of great interest to Moses and the whole congregation. Jethro, the father-in-law of Moses, who resided not far from the place of their encampment, came unto them, bringing the wife and the children of Moses; ‡ and Moses went out to meet his father-in-law, and did obeisance unto him, and took him into his tent. And he told him of all that the Lord had done unto Pharaoh and the Egyptians, of the wonderful deliverance of his people, and what had befallen them by the way. And Jethro rejoiced, and said, “Blessed be the Lord, who hath delivered you out of the hand of the Egyptians. Now I know that the Lord is greater than all gods; for wherein the Egyptians dealt proudly he was above them.” And Jethro offered sacrifices and a burnt-offering unto the God of Israel; and all the elders of Israel came and feasted with him upon the sacrifice. We are glad to record these things of pious Jethro, who was not only a wise and faithful man, but a sincere worshipper of the true God; thus showing that true religion was not yet wholly obliterated in the nations that were not in visible covenant with Jehovah.

While Jethro remained in the camp of the Israelites, he performed another service for them of great importance. Observing that Moses was constantly occupied, from morning till evening, in hearing and deciding cases which came up among the people, he advised that a series of courts should be established, and that only the greater and more difficult questions should be brought unto Moses: “Choose you out of all the people able men, such as fear God and hate covetousness, and place them over the people, to be

* According to Josephus, Hur was the husband of Miriam, and brother-in-law of Moses and Aaron.

† See 1 Sam. xv.

‡ Of the two sons of Moses, Gershom and Eliezer, we hear little in the Bible. Their genealogy is brought down, in the Chronicles, to the time of David (1 Chron. xxvi. 25).

rulers of thousands, and rulers of hundreds, and rulers of fifties, and rulers of tens ; and let them judge the people at all seasons. And it shall be, that every great matter they shall bring unto thee ; but every small matter they shall decide." This advice, so obviously reasonable, was accepted of Moses and of God ; and the inferior courts which had been recommended were established. The object of his visit being accomplished, Jethro returned to his own land.

Leaving Rephidim, the Israelites pitched their tents on an extended plain, directly at the foot of the ancient Sinai. Dr. Robinson passed over this plain, and speaks of it as admirably adapted to the purposes ascribed to it in the Scriptures.* The names Sinai and Horeb are used interchangeably in the sacred writings. The probability is, that one of these names (perhaps Horeb) was given to this whole cluster of mountains ; while Sinai denoted a single peak.

As the Israelites were to remain some considerable time at the foot of Sinai to receive their law, and with it their civil and religious institutions, a question of much interest arises : Had this people any organized civil government previous to the giving of the law ? and, if so, what was it ? We read often of the *elders* of Israel previous to this time, and also of their *officers* and *judges*. Who, then, were these elders ? and how appointed ? and what form of government prevailed ?

The most ancient Hebrew government, like that of the surrounding tribes, was *patriarchal*. Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob governed their households with an authority well-nigh unlimited. They acknowledged no subjection, and owed no allegiance, to any higher power. The twelve sons of Jacob ruled their respective families in the same way. But, when their descendants had become sufficiently numerous to form large tribes, each tribe had a prince or ruler of its own, called "the head of the house of his father ;" † and, when the tribes had increased to such a degree as to require a more thorough supervision, they were divided into sections, or clans, each of which was subject to a head, or chief. These subordinate chiefs (of which there were fifty-eight), together with the heads of the tribes (of which there were twelve), constituted the seventy elders of Israel.‡

* Robinson's Researches, vol. i. p. 130.

† See Num. i. 4-16.

‡ See Exod. xxiv. 1.

In addition to these, there was another class of men, — a learned class, — whose duty it was to act as readers and scribes, and to keep the genealogies of the people. They are called *officers* in the fifth chapter of Exodus. Whether these several offices were hereditary, or elective, does not certainly appear; but that such were the rulers of the Israelites under Pharaoh, during the latter part of their abode in Egypt, there can be little doubt.*

Of the appointment of judges, at the suggestion of Jethro, we have just heard. These were distributed through all the families and tribes of Israel, and brought the speedy administration of justice to every man's door. These several offices were many of them, and perhaps all, *elective*; and, though there was no pecuniary emolument attached to them, they conferred great dignity and authority on those who held them.

This original order of things, which existed, in part, among the Israelites previous to the time of Moses, he did not attempt to disturb. Other institutions were ingrafted upon it, and connected with it; but the order itself was continued down to the end of the Jewish commonwealth.

Among the first things done at the foot of Sinai was the institution of what has been called *the theocracy*, or God's *civil government* over the nation of Israel. He was their sovereign Creator and Disposer before (as he is of all creatures), and had a right to do with them as he pleased. He was also their *covenant God*; and they were, in a peculiar sense, his *covenant people*, — his *church*. But God now proposes to become their *civil Head*; to give them a code of laws; to set up a civil government over them; to be (as the prophet Isaiah expresses it) their "Judge, their Lawgiver, and their King" (Isa. xxxiii. 22). He proposes that this shall be done *with their own consent*. Accordingly, he summons Moses to meet him in the mount, and through him makes the proposition to the children of Israel. To this the people, with one accord, returned answer, "All that the Lord hath spoken will we do, and be obedient."

The next thing done was to prepare the people for a solemn, and, as it were, personal interview with their King: "Be ready against the third day; for on the third day the Lord will come down, in the sight of all the people, upon Mount Sinai. And beware lest ye come near the mount to touch it; for whosoever toucheth it shall surely die."

* Exod. iii. 16-18.

And on the morning of the third day there were thunders and lightnings, and a thick cloud upon the mount, and the voice of the trumpet exceeding loud; so that all the people that were in the camp trembled.* And Mount Sinai was altogether in a smoke, because the Lord descended upon it in fire.

When God had made this exhibition of himself to his people, with a view to impress them with a holy awe, he proceeded to thunder forth in an audible voice, from the top of the mount, the ten commandments; and when the people heard the thunderings and the noise of the trumpet, and saw the lightnings, and the mountain quaking, they removed, and stood afar off: and they said unto Moses, "Speak thou with us, and we will hear; but let not God speak with us, lest we die."

The Lord, having thus established his authority over the children of Israel, proceeds to give them, through Moses, a variety of laws; some relating to his worship, but more relating to their social and civil affairs;—their intercourse, and duties one towards another. He also promises to send his Angel before them, to keep them in the way, and bring them into the promised land; but they must consent to obey and follow him, and cautiously avoid all connection with the idolatries of Egypt and those which were practised round about them.

When Moses brought this message to the people, they answered again with one accord, "All that the Lord hath said will we do, and be obedient."

A solemn compact or covenant had now been entered into between God and the people; and Moses was resolved to confirm it, after the usual patriarchal manner, by sacrifice. So he builded an altar under the hill, having twelve pillars, according to the twelve tribes of Israel; and he deputed young men to officiate as priests,—for the Levitical priesthood was not yet established,—who offered burnt-offerings and peace-offerings unto the Lord. And Moses took half of the blood, and put it in basins; and he sprinkled the other half upon the altar. He also took the book of the covenant, which he had written out, and read it aloud in the audience of the people; and the people answered again in the most solemn manner, over the sacrifice, "All that the Lord hath commanded will we do, and be obedient." Then Moses took the blood

* The trumpet here spoken of was not made or sounded by human means. It was "the voice of the archangel and the trump of God," pouring forth its notes of terror in the burning mount.

in the basins, and sprinkled it on the people, saying, "This is the blood of the covenant which the Lord hath made with you."

By this significant rite, the compact or covenant between God and the nation of Israel was most solemnly ratified. They chose the Lord God to be their King, put themselves under his direction, and promised obedience; and he consented to be their Ruler, to go before them into the promised land, and to order all their affairs in wisdom and goodness.

This transaction being ended, God was pleased to admit the representatives of his people to a nearer vision of himself. He invited Moses, and Aaron with his two sons, and the seventy elders of Israel, to come up higher into the mount, where it is said that "they saw the God of Israel" (Exod. xxiv. 10). They saw, I suppose, no distinct similitude, but a *dazzling brightness*, underneath which was a paved work as of sapphire, like unto the body of heaven in its clearness.

Moses was now called to a longer waiting upon God in the mount: and so, leaving the charge of the people with Aaron and Hur, and taking with him only his lieutenant, Joshua, he went up high into the mount of God; and the glory of the Lord covered the mount. And, having waited seven days, he heard the voice of the Lord calling him to come up higher; and he went up alone into the midst of the cloud, and was there with God forty days and nights. In this time, God gave him minute instructions respecting the ark of the covenant, and the tabernacle of the congregation, with all its appurtenances and furniture. He directed him to set apart Aaron and his sons to the service of the priesthood. He also gave directions as to their apparel and work, and how they should be consecrated. He appointed two learned Israelites—Bezaleel of the tribe of Judah, and Aholiab of the tribe of Dan—to oversee the building of the tabernacle; and gave to Moses two tables of stone, on which was inscribed with his own finger the law of the ten commandments.

While these things were going forward between God and Moses in the mount, the people on the plain below became impatient. They did not know what had become of their leader. They affected to fear that he had perished in the mountain. At any rate, they wished to be gone; and so they went to Aaron, and told him to make them gods which should go before them. And Aaron—either from fear, or from some worse motive—told them to break off their golden ear-rings and jewels, and bring them unto

him; and he took their jewels, and melted them in a furnace, and wrought for them a golden calf. And they worshipped before it, and said, "These be thy gods, O Israel! which brought thee up out of the land of Egypt."

This strange transaction can be accounted for only on the supposition that the people, during their long residence in Egypt, had become fearfully contaminated with its idolatries. Hence their desire to have an image in shape like a calf, which was one of the idols of Egypt. Various suppositions have been made to exculpate Aaron, but I think without success. If he did not go heartily into the measure, he was afraid to oppose it. He assisted in collecting the materials, and in casting the image; and, when it was finished, he built an altar before it, and proclaimed a feast; and the people sat down to eat and to drink, and rose up to play.*

Meanwhile, Moses was in the mount with God, and knew not at all what was transacting on the plain below. But God knew, and failed not to apprise his servant of the dreadful fact: "Go, get thee down; for thy people have corrupted themselves. They have turned quickly aside out of the way which I commanded them. They have made them a molten calf, and worshipped it, and offered sacrifice before it. Now, therefore, let me alone, that my wrath may wax hot against them, and that I may consume them; and I will make of thee a great nation." But Moses, though shocked and confounded, as he must have been, interceded most earnestly and successfully for his guilty people. He pleaded God's promises to Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob. He pleaded, especially, the honor of the divine character and name: "Wherefore should the Egyptians say, For mischief did he bring forth the children of Israel, to slay them in the mountains, and to consume them from the face of the earth?"

The prayer of Moses was heard, and the Lord's anger was stayed. And Moses turned, and went quickly down out of the mount, with the two tables of stone in his hand; and when he drew near to the camp, and saw the calf, and the people singing and dancing around it, he was so fired with holy indignation, that he threw down the two tables of stone, and dashed them in pieces.

* It may be doubted whether, in this transaction, Aaron, or even the people, meant to renounce the worship of Jehovah, the God of Israel. They rather thought to worship him, as they had been accustomed to do, by means of an image. Hence Aaron tells them, "To-morrow is a feast to Jehovah" (Exod. xxxii. 5). On this supposition, they broke the second commandment rather than the first.

He then seized the molten calf, and cast it into the fire. He ground it to powder, dissolved it in some chemical fluid prepared for the purpose, and made its worshippers drink of it. He next called Aaron to an account for what he had done. Aaron pleaded his fear of the people, and his inability to resist their wishes, but not, probably, in a manner to satisfy his brother. Moses now proclaimed in the gate of the camp, "Who is on the Lord's side? Let all such come together unto me." And the children of Levi (of which tribe were Moses and Aaron) came promptly forward at the call of their great leader. At the command of Moses, they took every man his sword, and went through the camp, slaying all those, without distinction, who had taken a leading part in this revolt from God; and there fell that day about three thousand men.

And Moses said unto the people, "Ye have sinned a great sin. Nevertheless, I will go up again unto the Lord: peradventure I may make an atonement for your sin." And Moses returned unto the Lord in the mount, and said, "Oh! this people have sinned a great sin. They have made them gods of gold, and have worshipped them. Yet now, if thou wilt, forgive their sin; but, if not, blot me, I pray thee, out of thy book which thou hast written." And the Lord said, "Whosoever hath sinned against me, him will I blot out of my book. Go thou and lead this people unto the place of which I have spoken. I will not go up, as before, *in the midst of thee*; but my Angel shall go up *before* thee, and bring thee into the land which I swear unto thy fathers."

It has been made a question what Moses could have meant, when he prayed, that, on certain conditions, he might be blotted from God's book. But the sense, we think, is pretty evident from the connection. God had said, "Let me alone, that my anger may burn against this people, and that I may consume them in a moment; and I will spare thee, and will make of thee a great nation." But Moses says, "*No, no*: I cannot consent to such a proposition. If thou canst not forgive this people, if thou art determined to destroy them, then destroy me with them: I would not be spared to see their ruin. If they must be consumed, then, I pray thee, consume us all together." Such, as it seems to me, is the purport of the good man's prayer, evincing a most unquenchable love for his people,—the kindness and benevolence of his heart.

*When the children of Israel had come to a sense of their sin, they were deeply humbled for it. They mourned, and stripped

themselves of their ornaments, and were apparently overwhelmed with sorrow.

In consideration of what God had said, that he would henceforth go *before* his people, and not in the midst of them, Moses took one of the tabernacles (for the great public tabernacle was not yet built), and pitched it without the camp, at a little distance from it, and called it the tabernacle of the congregation. And the cloudy pillar stood above it; and, when Moses entered into the tabernacle, the pillar descended, and stood at the door. And all the people saw it; and they rose up and worshipped every one in his tent-door.

Things being thus far adjusted with the congregation on the plain, Moses is again summoned to meet God in the mount. "Hew thee two tables of stone like unto the first, and I will write upon them the words that were on the first tables which thou didst break; and be ready in the morning, and come up to me in the top of Sinai." And Moses prepared the tables, and went up with them into the mount; and the Lord met him there, and proclaimed his name and his attributes thus: "The Lord, the Lord God, merciful and gracious, long-suffering, abundant in goodness and truth, keeping mercy for thousands, forgiving iniquity, transgression, and sin, and that will by no means clear the guilty; visiting the iniquities of the fathers upon the children unto the third and fourth generation." And, when Moses heard these words, he made haste and bowed himself to the earth, and worshipped. He commenced also interceding for his guilty people; and God promised—on condition of their future obedience in driving out and destroying the Canaanites, and avoiding all complicity with their idolatrous practices—that he would still go with them. He took the opportunity to repeat several laws which had been before enacted, particularly those respecting the Passover, the redemption of the first-born, the sabbath, and the annual festivals. He wrote the ten commandments on the tables which Moses had brought, and dismissed him to go to the congregation when he had remained with God another forty days. And Moses went down to the people; and his face shone with a heavenly lustre, so that the people were afraid to approach him. And he was constrained to put a veil on his face except when he went into the tabernacle of the Lord.

Being returned to the congregation, Moses commenced his collections for the building and furniture of the tabernacle; and so

abundant was the liberality of the people, that a sufficient supply was soon furnished, and placed in the hands of Bezaleel and Aholiab, who did the work. The contributions at this time, in silver and gold, are supposed to have amounted to more than a million of dollars,—a prodigious sum to be contributed by these fugitives from bondage; proving also that their numbers must have been as great as Moses represents. The holy garments of the priests, with the breast-plate of diamonds and cunning work, were also provided, and got in readiness. And, on the first day of the first month,—a year, lacking fourteen days, from the time that the Israelites came out of Egypt,—the tabernacle was put up and consecrated; and Aaron and his sons were set apart, and attired for the holy priesthood. The ark, or chest, containing the two tables of stone, was deposited behind the veil, in the most holy place, where it could be approached by none but the high priest, and by him only once in a year.* And, when all had been finished according to the commandment, Moses blessed the congregation; and the glory of the Lord so filled the tabernacle, that Moses, for a time, was not able to enter it. And here the pillar of cloud and of fire abode all the while that the children of Israel were in the wilderness. When it was taken up, they journeyed after it; and, when it was let down, they rested, until they came to the promised land.

After the erection of the tabernacle, and the consecration of the priests, a variety of laws were given respecting the offerings of both priests and people. And, on the eighth day of the first month, the work of the priests commenced, and the offerings were made. At the close of the service, Moses and Aaron blessed the people in the name of the Lord; and the glory of the Lord was most illustriously manifested. A fire came forth from the Lord, and consumed the burnt-offering and the fat; which when the people saw, they shouted, and worshipped the Lord, with their faces to the earth.

But the joy of the occasion was soon and sadly interrupted. Nadab and Abihu, the two eldest of Aaron's sons, being unduly elated with the honors of the priesthood, and perhaps flushed with

* The highest honor was thus put, under the Mosaic economy, upon God's holy law. It was laid, where it must ever lie, at the foundation of the whole gospel-scheme of mercy. The cherubim on each end of the lid of the chest,—“the mercy-seat,”—with their wings extended, and their faces turned inward, in a posture of the most devout attention (Exod. xxxvii. 9), show with what interest angelic beings look into the wonders of redemption: “Into which things the angels desire to look” (1 Pet. i. 12).

wine, undertook to offer incense at a time and in a manner not appointed by the Lord. They took their censers and incense, and, instead of taking fire from the altar, put on common (that is strange) fire, and offered it up before the Lord. The consequence was, that fire came forth from the Lord, and killed them in a moment. Of course, Moses and Aaron, and all concerned about the tabernacle, were terrified and shocked. But Moses reminded his distressed brother of one of the important sayings of God, "I will be sanctified in them that come nigh me, and before all the people will I be glorified;" and Aaron held his peace.

The bodies of the deceased young men were immediately removed, and the services of the day were not allowed to be interrupted. This injunction, however, was immediately given in respect to the priests: "Drink no wine, neither strong drink, when ye go into the tabernacle of the congregation, lest ye die. This shall be a statute forever throughout your generations."

This interruption being past, the Lord proceeded with the work of prescribing laws to his people. We have first the divine ordinances respecting things clean and unclean; next respecting leprosy, — the signs of it, and the way to be healed and cleansed from it; next respecting the purification of males and females; and then the rites to be performed on the great day of atonement, — the tenth day of the seventh month, — when the high priest entered alone into the most holy place, and the scapegoat was sent away into the wilderness (Lev. xvi.). Next follows a variety of laws, some civil and some ceremonial, — all having in view the honor of God and the best interests of his people.

While these statutes were being given, there occurred in the camp a case of blasphemy, which gave occasion to the following enactment: "He that blasphemeth the name of the Lord shall surely be put to death: all the congregation shall stone him with stones" (Lev. xxv.).

This case being disposed of, the giving of laws went forward as before, followed up with earnest exhortations to obedience, and the severest denunciations upon those who transgressed.

On the fourteenth day of the first month, — just one year from the time of their departure out of Egypt, — the Israelites kept their second Passover. And this seems to have been their last Passover until they had crossed the Jordan and entered the land of Canaan. The difficulty of procuring, in the desert, fine flour

for the unleavened bread, may have been a reason why the observance of the Passover was for so many years intermitted.

The Israelites had been encamped before Sinai almost a year, when, on the first day of the second month, in the second year after their departure from Egypt, a command went forth that the men of war in the congregation should all be numbered; and the number of them was found to be 603,550. But the men of the tribe of Levi were not numbered; for God had appointed them to the charge of the tabernacle, and to be the assistants of the priests.*

When the men of war had been enrolled, they were divided into four battalions, and formed into a hollow square. In the centre of the square was the tabernacle of the congregation, surrounded by the priests, and these surrounded by the tents of the Levites. Then on the east side of the square, which was the front, were the tents of Judah, Issachar, and Zebulun; on the south side were the tents of Reuben, Simeon, and Gad; on the west side were the tents of Ephraim, Manasseh, and Benjamin; and on the north side were the tents of Dan, Naphtali, and Asher.

Such was the order of the Israelites' encampment, and such the method of their march, — not in disorder and confusion, but as a regularly drilled and disciplined body. When the pillar of cloud was taken up from the tabernacle, the trumpet was sounded. Then the standard of Judah was raised, and the three tribes which belonged to it set forward. Next the standard of Reuben's camp was raised, and the three tribes in its connection advanced. Then followed, in like manner, the standards of Ephraim and of Dan, with the connected tribes. Meanwhile, the Levites had taken down the tabernacle, and with a part of it loaded on wagons, and a part carried on their shoulders or in their hands, were marching in the centre.

This enrolling and marshalling of the host was an indication that they were soon to remove; but, before removing, there must be a further promulgation of laws. Accordingly, we find, at this point in their history, a variety of newly-issued laws, — some respecting the Levites and their service, some respecting the Nazarites, and several relating to other matters. A form of blessing was also

* The Levites were appointed to this service, partly, perhaps, because the priests — the family of Aaron — were Levites. They distinguished themselves, also, in punishing the worshippers of the golden calf (Exod. xxxii. 26). But another reason for their appointment is assigned by the sacred writer: they were taken in place of the first-born of Israel, all of whom were claimed as peculiarly the Lord's. — See Num. iii. 12.

enjoined, with which the priests were to dismiss the congregation: "The Lord bless thee and keep thee; the Lord make his face to shine upon thee, and be gracious unto thee; the Lord lift up his countenance upon thee, and give thee peace."

At this time, the cloud was lifted up from the tabernacle, the trumpet sounded, and the people were summoned to depart from the foot of Sinai, where they had rested about a year.

CHAPTER XXII.

MOSES AND HIS TIMES. — CONTINUED.

AT the close of the last chapter, the Israelites were departing from the foot of Sinai, and commencing their onward march in the desert. They went three days' journey, in a north-easterly direction, unto Taberah; when the people grew weary, began to complain, and some of them loitered in their march. Wherefore a fire from the Lord broke out upon them, and consumed many who were in the rear of the camp; and Moses prayed unto the Lord, and the fire was quenched.

But almost immediately a portion of the people fell to lusting, as they had done on a former occasion, after flesh: "We remember the fish which we did eat in Egypt, the cucumbers and melons, the leeks and onions. But now our soul is dried up. There is nothing at all but this manna, and our soul loatheth this light bread." And when Moses heard their murmurings he was distressed, and went and complained unto the Lord: "Wherefore hast thou laid the burthen of all this people upon me? I am not able to bear it: it is too heavy for me. If thou deal thus with me, kill me, I pray thee, out of hand, and leave me not to endure this wretchedness."

In compassion to his servant, God now effected a new organization, or rather he perfected an existing organization: "Gather unto me the seventy elders of Israel to the door of the tabernacle, and I will take of the spirit which is upon thee, and I will put it upon them; and they shall bear the burthen of the people with thee. And say unto the people, To-morrow ye shall have flesh to eat. Ye shall eat it, not one day, nor two, nor twenty, but a whole month, until ye are satisfied and glutted with it."

With regard to the quantity of flesh promised, Moses seems to have been unbelieving at the first. Nevertheless, he went out and published to the people what the Lord had said. And there arose a wind from the sea, and it brought up with it an immense multi-

tude of quails, and they fell around the camp a day's journey on either side; and the people gathered them till they were more than satisfied. But, while they were feasting and rioting upon them, the Lord smote them with a malignant plague, and many of them died. And Moses called the place Kibroth-hattaavah, — the *graves of lust*.

The Israelites next proceeded to Hazeroth, where they abode several days. It was here that Miriam and Aaron gave vent to their envy against Moses, — a spirit which they had indulged, perhaps, ever since the affair of the golden calf. They reproached him on account of what they were pleased to call his Ethiopian wife. They said also, "Hath the Lord spoken only by Moses? Hath he not spoken also by us?" These murmurings may have been uttered privately; but the Lord heard them, and summoned the parties to meet him forthwith at the door of the tabernacle. Here he cleared and commended Moses, and sharply reproved Miriam and Aaron; and to punish the former, who seems to have been the chief instigator, he smote her at once with leprosy. And when Aaron looked upon his sister, behold, she was a leper, as white as snow! And Aaron said unto Moses, "Alas! my brother, I beseech thee lay not this sin upon us. Let not our sister become to us as one dead." And Moses cried unto the Lord, and Miriam's leprosy was healed. Nevertheless, she was shut out of the camp, as one unclean, seven days.

After this, the people removed from Hazeroth, pursuing a northeasterly course, and, after one or two stops, arrived at Kadesh, in the Wilderness of Paran. They were now on the southern border of Canaan, the promised land, — the place where Moses had expected all along to enter it. From this place he sent spies, one from each of the tribes, to go up into the land of Canaan, search it out, and bring back a report unto the people. So the spies went up into the southerly part of Canaan, traversed it in various directions, and, after forty days, returned to the camp of Israel, bringing with them some of the fruits of the land.

But, with regard to an immediate occupation of the country, their report was unfavorable. With the exception of two, — Caleb and Joshua, — they were against it: "The people be strong that dwell in the land; the cities are walled and very great: moreover, we saw giants, the children of Anak, there. We are not able to go up against this people; for they are stronger than we." It was in vain that Caleb and Joshua brought in a counter report,

and endeavored to encourage the people to put their trust in God.

When the congregation heard the report of their messengers, they were greatly distressed; and, as their custom was, they began to murmur against Moses and against God: "Wherefore hath the Lord brought us unto this land to fall by the sword, and that our wives and our little ones should be a prey? Let us make us a captain, and return into Egypt." It was in vain that Moses and Aaron and Caleb and Joshua endeavored to pacify and encourage the people. They would not be diverted from their purpose, and were ready to kill those who labored to withstand them.

But, at this critical moment, the Lord interposed. He appeared in his glory at the door of the tabernacle of the congregation, and, addressing himself to Moses, said, "How long shall this people provoke me? How long will it be ere they will believe me, after all the signs that I have wrought among them? I will smite them with the pestilence, and utterly disinherit them; and I will make of thee a nation greater and mightier than they." But Moses fell down and interceded for his guilty people, as he had once before done on the top of Sinai. He pleaded especially the honor and glory of God; that the honor of his name was concerned; that, if he destroyed all this people, the nations would hear of it, and say, "Because the Lord was not able to bring them into the land which he promised unto their fathers, therefore hath he slain them in the wilderness. Pardon, therefore, I beseech thee, the iniquity of thy people, according unto the greatness of thy mercy."

And the Lord said, "I have pardoned according to thy word; but, as truly as I live, all the earth shall be filled with the glory of the Lord. And as for these men, who have seen my glory, and my miracles which I did in Egypt and in the wilderness, and have tempted me now these ten times, and have not hearkened unto my voice, surely *they* shall not see the land which I promised to their fathers, but their carcasses shall fall in this wilderness. But your little ones, which ye said should be a prey, them will I bring in, and they shall inherit the land. To-morrow turn ye, and get you again into the wilderness by the way of the Red Sea, and wander there for forty years,* until the entire multitude of you, who were twenty years old and upwards when ye came out of Egypt (with the exception only of Caleb and Joshua), shall have perished from

* Not forty years from this time, but from the time when they left Egypt.

the earth." To sanction this terrible denunciation, God smote the ten spies who brought back an evil report of the land with instant death.

When the congregation had heard God's message to them, and seen what was done, they mourned greatly, and declared their willingness to incur any danger, if they might be permitted to go up at once and take possession of the promised land. So earnest were they in this matter, that, in opposition to the warnings of Moses and the command of God, they equipped themselves, and went out the next morning to fight the Amalekites, whose hostile bands were hovering round them. But the Lord was not with them, and they could not prosper. They were smitten before their enemies, who pursued them even unto Hormah.

How long the Israelites remained at Kadesh after they had been doomed to return into the wilderness, we are not informed, — long enough for the occurrence of some remarkable events. In the first place, several passages of the law were now given relating to meat and drink offerings. It was while they were here that a man was found gathering sticks upon the sabbath day. The case being brought before Moses, and by him before the Lord, it was decided that the sabbath-breaker should be put to death. He was accordingly taken without the camp, and suffered the penalty of the law by stoning.

Here also occurred the formidable insurrection under Korah, Dathan, and Abiram. Korah was a great-grandson of Levi; and other Levites, to the number of two hundred and fifty, were connected with him. Dathan, Abiram, and the other leading insurgents, were of the tribe of Reuben. The principal complaint of the Levites was, that Moses and Aaron took too much upon themselves, seeing that all the congregation were holy, and that God was in the midst of them all alike. To test this matter, Moses told them to take their censers on the morrow, and put fire in them, and come to the door of the tabernacle, and the Lord would show who among them he had chosen to be his priests.

The complaint of Dathan, Abiram, and their company, was the usual one, — that Moses and Aaron had led this great multitude out of Egypt, a land of plenty, into the wilderness, to consume them.

On the morrow, Korah and his party appeared promptly at the tabernacle with their censers and incense; and most of the congregation seemed to be with them. And the glory of the Lord appeared unto all the congregation. And the Lord spake unto

Moses and Aaron, saying, "Separate yourselves from this congregation, that I may consume them in a moment." But Moses prayed, saying, "O God, the God of the spirits of all flesh! shall one man sin, and wilt thou be wroth with the whole congregation?" And the Lord said unto Moses, "Speak unto the congregation, that they separate themselves from the tents of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram." And the people did so. Then Moses said, "Hereby shall ye know that the Lord hath sent me to do all these works. If these men die the common death of all men, or if they be visited after the ordinary visitation of men, then the Lord hath not sent me; but if the earth open her mouth and swallow them up, and they go down alive into the pit, then shall ye understand that these men have provoked the Lord."

Moses had scarcely made an end of speaking, when the ground clave asunder under the tents of these wicked men, and swallowed them all up; and they went down alive into the pit, with all that pertained to them, and they perished from among the congregation. At the same time, there came out a fire from the Lord, and consumed the two hundred and fifty Levites who came with Korah to the tabernacle to offer incense. The censers of these rebellious Levites were gathered up out of the fire, hammered into plates, and fastened to the altar of burnt-offerings, that they might be a witness unto the children of Israel.

It would seem as though the issue of this rebellion were enough to prevent all similar attempts in future. But so it did not prove; for on the very next day the conspiracy was renewed. A considerable portion of the congregation began to murmur against Moses and Aaron, saying, "Ye have killed the people of the Lord." But, as the tumult increased, the glory of the Lord again appeared at the door of the tabernacle, and a voice came forth to Moses and Aaron, saying, "Get you up from among this people, that I may consume them in a moment." And no sooner was the threat denounced than it began to be executed. A plague broke out in the congregation, and hundreds were dying with it. In this dreadful emergency, Aaron, at the command of Moses, seized his censer, and put incense and fire upon it, and ran into the midst of the congregation to make atonement for the people. And he stood between the dead and the living, and the plague was stayed; not, however, until fourteen thousand and seven hundred of the rebellious people were destroyed. Thus early did God begin to cut off the adult portion of this people, and fulfil his threatening that they should not enter Canaan.

To prevent all future question or complaint as to the priesthood, Moses now proposed a test; to which the people consented. The elders of the tribes were to bring each an almond-rod to the tabernacle, with the name of his tribe inscribed upon it. Aaron, also, was to bring a rod for the tribe of Levi. These rods were to be laid up in the tabernacle over night; and the rod which in the morning had budded was to indicate the Lord's pleasure as to the priesthood. All this was done accordingly: and, when the rods were examined in the morning, it was found that Aaron's rod alone had budded; and not only budded, but it had blossomed, and bore fruit. And God commanded that Aaron's rod should be laid up in the tabernacle for a witness, to put an end to the murmurings of the people.

These troubles being ended, God proceeded with the work of dispensing laws. The laws given at this time had respect chiefly to the priesthood and to the water of purification.

From Kadesh, the Israelites now took their journey backward into the wilderness by the way of the Red Sea, as the Lord had directed; and in this wilderness they sojourned more than thirty-seven years,—until nearly all the adults which came out of Egypt were dead. How they spent their time during this long and trying period, we are not particularly informed. In the thirty-third chapter of Numbers, we have the names of as many as sixteen places which they successively occupied. Probably they occupied some of them more than once. It should be remembered that they were a nomadic people, as were their fathers before them. In Egypt, too, they had been shepherds; and, now that they had come out into the deserts with their flocks and herds, they probably wandered from one place to another, where they could best find pasturage and water,—much as the Bedouins do at the present day: for it must be remembered that Northern Arabia is not all sand and rock; many places are exceedingly fertile, and capable of sustaining (as they always have done) a large population. Meanwhile, the covenant God of the Israelites took the best possible care of them. Their clothes did not wax old upon their backs, nor their shoes on their feet; their supply of bread was continued constantly, day by day; and their flocks would yield them milk and flesh. We hear of no murmurings or rebellions during this long period. The spirit of rebellion was effectually subdued at Kadesh; and the old, half-heathenized, Egyptianized part of the congregation was passing rapidly away. On the

whole, considering the previous habits and customs of this people, and their means of support and improvement, we may hope that these eight and thirty years were not spent unpleasantly or unprofitably. It was to them a season of trial and discipline, but, we hope, not one of essential discomfort.

At the beginning of the thirty-ninth year after the exode from Egypt, we find the Israelites wending their way northward again, in the direction of Canaan. They arrived at Kadesh in the first month, — the same place where they had encamped so many years before. Here Miriam, the sister of Moses, died and was buried. While here, the supply of water failed, and the congregation were distressed: so they began to murmur as of old, and to say unto Moses, “Why have you led this people up out of Egypt?” Moses brought their case before the Lord; and he said, “Take ye the rod, and go out in presence of the assembly to yonder rock, and smite it, and it shall give forth water.” And Moses did so. He gathered the congregation together before the rock, and said to them with a criminal impatience, “Hear now, ye rebels: must we fetch you water out of the rock?” And he smote the rock twice, and the water gushed out abundantly. But God was displeased with Moses for the spirit he had manifested, and denied him the privilege of leading his people into the promised land. He might go to the top of Pisgah, and see it with his eyes; but he must not set his foot upon it: so bitter a thing it is, even for a good man, to indulge himself in sin.

It was the intention of Moses, when he came to Kadesh the second time, to enter Canaan from the south by the way of the spies; but he found all the passes secured by the Canaanites and Amalekites, with whom he did not care to engage in war. He next presented a request to the king of Edom to pass easterly through his borders, promising to injure nothing, and to pay for all that he received; but the king of Edom denied his request, and threatened, if the Israelites entered his country, to give them battle. Hence, as Moses was not permitted to fight the Edomites, nothing remained to him but to turn southward, compass the land of Edom, and go up into Canaan on its eastern border.

While prosecuting this journey, the Israelites came to Moserah, situated on Mount Hor, where Aaron died and was buried.* Being forewarned of his death, Moses stripped him of his priestly garments, and put them upon Eleazar his son. He then went up with

* See Num. xx. 28, and Deut. x. 6.

him into the mountain, where the venerable priest died; and all Israel mourned for him thirty days.

While the Israelites were mourning for Aaron, they were suddenly attacked by Arad, a king in the south of Canaan, who took some of the people prisoners. The Israelites went out against him, discomfited him, and destroyed his cities. This was the beginning of the conquest of Canaan.

They now pursued their journey hastily, to compass the land of Edom; in doing which they touched at Ezion-geber, a port on the eastern arm of the Red Sea.* And the people were much discouraged because of the way, and some of them began to murmur against Moses and against God. To chastise them for this, the Lord sent fiery serpents among them, which bit them; and many of the children of Israel died. Wherefore the elders of the people came to Moses and said, "We have sinned; for we have spoken against God and against thee. Pray unto the Lord for us, that he may take away these dreadful serpents." And the Lord commanded Moses to make a brazen serpent, and set it on a pole, that those who were bitten might look upon it and live. And Moses did so; and the bitten, dying Israelites were healed.

The people of Israel now pursued their way northward, skirting the eastern borders of Edom and Moab, with neither of which nations were they permitted to go to war. They passed the Brook Zered and the River Arnon, both which streams rise in the eastern mountains, and run westward into the Dead Sea. These are said to be the first rivers which the Israelites had seen after leaving the Nile in Egypt. The River Arnon was at this time the boundary between the Moabites and Amorites; for the Amorites had recently made war upon the Moabites, and dispossessed them of a considerable part of their territory.†

When the Israelites had come to the country of the Amorites, Moses sent a message to Sihon, their king, asking permission to pass through his land. But Sihon would not listen to him. He gathered his people together, and went out to fight against Israel; and the children of Israel smote him with the edge of the sword. They took his cities and dwelt in them, and possessed his land.

After this, Moses sent out his forces to discover Jaazer, another city of the Amorites. This also they took with all its territories, drove out the people, and dwelt there.

* The port from which the ships of Solomon sailed, and also the ships of Jehoshaphat (1 Kings ix. 26, and xxii. 48).

† See Num. xxi. 26-30.

Then, pushing still farther north, they approached Bashan, where Og, the giant, held his reign. This monster of a man drew out his army, and gave battle to the Israelites. But the Lord said unto Moses, "Be not afraid; for I have delivered him and all his people into thine hand." So the armies of Israel slew Og and his sons, and all his people. They took his cities, threescore in number, all fenced with high walls, gates, and bars.*

After this victory, the Israelites fell back to the plains of Moab, on the east side of the Jordan, opposite Jericho. This plain had formerly belonged to the Moabites; but it had been wrested from them by Sihon, king of the Amorites, and was now in possession of the Israelites by right of conquest. And here the journeyings of the Israelites may be said to have terminated. From this point, in the following spring, they crossed the Jordan, and entered Canaan Proper,—the promised land. At the coming of the Israelites into their borders, the kings of Moab and Midian were greatly alarmed; and, not daring to engage them in battle, they sent messengers to Balaam, a celebrated Chaldean diviner, begging that he would come and curse Israel for them. Balaam took counsel of God on the subject; for, heathen as he was, he had some knowledge of the true God, and was favored at times with divine revelations. But God would not suffer him to go and curse Israel.

When his refusal was made known to Balak, king of Moab, he resolved to send other and more honorable messengers, with a promise of still richer rewards. Balaam at this time evidently wished to go; for "he loved the wages of unrighteousness." Still he must go through the formality of again asking counsel of God. And now God granted him permission. He did as much as to say, "If you want to go, go: nevertheless, what I shall say to thee, that only shalt thou speak."

So Balaam went with the princes of Moab. It was on this journey that the angel of the Lord withstood him twice, and threatened to destroy him. It was at this time that the very ass on which he rode reproved him with man's voice, and "forbade the madness of the prophet." Still he was permitted to finish the journey which he had begun, under a strict injunction that he should speak that, and that only, which the Lord should say.

Arrived among the Moabites, Balak took Balaam up into his

* Many of the houses and cities and temples of old Bashan are still standing, uninjured by the lapse of four thousand years. They are built of such massy stones, that they will not fall down, nor can they be torn down.—See *Porter's Giant Cities of Bashan*.

high places, that from thence he might have a view of the camp of Israel;* and there he offered up a costly sacrifice, while Balaam went aside to ask counsel of God. The prophet soon returned, not with a curse for the Israelites, but a blessing: "How shall I curse those whom God hath not cursed? and how shall I defy those whom the Lord hath not defied? For from the top of the rocks I see him, and from the hills I behold him. Who can count the dust of Jacob, or number the fourth part of Israel? Let me die the death of the righteous, and let my last end be like his."

When Balak heard these words, he was offended, and complained; but Balaam excused himself on the ground that he had spoken the words of God, and could speak nothing else.

Balak, however, was not discouraged. He took the prophet to another place, and repeated his offerings; while Balaam retired to consult the oracle as before. But he soon returned with a similar message: "God is not a man, that he should lie; nor the son of man, that he should repent. Hath he said, and shall he not do it? hath he spoken, and shall he not make it good? Behold, I have received commandment to bless Israel; and he is blessed, and I cannot reverse it."

Still, Balak did not despair, but takes Balaam to another place, where he again offers his seven bullocks and seven rams. But Balaam, in despair of being able to curse God's people, though he evidently desired to do it, thought it not necessary to retire as before, but broke out in a prophetic ecstasy: "How goodly are thy tents, O Jacob! and thy tabernacles, O Israel!" And then, by the most significant imagery, he foretold the extent, fertility, and strength of Israel; declaring that those who blessed them should be blessed, and those who cursed them should be cursed.

After these predictions and blessings, as if vexed with himself for not receiving the expected reward, Balaam resolved to do as a politician what he could not do as a prophet. He *counselled* the Moabites and Midianites to send their daughters into the camp of

* Some interpreters think that we have, in Mic. vi. 6, 7, the precise words with which Balak first accosted Balaam: "*Wherewith shall I come before the Lord, and bow myself before the high God? Shall I come before him with burnt-offerings, with calves of a year old? Will the Lord be pleased with thousands of rams, or with ten thousands of rivers of oil? Shall I give my first-born for my transgression, the fruit of my body for the sin of my soul?*" The answer to these inquiries will not seem inappropriate if we remember that Balaam could only speak what the Lord suggested. "*He hath showed thee, O man! what is good; and what doth the Lord require of thee but to do justly, love mercy, and walk humbly with thy God?*"

Israel, to corrupt the young men, and draw them into idolatry; not doubting that this would be the most likely method to bring down upon them the curses of Heaven. And this artifice succeeded entirely. The very next account we have of the Israelites is, that many of them were drawn away by these outlandish women, not only to commit fornication, but to be present at their sacrifices, and worship their idol gods.

The greatness of their sin in this respect appears in the severity of the punishment which followed it; for God commanded Moses to take the leaders of those who had been concerned in this wickedness, and hang them up before the Lord.

If it seem strange to us that the Israelites should be so soon and so easily drawn into idolatry, we must remember that there had been secret idolatry in their camp during all their wanderings in the wilderness. They had never been thoroughly weaned from it after they came out of Egypt. Thus we read in Amos: "Have ye offered unto me sacrifices and offerings forty years in the wilderness, O house of Israel? But ye have borne the tabernacle of your Moloch, and Chium your images, the star of your god, which ye made to yourselves." And Stephen, speaking of the same thing, says, "Ye took up the tabernacle of Moloch, and the star of your god Remphan, figures which ye made, to worship them." *

While the executions for idolatry, of which we have spoken, were in progress, the offence was repeated by Zimri, a prince of the house of Simeon. He came openly into the camp with one of the daughters of Midian, in contempt of Moses and of the whole congregation. This so enraged Phinehas, a grandson of Aaron, that he seized a javelin, pursued Zimri to his tent, and smote him and his paramour to the earth. For this act of holy zeal and courage God not only approved Phinehas, but promised him that the priesthood should be established in his house. His act was also the means of stopping a plague which had broken out in the camp of Israel, by which no less than twenty-four thousand persons had already fallen.†

When these disorders had been quieted, and the offenders punished, the next thing was to take vengeance on the Midianites, who had debauched Israel with their idolatries and fornications. So Moses detached an army of twelve thousand men,—one thou-

* Amos v. 22-26; Acts vii. 43.

† Num. xxv. 9. Paul makes the number twenty-three thousand (1 Cor. x. 8). Moses probably includes a thousand who had been hanged.

sand from each tribe, — and with them Phinehas, the son of Eleazar the priest, and sent them against the Midianites; and they vanquished them with an immense slaughter, and took from them a vast amount of spoil in flocks and herds, silver and gold, which was divided among the people. That old diviner too, Balaam, the son of Beor, who essayed to curse Israel, but could not, was slain in this war (Num. xxxi. 8).

Several things still remained to be accomplished before the Jordan was crossed and the tribes entered the promised land. One of these was the numbering and enrolling of the men of war. This was done with great care; and the number of males from twenty years old and upwards, exclusive of the priests and Levites, was 601,730, — less by two thousand than when they were numbered at Sinai, almost forty years before: so thoroughly had the work of death been accomplished upon the older generation of Israelites which came out of Egypt. With the exception of Caleb and Joshua and Moses, they were all gone.

Another thing to be done was the appointment by divine authority of a leader to take the place of Moses. Moses requested of the Lord that one might be appointed; and Joshua was expressly indicated and announced. Then Moses took Joshua, and set him before Eleazar the priest, and before all the congregation, and laid his hands upon him, gave him a charge, and solemnly consecrated him as the future leader and judge of Israel.

Next, sundry laws were repeated, and some new ones given relating to the division of the land and the inheritance of daughters; also respecting vows, and the offerings at the annual feasts.

While these things were doing, a proposition came to Moses and the elders of the people, from the tribes of Reuben and Gad and half the tribe of Manasseh, that as they had much cattle, and as the country east of the Jordan, where they were, was a fine grazing country, they might have their portion and inheritance there. Moses at first supposed that they intended to desert their brethren, and proceed no farther with them, but settle down at their ease on land already conquered. But when he learned that this was not the case, — that they would send over their men of war to assist in the conquest of Canaan, and stand by their brethren until the whole was subdued, — he cheerfully granted their request. He divided unto them severally the bounds of their inheritance; and the work of settlement in it was immediately commenced.

This matter being ended, Moses took care to describe the boun-

daries of the land of Canaan, and appointed twelve men, one from each tribe, to divide it among the nine and a half tribes that were left to inherit it. He also repeated the injunction, that they were to dispossess and drive out the original inhabitants, destroy all their images, and keep themselves pure from their idolatries. He directed that forty-eight cities, with their suburbs, should be given to the Levites; six of which were to be cities of refuge, to which the man who had *accidentally* killed any one might flee, and be safe. But for the *intentional* murderer no refuge or expiation was provided: he must surely be put to death.

Only one thing more remained to the illustrious leader of Israel before his death; and that was to gather the tribes around him, and deliver to them his last words. An account of these valedictory services, with some reflections on the character and influence of Moses and on the interesting narrative over which we have passed, will be given in the following chapter.

CHAPTER XXIII.

MOSES AND HIS TIMES. — CONCLUDED.

IN our last chapter, we brought down the history of Moses to the closing scene and services of his life. He had led the children of Israel out of Egypt; he had guided them through their long sojourn in the wilderness; he had dispensed to them laws, chastised their enemies, and conquered for them a large and fertile country on the east of the Jordan, where two and a half tribes were already settled. A leader had been divinely appointed to succeed him when he was no more; and nought now remained but to gather the tribes around him, and deliver unto them his parting words. Accordingly, on the first day of the eleventh month, in the fortieth year from the departure of the Israelites out of Egypt, this solemn service was commenced and continued, as recorded in the Book of Deuteronomy.

Moses begins by briefly recounting to the people their journeys and trials from the time when they left Sinai till they arrived at their present position on the borders of the promised land. To promote their humility, and distrust of themselves, he rehearses the murmurings and rebellions of their fathers, and the sore and repeated punishments which had been inflicted on them. He tells them of his own sin at the waters of Meribah, and of the judgment denounced upon him in consequence; and that he had found it impossible by prayers and tears to obtain a remission of the sentence, that so he might accompany them into the promised land. He repeats to them the laws which from time to time had been promulged, with some variations, explanations, and additions. The law of the ten commandments, however, was scarcely altered. Being engraved on tables of stone, and intended for perpetual and universal observance, it could not be. This work of repeating and enforcing the laws was now the more necessary, since those who

first heard them had gone to the dead, and a new generation had taken their place.

In the course of his farewell address to the Israelites, Moses utters his famous prediction of the Messiah: "A Prophet shall the Lord your God raise up unto you from among your brethren like unto me. My word shall be in his mouth, and unto him shall ye hearken" (Deut. xviii. 15).

The great object aimed at by Moses in his farewell address was *obedience*. He knew that not only the prosperity, but the very life, of his people depended on their obedience; and hence he had recourse to every method he could think of, and quite exhausted the power of language in his exhortations, that he might induce them to obey. He placed before them the happy consequences of obedience, and the sure and terrible results of wandering from God. He set before them, to use his own language, "blessing and cursing, life and death." He solemnly renewed their covenant with God, and required that the law should be publicly read to them, at the great annual festivals, by the priests. He did more than this. When the tribes had got possession of the promised land, he required that they should be assembled between the mountains Gerizim and Ebal, where blessings should be pronounced upon those who kept their covenant, and curses upon those who broke it. He commanded that an altar should be erected on the other side of Jordan, on which should be indelibly inscribed the terms and conditions of their peace with God.

Moses not only uttered these words in the hearing of the people, but he wrote them in a book, — the same Book of Deuteronomy which we now have in our hands; and, as though this was not enough, he composed a song, and recited it to the people, and required that they should commit it to memory, setting forth the blessings of an obedient life, and the judgments that must follow upon transgression. He renewed his charge to Joshua, who had been appointed and consecrated as his successor, exhorting him to be strong and of a good courage, and let nothing fail of all that had been required of him; and, to close all, he took leave of the tribes in a prophetic blessing, much after the manner of the patriarch Jacob, addressing each tribe separately, and speaking symbolically of its future course and destiny.

And now, as the last words of Moses have been spoken and his last work performed, he takes his leave of the camp of Israel. He goes up alone into the mountains of Abarim, to a peak called Nebo,

and Pisgah, that he may take a view of the promised land, and then die. And what a spectacle is this! The venerable leader and head of God's covenant people for a whole generation, who had fought their battles, composed their differences, borne with their reproaches, healed their backslidings, organized their government, and led them along, under God, to their present position, at the age now of a hundred and twenty years, yet "his eye not dim, nor his natural force abated," — this venerable old man going up alone into the mountains to die! He has no fears or anxieties for himself, but all are expended upon his people; and, as he can do no more for them, he cheerfully commits them to their covenant God.

He goes to the place which God has appointed; looks over for the last time into the land of promise; surveys its towns, its plains, its sunny hills, its meandering streams; and, when he has feasted his eyes sufficiently, he quietly closes them in death. He resigns his spirit into the hands of angels, who are waiting to convoy it to a happier Canaan than that on which he had just looked. The Lord in whom he trusted took care of his lifeless body. He buried it in a valley, in the land of Moab; and no man knoweth of his sepulchre unto this day.

" On Nebo's lonely mountain,
 Beyond the Jordan's wave,
 In a vale in the land of Moab,
 There is a lonely grave.
 And no man dug the sepulchre,
 And no man saw it e'er;
 For the angel of God upturned the sod,
 And laid the dead man there."

And, when the children of Israel found that Moses was dead, they wept for him in the plains of Moab thirty days.

Before taking our leave of Moses, it may be desirable that we dwell more particularly upon his character and work, and the influence which he has exerted upon the church and world; also that we glance at some of the more prominent lessons of instruction which his history is fitted to afford.

The intellect of Moses was undoubtedly of a high order, and it was early and assiduously cultivated. He enjoyed the best opportunities of education and improvement which the world at that period could afford. During the first forty years of his life, his circumstances were so ordered, without his knowing it, as to fit him, in the best manner, for the scenes and duties which were to follow.

The mental characteristics of Moses were extraordinary, in that they combined, in a high degree, some traits of character which do not ordinarily go together. For example, he was both *contemplative* and *active*. That he was the former, is evident from his enjoyment of those pastoral scenes and musings among which he passed a full third of his life; that he was the latter is still more evident from the ever-recurring, overwhelming cares and labors which wore out the remnant of his days.

Moses was an *imaginative man*, and at the same time a most *energetic business-man*. That he was the former, many parts of his writings, and more especially his poetical effusions, abundantly attest; that he was capable of entering into the details of a multifarious and most complicated business, and conducting it to a successful issue, is attested in his care for the millions that surrounded him, and were in a sense dependent upon him for forty years.

Moses could be *impetuous* when the occasion called for it, as when he saw the people shouting and dancing around the golden calf. At the same time, he was so remarkably calm and considerate, so guarded in all his words and actions, as to entitle him to be called, proverbially, "the meekest man."

There are several aspects in which we must look at Moses, if we would get a full and adequate idea of his character. And first as a *military leader* or *chieftain*. Without indorsing the story of Josephus as to his early and triumphant campaign in Ethiopia, his achievements as the leader and defender of Israel are enough to give him a high rank as a military commander. Witness his triumph over the Amalekites soon after his leaving Egypt; also his conquest of Arad the Canaanite, and of Sihon and Og, and the Moabites and Midianites, only a few months before his death. It is likely, too, that Joshua had his military training under Moses, and that the conquest of Canaan Proper may thus be traced to his instruction and influence.

We may next look at Moses in the character of an *historian*. Bunsen tells us that "history was born on the night when Moses led forth his people from Goshen." We have fables and fictions earlier than this, but nothing deserving the name of history. Without the writings of Moses, how little should we know of the creation of the world; of the original happy state and sad apostasy of man; of the earliest institutions given to our race; of the chronology of the primitive ages; of the Deluge, and the causes of it; of the dispersion of the nations, and the first settle-

ment of the different parts of the world! On this latter point, — the origin of nations, — the writings of Moses give us more light than all others put together. We have little else anywhere that can be relied upon.

We are next to regard Moses as a *lawgiver*. He gave a code of laws to the Israelitish nation, and, through them, to the world; and though God was strictly the author of these laws, as he is of all Scripture, still they have a *human* as well as a divine side. They were delivered through the instrumentality and in the style of Moses.

The laws of Moses may be divided into several classes. First of all, there are *moral* and *spiritual* laws, including the ten commandments, and those requiring supreme love to God and love to men, and other kindred spiritual affections. These are of universal and perpetual obligation. Growing out of the very nature and relations of things, they can never wax old or vanish away.

Then there were the *ritual* or *religious* laws of Moses; some of them *commemorative*, others designed to express *gratitude* to God for distinguished mercies, and many others of an *expiatory* and *typical* character. They looked forward to a sacrifice of expiation such as could never be made by bulls and goats. The ritual institutions of the Hebrews, which to us may seem uninteresting, were emphatically *their gospel*. To those who understood and appreciated them, they were the most precious and instructive portion of their Bible.

There were also the *political* laws of Moses. The God of the Hebrews was not only their Creator and Supreme Disposer, as he is of all creatures, but he was their chosen political head. Hence, among the laws which he gave to them, we find an entire political code, designed to regulate their intercourse one with another and with all men. Of these political institutes, we cannot here speak particularly. They were more sanguinary in their penalties than would now be admissible, but, without doubt, were well adapted to the circumstances of the age and of the people to whom they were given. In the language of another,* they were intended to secure "civil liberty, political equality, and elective magistracy, the sovereignty of the people, the responsibility of rulers to their constituents, a cheap and impartial administration of justice, peace and friendship with other nations, agriculture, universal industry, the inviolability of private property, the sacredness of the family

* Prof. Wines.

relation, the sanctity of human life, universal education, social union, a well-adjusted balance of powers, together with an enlightened and dignified public opinion." At any rate, they were a prodigious advance upon those maxims of government which were at that period current in the world, or which prevailed anywhere out of the tribes of Israel for the next thousand years.

A leading object of the Jewish theocracy was to preserve the Israelites a *separate* people, and thus keep them from participating in the idolatries around them; and, with this object in view, we see a good and sufficient reason for some of the *peculiar* enactments of the Hebrews. For example, "Ye shall not round the corners of your heads, neither shalt thou mar the corners of thy beard;" "Thou shalt not sow thy field with mingled seed, neither shall a garment of mingled linen and woollen come upon thee;" "Thou shalt not plough with an ox and an ass together;" "Thou shalt not seethe a kid in his mother's milk."* These laws, and others like them, which infidelity has dared to reproach and ridicule, were aimed directly at the customs of the heathen, and were designed to separate the people of God from the idolatrous nations around them.

But it is time that we turn from Moses as a lawgiver, and contemplate him, for a moment, in the character of a *poet*. Of his poetry, we have, undeniably, some very choice specimens. His triumphal song on the destruction of Pharaoh and his army at the Red Sea, and the inimitable ode, recorded in the thirty-second chapter of Deuteronomy, which he gave to the Israelites just before his death, both contain passages, which, for poetic elevation and beauty, are not excelled in any language. The latter of these is emphatically called "the song of Moses," and is coupled in the Revelation with "the song of the Lamb" (xv. 3). Then there is the ninetieth Psalm, which in our Bibles is ascribed to Moses, and which the best critics have been led to regard as his. It is a beautiful exhibition of the eternity of God, as contrasted with the frailty of man and the exceeding brevity of human life; and was probably written by Moses in his last days, when nearly all that generation which came with him out of Egypt had been swept away. In addition to all this, if we regard Moses as the author of the Book of Job (and, for reasons already given, I do thus regard him), his character as a poet will stand unrivalled by that of any other inspired or uninspired man. The entire Book of Job, with the exception

* Lev. xix. 19, 27; Deut. xiv. 21, xxii. 10.

of the first two chapters and the last, is poetry; and for sublimity, pathos, loftiness of conception, and force of language, some portions of it have no parallel in the poems of the world.

But, whatever may be said of Moses in other respects, it is as a man of *strong faith* and *eminent holiness* that his character is of chief value to us. The strength of his faith and his moral principle was put to an early test. Brought up in the court of Pharaoh, and surrounded by every thing that was corrupting, that was calculated to minister to his passion and pride, we might have expected to see him a proud, vain, thoughtless, ambitious young man, if, indeed, he escaped the paths of open profligacy and vice. But he was nursed by a Hebrew mother, — a *pious* mother, from whom he learned that he was an Israelite, and by whom, without doubt, he was instructed in the truths and precepts of religion. The seed thus scattered began early to take root and spring up. He soon learned to despise the superstitions and idolatries of Egypt, and to sympathize with the oppressed and persecuted people of God; and, when the time came in which it was necessary for him to make a choice, he promptly decided to take his portion with them. He “chose rather to suffer affliction with the people of God than to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season” (Heb. xi. 25).

It cannot be supposed, however, that this important decision was made without a struggle; for Moses had the same natural propensities as other men, — the same love of pleasure, of honor, and of power. But when the critical moment came, when he must decide between the gratification of these low desires and the love and favor of God, he did not hesitate; he could not hesitate. He cast away the former, and clung to the latter. He loved, he trusted in, the God of his fathers, and let his worldly prospects and interests go.

And the decision thus formed in early life Moses never regretted or revoked. He adhered to it through his long exile in the land of Midian; he adhered to it in all the trials and perils of his intercourse with the proud, the hardened, the unbelieving, the shuffling monarch of Egypt; he adhered to it at the Red Sea, at the foot of Sinai, in the disappointment at Kadesh, and through all his subsequent wanderings in the deserts. Amidst the murmuring of friends and the assaults of foes, in perplexities and difficulties, in victory and defeat, in the face of danger and of death, we find him (with a single exception) the same meek, submissive, trustful, obedient man; seeking only to know the will of God, that he might do it up to the last inch in which it was clearly revealed.

It was this uniform, consistent piety which gives to the character of Moses its greatest charm. He might have been a great man without piety, — a great philosopher, a great general, a great monarch and conqueror, a Nimrod, a Belus, a Sesostris, a Shishak: but, without his uniform and consistent piety, he could not have been *good* as well as great; his character had never shone out upon the ages with the lustre of a consistent goodness.

The history of Moses suggests a variety of important lessons, to some of which we will now advert. In the first place, we are led to admire the wonder-working providence of God towards him in the circumstances of his birth, and through all the subsequent years of his life. Had he been born at any other period, or in any other place, he would have been out of place, and the great purpose of his life had not been accomplished.

After his birth, he must be hid in his father's house three months, until the right time came for his being exposed upon the river; and, when he was exposed, Pharaoh's daughter and her maidens must conclude to take a walk upon the banks of the river, or perhaps to bathe in it; and, as they walked, they must come to the right place, and see the little ark, and have their curiosity excited to look into it; and when compassion was moved for the little sufferer, and the princess had concluded to adopt it, Miriam must be at hand with the proposal, "Shall I run and call thee a nurse of the Hebrew women, that she may nurse the child for thee?"

In all these events, we see the wonder-working providence of God, fulfilling his own eternal counsels, and yet not interfering in the slightest degree with the free agency of his creatures; for all the individuals here concerned acted as freely and as naturally as though God had had no providence over them, or purpose respecting them. At the same time, the great end in view — the preservation and right education of Moses — is brought about as exactly as though all had been accomplished by the nicest machinery moved round by a master's hand.

And thus it is that God's providence is ever at work. We should never distrust it, or attempt to thwart it, or call in question its wisdom and goodness. Things may look dark to us, as they did to that poor Hebrew mother when she carried out her babe and left it upon the river; but they are all light to Him who sits above us.

"God is his own interpreter,
And he will make it plain."

We see in this history how the most important events often hang, in the providence of God, upon apparently little things. Moses was unquestionably one of the most important characters that ever lived. We know of no mere man to whom the world is so much indebted, and *will be* to the end of time, as to Moses. And yet on what slender threads hung, at one period, the life of Moses! What a slight variation from the appointed course of things would have swept him off, to be heard of no more! One hour earlier or later in that walk of the ladies by the side of the river, a few rods higher up or down, and the little ark had not been seen, and Moses had been lost. And when the ark was seen and opened, if the little stranger, instead of quietly weeping, had been impatient, petulant, fretful, angry, — as children sometimes are, — the young princess, instead of taking it up and pitying it, would have dashed it from her, to be thought of no more. A tear-drop on a babe's cheek is a very little thing; and yet how much, under God, depended on that tear! Without it, we might never have heard of Moses, or had the Pentateuch, or been blessed with that inspired record of events, dating back to the earliest ages of the world, which he has left us.

Some persons doubt whether the providence of God is *particular*, or only general; whether it extends to the least things as well as the greatest. But we see in the history before us, that, unless it does extend to little things, it cannot control great ones; since the latter, in very many cases, hang upon the former.

The journey of the Israelites through the wilderness, under the direction of Moses, was a fit emblem throughout of the Christian life. And so it is represented by the apostle Paul. Having referred to some of the principal events of their pilgrimage, — their temptations, their murmurings, their falls, their deliverances, — the apostle adds, “Now all these things happened unto them for *ensamples*; and they are written for our admonition, on whom the ends of the world are come” (1 Cor. x. 11).

In tracing the progress of the Israelites through the wilderness, we sometimes find them in pleasant places, as at Elim, where were “threescore and ten palm-trees, and twelve wells of water;” and sometimes in uncomfortable places, as at Marah, where the waters were bitter. We sometimes find them famishing with hunger and thirst; and then, in answer to prayer, bread is given them from heaven, and water gushes forth to them from the smitten rock. They are sometimes complaining, and then rejoicing; sometimes

vanquishing their enemies, and sometimes fleeing in dismay before them. Now they are bitten with fiery flying serpents, and now healed simply by looking up in faith to the appointed token of deliverance. The Israelites are led, not by a direct path from Egypt into Canaan, but by a very crooked and often mysterious one; and yet they have an infallible guidance, and are led in the right way. They at length come together on the banks of the Jordan; and all who are prepared for it pass over into the promised land.

Such are some of the incidents of the pilgrimage of the children of Israel; and there is not one of them but has its fulfilment in the Christian life. In passing through this wilderness world, the Christian is brought sometimes into pleasant places, and then into rough places. Sometimes he is ready to famish for the bread and the water of life; and then he is fed with the heavenly manna, and drinks living water from "that spiritual rock which follows him, which rock is Christ." Sometimes the Christian is hopeful, is strengthened, and goes on his heavenly way rejoicing; and then we find him, like the wandering Israelites, much discouraged because of the way, and disposed to loiter and complain. In conflicting with spiritual enemies, Christians are sometimes victorious, and then vanquished; and, when crushed and wounded by the old Adversary, the method of their deliverance was symbolized in the deserts: "As Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, even so must the Son of man be lifted up, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have eternal life." The path of the Christian through this world is often mysterious, running through high places and low places, this way and that: and yet there is no mistake made; he is led in the right way. God knows the wants of his children better than they do, and will not withhold that measure of discipline which their best good requires. The Israelites all came at last to the Jordan; and those who were prepared went over into the promised land. And so it is now with the children of God. At the time appointed, which is the best time, they come down to the banks of the cold river, wade its deep waters, and enter on the Canaan of eternal rest. May the pilgrimage of every reader terminate in this way!

CHAPTER XXIV.

JOSHUA. — THE CONQUEST OF CANAAN.

THE subject of this chapter is the book, the life, and the work of Joshua.

This book is called Joshua, after the name of the venerable chieftain whose acts it records. We know nothing of the early life of Joshua, except that he was of the tribe of Ephraim, and was born in Egypt about the year of the world 2460, — thirty years later than the birth of Moses. He was about fifty years old when the Israelites came out of Egypt, and ninety years old when he led this people into Canaan. His name was originally Oshea; signifying *deliverer, saviour*. It was afterwards changed to Jehoshua, or Joshua; signifying *Jehovah-Saviour*, or *Jehovah will save*. It was the same name in Hebrew with Jesus in Greek. Hence Joshua is repeatedly called Jesus in the New Testament.* This identity of name indicates (what is true) that Joshua was in some sense a type of Christ. As Joshua delivered the ancient people of God from their temporal enemies, and put them in possession of the earthly Canaan; so Christ delivers his people from their spiritual enemies, and brings them into the Canaan of eternal rest.

Joshua is repeatedly called the *servant* of Moses, and was early selected to be the leader of the armies of Israel. We first hear of him at the time when Amalek fought with the Israelites at Rephidim, — not long after they came out of Egypt. Moses said unto Joshua, “Choose you out men, and go and fight with Amalek to-morrow; and I will stand on the top of the hill, with the rod of God in my hand.” And Joshua did as Moses had said unto him; and he discomfited Amalek with the edge of the sword (Exod. xvii. 9–13).

Joshua accompanied Moses into the mount when he went to

* See Acts vii. 45; Heb. iv. 8.

receive the first tables of stone, and was with him when the tables were broken. When Moses went into the mount to receive the law the second time, Joshua remained with the congregation in the camp, — probably to prevent disorders like those which had previously taken place.

Joshua was one of the twelve spies whom Moses sent from Kadesh, in the Wilderness of Paran, to search out the promised land; and the only one, except Caleb, who encouraged the people to put their trust in God, and go up and take possession of their inheritance. This report is the more remarkable in the case of Joshua, as he had every reason to suppose, if the people went up in accordance with his advice, that it would devolve on him to lead their armies, to face the terrible sons of Anak, and stand in the fore-front of the hottest battle.

When Moses was admonished that his departure drew nigh, he was directed to take Joshua, to set him before the priest and the congregation, to lay his hands upon him, give him a charge, and thus formally inaugurate him as his successor. He moreover appointed him, in connection with Eleazar the priest, to superintend the division of the land of Canaan among the tribes of Israel. And Joshua, we are told, “was full of the spirit of wisdom, because that Moses had laid his hands upon him; and the children of Israel hearkened unto him, and did as the Lord commanded Moses.”

Before proceeding with the history of Joshua as recorded in the book which bears his name, it may be well to say a word respecting the authorship of this book. It is evident, from several passages, that it was written by some one who was contemporary with the events recorded. Thus it is said in the first verse of the fifth chapter, “When all the kings of the Amorites heard that the Lord had dried up the waters of Jordan until *we* were passed over,” — importing that the writer was one of those that passed over. Again it is said, “Joshua saved Rahab the harlot alive; and she dwelleth in Israel *unto this day*,” — implying that Rahab was alive when the book was written (chap. vi. 25).

A portion of this book, we are expressly told, was written by Joshua. Thus, in chap. xxiv. 26, it is said, “And Joshua wrote these words in the book of the law of God.” The probability is that Joshua wrote the greater part of the book, or that it was written under his inspection; though some passages may have been added by a subsequent compiler.

This book stands in immediate connection with the Pentateuch, and is an undoubted part of the sacred canon. It is often quoted and referred to in other parts of Scripture in a way to establish its divine authority and inspiration.

The general subject of the Book of Joshua is the conquest of Canaan, and the settlement of the Israelites in the promised land. We are not to suppose, however, that the whole of Palestine was conquered under the direction of Joshua: it was only that part of it which lies west of the Jordan. King Arad, who dwelt in the south of Canaan, also Sihon, king of the Amorites, and Og, king of Bashan, with the Midianites and Amalekites, had been overcome previously, during the life of Moses; and a portion of the Israelites had been settled in their country.

The book before us commences with a solemn charge, or commission, to Joshua, directing him to lead the armies of Israel over the Jordan, and put them in possession of the land which had been promised to their fathers: "Be strong and of a good courage; be not afraid, neither be thou dismayed: for the Lord thy God is with thee whithersoever thou goest." Next we have an account of Joshua's sending spies to spy out Jericho; of their entertainment by Rahab; of the covenant which they made with her; and of their safe return. Joshua now makes preparation for crossing the Jordan. The waters are miraculously divided, as the Red Sea had been; and the whole congregation passes over in safety.

And now that the Israelites are in an enemy's country, exposed to the assaults of a watchful and exasperated foe, perhaps some of them might think that they were excused from the ordinary obligations of religious worship and ordinances. But not so thought Joshua. He pauses on the western bank of the Jordan until all the males of the congregation who had not before received the rite of circumcision were circumcised. Then they celebrate the feast of the Passover, on the fourteenth day of the first month, at even, on the plains of Jericho,—the first Passover which had been celebrated for forty years,—the first that most of the congregation then living had ever witnessed.

Next we have an account of the siege and capture of Jericho; of the sin and destruction of Achan and his family; of the discomfiture and subsequent victory before Ai. The fall of Jericho, in the peculiar manner in which it was effected, was designed and calculated to impress upon the Israelites, and to do it early, that all their strength was in God, and that all their dependence must

be upon him. The means which they used had no tendency at all to throw down the walls of a fortified city. It was God who prostrated them, and destroyed the city, according to his word.

The scenes before Ai were also calculated to impress early upon the people the necessity of a strict adherence to the divine commands. If they presumed to transgress, however secretly, they might be sure that their sin would find them out.

Following the capture of Ai, we are told of the league with the Gibeonites, who contrived by stratagem to circumvent the unsuspecting leader of Israel, and draw him into a treaty offensive and defensive. The kings in the southerly part of Canaan now combine against Gibeon and against Israel, and are defeated by Joshua with prodigious slaughter. During this great battle of Beth-horon, the Lord poured upon the enemies of Israel a tremendous storm of hail: "And they were more which died with hailstones than they whom the children of Israel slew with the sword." It was during this battle that the sun and moon are said to have stood still, in answer to the prayer of Joshua, until the people had avenged themselves of their enemies. Various methods have been adopted with a view to explain away this stupendous miracle; but I think it safer here, as in most other places, to take the Bible as it stands. The God who made the world, and moves it, could easily suspend its rotatory motion; or he could have caused, for the time, an unusual refraction of the rays of light: either of which would have given to the sun and moon the appearance of standing still, and would have served to lengthen out the day. It should be added, too, that this event — of which there are some traces in the traditions of ancient heathen nations* — was calculated to teach those nations that the Jehovah of Israel was the supreme and only God, the almighty Ruler of both earth and heaven.

Subsequent to the events last recorded was another and still greater confederation of Canaanitish kings, — those inhabiting the northern part of Palestine, whose armies are said to have been as the sand on the seashore for multitude, with horses and chariots very many. All these the Lord delivered into the hands

* The ancient chronicles of China record this wonderful phenomenon in almost the very words of Scripture: "The sun and moon stood still in their places, and hastened not to go down, for the space of one whole day." — See *Burder's Hist. of the Bible*, vol. i. p. 300.

The prayer of Joshua on this occasion, and the account of the answer, recorded in Josh. x. 12, 13, are *poetical*, and are said to be recorded in the Book of *Jasher*. This Book of *Jasher*, which is lost, seems to have been a collection of heroic Hebrew odes or songs. In it was recorded the elegy of David on the death of Saul and Jonathan. — See 2 Sam. i. 18.

of the Israelites, who smote them and consumed them until none of their great army was left.

With this battle ended the proper conquest of Canaan. There were a few border-tribes, and several strongholds, which were not subdued, and which subsequently gave the Israelites much trouble. But the land was so far subdued, that the people now rested from war, and entered on the more agreeable task of dividing and settling the country. While this work was in progress, the tabernacle of the congregation was set up, and the public worship of God established, at Shiloh, a central position in the country of Ephraim, near to the city which had become the property and the permanent residence of Joshua.

In the concluding chapters, we have an account of the return of the two tribes and a half (who had faithfully assisted their brethren in the conquest of Canaan) to their cities on the eastern side of the Jordan; also of Joshua's farewell address to the Israelites, and of his death. His farewell address is much in the style of Moses' valedictory on a similar occasion. Both are in the highest degree touching, appropriate, and eloquent; and must have left a salutary impression on the minds of the people.

The Book of Joshua contains the history of Israel for about twenty years, — a short but most eventful period. It is one of the most interesting and important books of the Old Testament, and should never be separated from the Pentateuch, of which it is at once both the continuation and completion.

Joshua lived a considerable time after the wars of Canaan were ended, and died at the age of a hundred and ten years. He was buried at Timnath-serah, on Mount Ephraim, in the border of his inheritance, where rest his remains unto this day.

It is interesting to know that the Canaanites, whom Joshua dispossessed, were the same, originally, as the ancient Phœnicians, who built Tyre and Sidon and Carthage, and introduced letters and civilization into Greece. They may have advanced further in some of the arts of civilized life than the Israelites; though, as base, cruel, bloody idolaters, they were the accursed of God. We have evidence of their expulsion from Palestine by Joshua, aside from that contained in the Scriptures. Thus Procopius the historian, who accompanied Belisarius into Africa in the sixth century, found at Tigisis (the same as Tangiers) two stone columns near a great fountain, on which was engraved in Phœnician letters the following inscription: "We are they who fled from the face of Joshua

the robber, the son of Nun."* The same monument is spoken of by Moses of Charene, and Suidas the lexicographer, and is regarded by learned men at the present day as a genuine testimonial to the truth of the Scripture history.

In reviewing the life and book of Joshua, several questions require to be considered. It may be asked, in the first place, What right had Israel to invade, dispossess, and destroy the Canaanites? and can a book which not only records, but countenances and directs, such an outrage, be from God? In replying to these questions, we have only to say, "The earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof;" and he has a right to give it to whomsoever he will. The Israelites had *no* right, unbidden and of their own accord, to invade and take possession of the land of Canaan; but God had a right to give them this land, and he had given it to them by a thousand grants and in the most explicit terms. This land was originally settled by the descendants of Canaan, a grandson of Noah, and a son of Ham; but they defiled and polluted it, and utterly forfeited it; by their idolatry and wickedness. God waited long on them to be gracious; but his forbearance only served to harden them the more in sin. He then determined, in just judgment, to sweep them away, and give their beautiful country to another people. He first promised it to Abraham and his posterity more than four hundred years before the Israelites took possession of it. He oft repeated this promise to Isaac and Jacob and to the patriarchs in Egypt. He repeated the same to Moses and to Joshua, expressly granting the land of Canaan to the children of Israel, and commissioning them to go and take possession of it in his name. The Israelites had the best possible title, therefore, to the land of Canaan,—an express grant from the sovereign Possessor of heaven and earth; and their invasion of it at the appointed time, so far from showing their wickedness, proved their obedience. The good pleasure of God, so far from being violated by this invasion, was fulfilled by it, and was the sole and sufficient warrant under which the act was done.

Another question suggested by the Book of Joshua relates to the horrid custom of war. Does not this book give a sanction to war,—to *offensive* war,—to war in its most odious and objectionable form? To this question we answer as before, "The earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof; the world, and they that dwell

* See Rawlinson's Historical Evidences, p. 86.

therein." God has a right to destroy guilty nations or individuals in any way that he pleases. He had a perfect right (had it so pleased him) to destroy those wicked Canaanites by fire or flood, by earthquake, pestilence, or wild beasts. And he had an equal right to destroy them in *war*, — to commission some other nation to go against them, and exterminate them. In this way, God commissioned Jehu to destroy the house of Ahab, and commissioned Sennacherib to go against the cities of Israel. God never commissions one people to go against another *vengefully, maliciously, in the spirit of plunder and of blood*, but to go by his authority, go as his instruments, go in his fear and to his glory, and execute a merited work of destruction in his name. Thus God commissioned Joshua to go against the Canaanites; and thus, so far as appears, Joshua went. And as to any sanction or encouragement, which, by so doing, he gave to the practice of war, we only say, When angry nations or rulers can show as high a commission for going to war as Joshua had, *let them go*; when they can produce as clear a "*Thus saith the Lord*," and have the revelation confirmed, as his was, by miracles, then *let them go*: but until they can produce a like commission, authorized and sanctioned in the same way, let them never attempt to justify their wars by pleading the example of Joshua.

In the life and work of Joshua, we see illustrated both the *justice* and the *faithfulness* of God, — his *justice*, in bringing a merited destruction upon the devoted Canaanites; his *faithfulness*, in fulfilling his promises to the patriarchs, that he would give the land of Canaan to the children of Israel for a possession. As before remarked, this country was settled by the descendants of Canaan, a son of Ham, who took possession of it soon after the Flood. It was a good country, a fertile and beautiful country; and long did God continue to try and prove its original inhabitants with mercies. The sun shone upon them, the rains descended, the earth brought forth its increase, and, as years rolled by, the people rioted on the profusion of God's bounty and mercy: but, instead of being melted under a sense of his goodness, they were hardened; instead of growing better, they constantly grew worse. Still God was not in haste to execute his judgments, and sweep them away. He waited more than six hundred years, — all the while trying them with mercies, and calling upon them, in his providence, to be wise. Even after he had purposed to destroy them, and had revealed his purpose to Abraham, he waited more than four hundred

years, because (to use his own expression) "the iniquity of the Amorites is not yet full."

But at length the cup of their iniquity *was* full; and so was the cup of divine indignation; and, when the last drop had fallen into this fatal cup, it was poured upon the guilty Canaanites, to their utter dismay and extermination. The armies of Israel were commissioned to go up against them; they were hardened to oppose and resist; and in the conflict they were terribly destroyed, — an example both of the goodness and the severity of God: of goodness, in waiting upon this guilty people so long, and trying them with so many mercies; of severity and of glorious justice, in at length executing upon them his threatenings, and sweeping them away.

On the other hand, we have here illustrated the *faithfulness* of God in fulfilling his promises to his covenant people. These promises, it will be remembered, were not fulfilled as soon as made. They looked far into the future, through intervening periods of darkness and mystery. The Israelites must go down into Egypt, and serve there, in cruel bondage, a long course of years; and when at length they were delivered, and expected to be led directly into Canaan, they must wander in the desert forty years, till one whole generation had passed away. During this long, dark period, the faith even of the pious Israelites must have been sorely tried. They could not see how the divine promises were to be fulfilled; and were led, perhaps, to doubt, at times, whether they ever would be. But they *were* fulfilled. In the appointed time, the best time, they were *all* fulfilled. The Canaanites were driven out, or exterminated; and Israel was put in possession of the promised land.* So true is it that the God of Israel is a *faithful* God, — faithful, though he may for a time delay to fulfil all his promises, and execute his threatenings; to reward his people, and punish his enemies, as they deserve.

This Book of Joshua presents us with some beautiful examples of *faith*, — that faith which takes God at his word, and leads its possessor to act accordingly. The first I shall notice is that of the

* Israel was not put in possession at once of *all* the land which had been promised to Abraham and to Moses (see Gen. xv. 18; Num. xxiii. 31, xxxiv. 3-12). The most of it was conquered and recovered under David (see 2 Sam. viii.). The north border, however, — "the entrance into Hamath," — seems never to have been fully recovered. Hamath is a hundred and twenty miles north of Dan. The conditions of the promise to Moses were not fulfilled. Ezekiel promises the same border to Israel at some future day (see Ezek. xlvii. 15, 16).

whole congregation in the capture of Jericho. The Lord had commanded Joshua and his men of war to march round the city seven days in succession, blowing with rams' horns; and had promised, that, on the seventh day, the walls should fall down, and the city be taken. Nothing could seem more preposterous, I had almost said ridiculous, to men of war, than such a process, exposing them to the scorn and derision of their enemies. And yet, because the Lord had commanded it, not a word of objection was made. The thing required was promptly and obediently done, and then the promise was fulfilled. The walls fell down, untouched by human hands. The people went up, and sacked and destroyed the doomed city.

An example of like faith, occurring in the same chapter, is that of Rahab. At the peril of her life, this woman had received and lodged the spies whom Joshua had sent out, and had contrived a way for their escape. For this service she had received a promise, — on certain conditions to be fulfilled by herself, — that, when the city was taken, she and her family should be delivered. Rahab believed the promise; she fulfilled the condition specified; put the scarlet cord in her window: and, when all around her were destroyed, she and her household were preserved; and not only so, she was greatly honored in Israel. She became connected with one of the most respectable families, and was an ancestress of David and of the Messiah.

The book before us furnishes examples also of *the great evil of sin*, and the *certainty* that God will search it out, and punish it as it deserves. In illustration of this, take the single case of Achan. When Jericho was captured, this man had taken of the accursed thing; he had concealed it in his tent: no mortal knew of it except himself and his family; and he fondly hoped that he should escape. But no: the eye of God had followed him in his trespass; and the hand of God was soon upon him to disclose and terribly to punish his guilt. Let us learn from this case that all sin is naked, and open to the eyes of Him with whom we have to do; and that he has innumerable ways in which to lay it open to the view of others, and follow it up with a merited punishment.

We have in the Book of Joshua a minute account of the division of the conquered country; one portion being allotted to this tribe or family, and another to that. All this was done under the direction of the God of Israel; and it may seem to us, on reading the account, as though this people alone were the objects of God's

providential regard. But let us remember, in conclusion, that as God meted out the boundaries of the families of Israel, so he now determines the bounds of *our habitations*, and exercises a constant and particular providence over us. It should be our earnest and prayerful endeavor to ascertain *where* God would have us be, and *what* he would have us do; and if we can believe that we are in the way of his appointment, then we should ask no more questions. We should be perfectly satisfied with our lot.

CHAPTER XXV.

JUDGES.

THE last chapter closed with the death of Joshua. Canaan had now been, in great measure, conquered. The land had been divided by lot to the several tribes; the priests and Levites had received their appointed cities; the tabernacle worship had been established at Shiloh; and the people were left with the injunction to complete the conquest of the country, to drive out or destroy the original inhabitants, to have no communion with them or their gods, but to adhere strictly to the worship of Jehovah. During the next three hundred years, or more, they were chiefly under the direction of a class of men called, in our translation, *Judges*. The Book of Judges is a concise history of this period.

Let us first inquire as to the authorship of this book, and the time when it was written.

The probability is that certain parts of it were written by the scribes in the time of the judges. We know that there were scribes or genealogists in all the tribes, whose business it was to keep an account of the respective families, and to register the more important transactions. As the book before us is somewhat fragmentary in its character, the probability is that parts of it were written by these men. It must have been compiled, however, and set in order, by some inspired man; and we know of no one to whom it may be with so much probability attributed as to Samuel. In several places the writer throws in the remark, "In those days there was no king in Israel;" implying that there was a king at the time when the book was written. And yet it seems to have been written before the reign of David; for the Jebusites were still in possession of Jerusalem; whereas it was among the first acts of David's reign to expel the Jebusites, and take their stronghold for himself.* These facts indicate that the book must have

* See Judg. i. 21, and 1 Chron. xi. 4.

been written or compiled during the reign of Saul; and who so likely to do it as Samuel? Samuel lived just at this time; he held the pen of a ready writer; he was an inspired man and a prophet; and the authorship of the book undoubtedly belongs to him. And it detracts nothing from its divine authority and inspiration to suppose, that, in some of its parts, it is a compilation: for, the different fragments entering into it being before the writer, the Spirit of God could direct him just what to take, and what to omit, and what corrections (if any) it would be necessary to make; so that the work would be as really the inspired word of God as though prepared originally by the prophet's hand.

We inquire next, in regard to these judges, Who were they? by whom appointed? what the nature of their office? with what powers invested?

They are not to be confounded with the judges appointed by Moses in the wilderness, whose office it was to administer justice according to the laws. These judges over thousands, over hundreds, over fifties, and over tens, were still in office in the land of Canaan; they resided among the people; they brought the administration of justice to every man's door. But the judges of whom we now speak were a very different order of men from these: they were the successors, not of the legal justices, but rather of Moses and of Joshua; they stood in the place of God himself, and exercised an authority inferior only to his. God, it will be remembered, was not only the religious Ruler of this people, but their *civil Sovereign*. They had chosen him to be such, and had promised obedience. He had given them a full code of political laws and institutions; and he needed some one to administer the government under him, or, at least, to superintend its administration. This work devolved upon Moses and Joshua so long as they lived; and, when they died, it descended to others.

Between Joshua and Saul there were fourteen of these judges; viz., Othniel, Ehud, Shamgar, Deborah, Gideon, Abimelech, Tolah, Jair, Jephthah, Ibzan, Elon, Samson, Eli, and Samuel. Some of these were appointed directly and supernaturally by God; others were called to office by the force of circumstances, or by the people, with the manifest approbation of God. Abimelech alone may be regarded as a usurper; and I have hesitated about naming him among the judges of Israel. Eli was high priest as well as judge. They were called forth ordinarily to meet some special

occasion or emergency, and had a general direction of affairs both in peace and war. Their work was always laborious; sometimes difficult and hazardous in the extreme. There was no salary attached to their office, and no income appropriated to them, unless it might be a larger share in the spoils of war, and presents which were made to them as tokens of personal regard. They were simple in their manners, moderate in their desires, and generally free from ambition or avarice. They continued in office during life, but had no authority to appoint successors. They were, in general, a noble class of men, who felt that whatever they did for the Israelitish nation was above all reward; who chose rather to deserve well of their country than to be enriched by its wealth.

If it be inquired, What was the state of Israel under the judges? I answer, that it was, in general, a time of *peace and prosperity*. This remark may excite surprise; but nevertheless it is true. Thus, after Othniel, it is said that the land had rest forty years; after Ehud, eighty years; after Deborah and Barak, forty years; and so on. To be sure, there were in these times occasional and terrible outbreakings of wickedness, followed, of course, by distressing judgments; but these were confined, for the most part, to particular tribes, or sections of the country. There was a good deal of idolatry among the people. This seems to have been their constantly besetting sin. Still the tabernacle of God was open at Shiloh, and his altars were revered. There were magistrates in every city, and courts of justice were held. On the whole, it is not likely, that, during any other three hundred years of the Hebrew commonwealth, the people enjoyed so much quietness, liberty, and prosperity as they did under the judges, and this shows how unreasonable they were in wishing to terminate this form of government and to have a king.

It may be well to inquire, in this connection, how long the rule of the judges continued. It may be thought that Paul has decided this question for us. In a speech in one of the Jewish synagogues, he says, "And after that" — the conquest and division of Canaan — "he gave unto them judges about the space of *four hundred and fifty years*, until Samuel the prophet" (Acts xiii. 20). But this chronology can never be made to harmonize with that of the Old Testament. In 1 Kings vi. 1, it is said, that, "in the four hundred and eightieth year after the children of Israel came out of Egypt, Solomon began to build the house of the Lord."

How, then, can there have been four hundred and fifty years between the settlement in Canaan and the birth of Samuel?

Various methods have been proposed by which to harmonize this seeming discrepancy. Thus it has been said that Paul adopted the chronology of the Septuagint, — the common reckoning among the Jews, — without stopping to vouch for its accuracy. But I prefer to take the ground, that the passage from Paul; as it stands in our Bibles, is not properly translated. It certainly will admit of another translation, and one which removes the difficulty entirely. *Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα, ὡς ἔτεσι τετρακοσίοις καὶ πενήκοντα*, — “After these things, occupying about four hundred and fifty years, God gave them judges until Samuel the prophet.” According to this translation, the four hundred and fifty years refer, not to the time of the judges, but to events which took place previous to them, running back almost to the time of Abraham’s settlement in Canaan.

The chronology of the Book of Judges cannot be settled from the book itself: for, though the years of oppression and of rest are frequently given, they are not so in every case; and the probability is that they often ran into each other. Assuming the correctness of the statement in 1 Kings vi. 1, that Solomon commenced building the temple in the four hundred and eightieth year after the exode of the Israelites from Egypt, it will not be difficult to decide as to the time of the judges. The Israelites were forty years in the wilderness; and it is supposed that the conquest of Canaan, and the settlement of it, may have occupied seven years more. Here, then, are forty-seven years to be taken from the four hundred and eighty. Allowing forty years to the reign of Saul, and forty more to that of David, and supposing Solomon to have commenced building the temple in the fourth year of his reign,* here will be eighty-four more years (amounting in all to a hundred and thirty-one) to be taken from the four hundred and eighty. And 480 — 131 leaves 349 years to be given to the judges, or to be reckoned between the settlement in Canaan and the commencement of the reign of Saul.

There is another reason why this shorter view of the rule of the judges is to be preferred. We find only four generations between Salmon (who married Rahab, the hostess of Jericho, soon after the settlement in Canaan) and David. Salmon and Rahab were the parents of Boaz; and Boaz and Ruth were the parents of

* See Acts xiii. 1, and 1 Kings ii. 11, vi. 1.

Obed; and Obed was the father of Jesse; and Jesse, of David.* Now, we must stretch these four generations to the utmost limit of probability to make them last three hundred and forty-nine years, or rather three hundred and fifty-nine; for Saul had reigned some ten years when David was born. The four generations cannot possibly be extended another hundred years.

We proceed now to a very brief analysis of the contents of the book before us. The Book of Judges properly consists of two parts. The first sixteen chapters are a continuous history. The last four chapters, containing the story of Micah and the Danites, also the story of the Levite and his concubine, and the consequent war upon the Benjamites, belong to an earlier part of the history, and were thrown in at the end so as not to interrupt too much the course of the narrative. They constitute a sort of appendix to the book. The Book of Ruth may be regarded as a second appendix; since the events there so beautifully recorded took place in the time of the judges.

The history commences with a vigorous attempt on the part of some of the tribes, particularly those of Judah, Simeon, Benjamin, and Ephraim, to subdue the remainder of the Canaanites. They failed, however, to destroy them utterly, but satisfied themselves with putting them under tribute. Next they began to associate with them, and to contract family alliances; and then it was no longer possible to destroy them without destroying their own kindred. In consequence of being so mixed up with the Canaanites, the Israelites would naturally be invited to their festivals, and be made to participate in the worship of their gods. This led them into idolatry, with all its kindred abominations; and this brought upon them sore and distressing judgments from the hand of their covenant God and King.

The first oppressor of the Israelites was Chushan-rishathaim, an invading monarch from the east, who is styled King of Mesopotamia. He entered the territories of Israel, and imposed a tribute upon them which lasted eight years. At the end of this period they were humbled, and cried unto the Lord for help, who raised up Othniel, a nephew and son-in-law of Caleb, to take up arms against the invader. The king of Mesopotamia was defeated and driven back; and Israel had rest forty years.

This period, however, was a time of spiritual trial and apostasy. The people, in many places, fell into their old habits of idolatry and

* See Ruth iv. 21, 22.

wickedness. It was at this time that Micah set up his household gods in Mount Ephraim, and succeeded in procuring a Levite to be his priest.* It was at this time that the Danites invaded the city of Laish, and took it, and called it Dan, after the name of their ancestor. They also stole the gods of Micah, and carried away his priest.† These stolen images they set up in their new city, where they remained, a centre of idolatry and corruption, for about three hundred years, — until the time when the ark was captured by the Philistines.‡

It was during this interval of forty years that the disgraceful events respecting the Levite and his concubine took place, followed by repeated assaults upon the Benjamites, in which that tribe was almost destroyed.§ We have no difficulty in fixing the date of these transactions, since they occurred during the life of Phinehas, the son of Eleazar the high priest, — consequently, within some fifty years after the settlement in Canaan.||

After the death of Othniel, the Israelites revolted still further from God; and, to chastise them, God suffered Eglon, the king of Moab, assisted by their old adversaries the Ammonites and Amalekites, to bring them into bondage eighteen years. This hard service again brought them to reflection and repentance. They cried unto the Lord for help; and he raised them up a man out of the diminished tribe of Benjamin, who wrought their deliverance. This man was Ehud, who, being employed to carry the annual tribute to the king of Moab, slew him with a concealed weapon. He then gathered the Israelites together, fell upon the bands of Moab, and destroyed them. After this, the land had rest for the long period of eighty years.

These first invasions of the Israelites were both of them from the east. The next was from the Philistines, who dwelt upon their southern and south-western border. How long they continued their depredations, we are not informed; but, in his own good time, God raised up a mighty man for their deliverance. This was Shamgar, the son of Anah, who, strengthened like Samson by a supernatural power, slew six hundred Philistines with an ox-goad.

* See chap. xvii.

† See chap. xviii. There is too much reason to believe that this apostate Levite was no other than a grandson of Moses. He is said to have been "Jonathan, the son of Gershom, the son of Manasseh" (chap. xviii. 30). It is thought that the true, original reading of Manasseh was Moses (chap. xviii. 16-21).

‡ See chap. xviii. 30; also Ps. lxxviii. 61.

§ See chap. xix.

|| See chap. xx. 28.

Meanwhile, idolatry was spreading in the north part of the country, under the influence of the Danites; and, to chastise his revolted people, God let loose upon them Jabin, who styled himself King of Canaan, and reigned at Hazor. This man had a powerful army, with nine hundred war-chariots,—all under the control of Sisera, one of the most experienced captains of the age. The Israelites were so distressed by him, that they durst not travel the highways, or cultivate their fields, or dwell in villages, but were forced to retire into caverns and fortified places. In their distress, they cried again unto the Lord; and he sent them relief by the hands of Deborah and Barak. Instigated by Deborah, Barak drew together an army at Mount Tabor. With all possible speed, Sisera marched his forces to attack him. While his army lay encamped at the foot of the mountain, Barak came down upon him with such fury, that he could make no resistance, but fled in the utmost consternation. At the same time, God poured upon them a terrible storm of rain and hail, which swelled the rivers to such an extent, that, in attempting to cross them, great multitudes of the Canaanites were swept away. The rout was complete; the victory was gained; and, to celebrate it, Deborah composed the beautiful song recorded in Judges (chap. v.). After this victory, the land had rest forty years.

It was during this period that the Israelites were visited with drought and famine; and some were obliged to migrate into other countries for a subsistence. This was the case with Elimelech and Naomi; and here comes in the story of Ruth.

After the death of Deborah and Barak, the Israelites fell into their old impieties, and were again delivered into the hands of their enemies. Their oppressors, in this instance, were the Midianites, who dwelt on their south-eastern border. These predatory hordes, assisted, no doubt, by the Moabites and Amalekites, came up in vast numbers, robbed them of their cattle, and carried off all the fruits of the earth. They left them nothing on which to subsist. In their affliction, the Israelites cried unto the Lord; and he sent a prophet to instruct and reclaim them. He also sent an angel to Gideon the Abiezerite, who dwelt at Ophrah, and called him to be the judge and deliverer of his people. The story of Gideon—of his destroying his father's grove and idols, of the raising and trial of his little army, and of his victory over the Midianites—is one of the most instructive and interesting in the Bible.

When the war was over, the Israelites invited Gideon to become

their king, offering to establish the royal succession in his family. But Gideon replied, in the spirit of a true son of Abraham, "I will not rule over you; neither shall my son rule over you: but the Lord, he shall rule over you." Gideon lived, after this, forty years; during which time the land was in peace.

Following the death of Gideon was the short reign of Abimelech his son, who slew all his brothers save one, and was proclaimed king by the men of Shechem. But he did not prosper in his wickedness. The men of Shechem soon rejected him, after which he fell upon them with great slaughter. In the course of the war, he was himself slain by the hand of a woman. Thus the curse of Jotham fell upon all those who were engaged in these nefarious transactions: "A fire came forth from Abimelech, and devoured the men of Shechem; whilst a fire came forth from the men of Shechem, and devoured Abimelech."*

After the death of Abimelech, Tola, the son of Puah, an eminent man of the tribe of Issachar, was called to the government, and continued in it twenty-three years. He seems to have been a prudent and peaceable man, raised up to reform abuses, to suppress tumults, and heal the wounds which were given to Church and State during Abimelech's usurpation. Very little is recorded of him in the Scriptures.

After him arose Jair, a Gileadite, of the tribe of Manasseh,—the first of the judges whose home was on the east side of the Jordan. We know little of him, except that he labored to aggrandize his own family. We are told that "he had thirty sons, who rode on thirty ass-colts, and who had thirty cities in the land of Gilead.† His administration continued twenty-two years, in which time there was a general defection from the worship of the true God: "The children of Israel did evil in the sight of the Lord, and served Baalim and Ashtaroth, and the gods of Syria, and of Zidon, and of Moab, and of the Philistines, and of the children of Ammon." This was the most alarming defection which had occurred among the Israelites; and, as usual, it prepared the way for distressing judgments. The Ammonites were let loose upon

* The parable of Jotham, recorded in Judg. ix. 8-21, is the first utterance of the kind of which we have any knowledge.

† If this is the Jair who "took all the country of Argob," as recorded in Deut. iii. 14, then this fourteenth verse of Deuteronomy could not have been written by Moses, but must have been inserted by some subsequent compiler,—perhaps by Samuel. But the Jair who judged Israel may have been a descendant of the Jair who took Argob, who bore his ancestor's name (compare Deut. iii. 14 with Judg. x. 3-5).

them from the east, and the Philistines on the south and west; and the people were enslaved eighteen years. In this time they had abundant opportunity to reflect, and to see the error of their ways. They mourned over their sins; they acknowledged the justice of their inflictions; they put away the strange gods that were among them, and returned unto the service of the Lord; and "his soul was grieved for the misery of his people," and he interposed again on their behalf. The deliverer, in this instance, was Jephthah the Gileadite. He first engaged the Ammonites on the east side of the Jordan, and smote them with a very great slaughter. His success in this enterprise provoked the envy of the Ephraimites, who crossed the Jordan to attack him; but their violent dealings came down upon their own heads. Jephthah fell upon them, and gained a complete victory.* After this, Jephthah lived in peace and honor, and judged Israel six years.

He was succeeded by Ibzan of Bethlehem, who judged Israel seven years. After him was Elon, of the tribe of Zebulun, who ruled ten years. Following him was Abdon, an Ephraimite, who continued eight years. Of these judges the sacred historian has recorded very little. During their administration, the Israelites seem to have had rest and peace; the result of which was a falling-away from God. They relapsed into their old idolatries, and God gave them into the hands of the Philistines forty years.

Near the close of this period, Samson made his appearance, — one of the most singular characters of which we have any account in the Bible. We should hardly suspect him to have been a pious man, but that Paul mentions him among the worthies who lived and died in faith (Heb. xi. 32). Samson was a Nazarite, — consecrated to be such by his parents before his birth. The vow of a Nazarite bound him to abstain entirely from wine and strong drink, and to wear his hair and beard unshorn. On the fulfilment of this vow, Samson was to be endowed with supernatural strength, and thus be qualified to be the deliverer of his people. While his strength continued, he had various strange encounters with the Philistines; in all of which he was victorious. In one instance, he slew a thousand of them with no other weapon than the jaw-bone of an ass. His besetting sin seems to have been the love of women; and this, at length, proved his ruin. He became enamoured of a vile, mercenary woman (probably a Philistine), whose name was Delilah. After various attempts, she drew from

* See Judg. xii. 1-6.

him the secret of his prodigious strength. The endowment was conditioned on the fulfilment of his Nazarite vow and the wearing of his hair. Knowing this, she cut off his hair while sleeping with his head upon her knees. And now he fell an easy prey into the hands of the Philistines. They took and bound him; put out his eyes; cast him into prison, and there made him turn a hand-mill like the meanest slave. It is said of him that "he did grind in the prison-house."

But, in a little time, Samson's hair grew again; and with it his strength gradually returned: so that, when the Philistines brought him out to mock at his misery (and thousands of them covered and filled the house before which he was standing), he managed to get hold of the two main pillars of the house. He then prayed, and bowed himself with all his might; and the pillars were shaken; the house fell; and he was killed, together with thousands of his enemies. He slew more in his death than he had done in his life.

Although Samson is numbered among the judges of Israel, he seems never to have had the administration of affairs in his hands. This was intrusted to Eli, the high priest, who was born before Samson, and who lived long after his death. Eli became a judge in Israel at the age of fifty-eight; and his administration continued during the next forty years. He died at the age of ninety-eight.*

Though repeatedly beaten and humbled by the forays of Samson, the Philistines were not vanquished: they continued their depredations, and kept the Israelites in perpetual fear. Near the close of Eli's life, the people of Israel gathered courage, and went out to Aphek to give battle to the Philistines; but they were beaten before their enemies, and four thousand of them were left dead upon the field. Hoping to retrieve their loss in another encounter, the Israelites sent to Shiloh, took the ark of the covenant from between the cherubim, and carried it into their camp; but, though the ark and the priests were there, the God of Israel was not. The Israelites were again discomfited, and thirty thousand of their footmen fell. Nor was this all: the ark of God was taken, and the two sons of Eli, who attended it, were slain.

When tidings of this defeat and of the capture of the ark came to the ears of Eli, he fainted, fell from his seat, and died. He was a good man, and zealous for the worship of the true God; but he failed essentially in the training and government of his children: "His sons made themselves vile; and he restrained them not."

* See 1 Sam. iv. 15-18.

But God was now raising up for himself a judge and a prophet more eminent than any who had lived since the days of Joshua. This was Samuel, of whom I shall speak in the next chapter. Meanwhile, there are some questions to be solved, growing out of the transactions which have been already noticed.

The first of these relates to the conduct of Ehud and of Jael in taking the lives of Eglon and of Sisera. Eglon was a king of Moab, to whom the Israelites were under tribute. Ehud was sent to carry him his tribute-money. When his message was accomplished, and he had commenced his journey homeward, suddenly he dismissed his attendants, returned to Eglon, and, under pretence of a secret errand, gained access to him in private. He now says, "I have a message from God unto thee, O king!" And, when the king rose to receive it, he plunged a dagger to his heart, and escaped. Such is a brief statement of the case of Ehud.

That of Jael is not materially dissimilar. Sisera was captain-general of the forces of Jabin, king of Canaan, who had been a great oppressor of the children of Israel. At the instance of Deborah, Barak had raised an army for the deliverance of his people. Sisera had been vanquished by Barak, and was fleeing in dismay before him, when he was invited by Jael, the wife of Heber the Kenite, into her tent. She gave him needed refreshment, and he lay down to sleep; but, while he slept, she drove a large nail of the tent through his head, and killed him. She was a means, in this way, of delivering Israel; and her praises were sung in the triumphal song of Deborah and Barak. The question now is, Did she do right in this instance? and did Ehud do right? Were their acts pleasing in the sight of God?

In replying to these questions, I remark, in the first place, that we are under no obligation as Christians, or as believers in the divine authority and inspiration of the Old Testament, to approve of all that was done by ancient men of God. They were imperfect men; they often did wrong; and it is evidence of the fairness and truthfulness of the sacred writers that they make no effort to conceal their wrong-doings. Ehud and Jael may both of them have done wrong, and yet may have been, on the whole, pious persons. There is nothing in Scripture which looks like an approval of the deed of Ehud; and as to the praises which Deborah bestowed upon Jael, these may have been the spontaneous outburst of her own grateful feelings, and not a direct revelation from God.

This is one way of meeting the difficulties above presented, and the only one, as it seems to me, except upon a single supposition;

which is, that these avengers of the wrongs of Israel both acted under a *divine impulse*, which amounted to a *special revelation*, — a *commission from the Most High*. This is possible, and, to my own mind, not improbable; and, if so, we have a full justification of their conduct. God had a right to cut off these cruel oppressors of his people in any way he pleased, — whether by disease, or by wild beasts, or by the sword of their enemies. He had a right to commission Ehud to go and kill Eglon; and there are some things in the narrative which go to confirm this view of the case: “I have a message *from God* unto thee, O king!” Now, who shall say, that, in thus speaking, Ehud did not tell the truth?

And so in the case of Jael. The skill, the adroitness, the heroism, which she displayed, as well as the praises which were bestowed upon her afterwards (supposing these praises to have been indited by God), all go to show that she acted under a divine impulse, which amounted to a revelation.

Another question of some difficulty grows out of the case of Jephthah and his daughter. When Jephthah went forth against the children of Ammon, he made a vow unto the Lord, that if he was enabled to triumph over his enemies, and came back to his home in peace, whatsoever should first come forth from his doors to meet him should be the Lord's, *and* he would offer it up for a burnt-offering. So, when he returned in peace, the first that came out to meet him was his daughter, — an only child. And it is said that he did to her according to his vow. The question now is, Did he offer her up for a burnt-sacrifice? and could he be justified in so doing? My own opinion is, that he did not offer her as a burnt-sacrifice; and my reasons are the following: First, the language of Jephthah's vow, interpreted as it may well be, does not imply it. The little Hebrew letter *vau*, commonly translated *and*, is in some instances translated *or*, and may be so rendered here; and, thus rendered, the vow would read, “Whatsoever cometh forth first to meet me, when I return in peace, shall surely be the Lord's; *or* I will offer it up for a burnt-offering.” The meaning is, “If the creature first coming forth is suitable for a burnt-offering, it shall be offered up; but, if not, it shall be consecrated and devoted to the Lord.” Now, his daughter was not suitable for a burnt-offering. He could not so dispose of her in consistency with the Mosaic law or with the spirit of his religion. What, then, does his vow bind him to do? — to consecrate and devote her to the Lord, to be in a peculiar sense his; so that she should never be given in marriage to any man. She must belong to God, and to no one else.

This seems to me to be the purport of the vow. And we remark, secondly, that what is said of her afterwards is consistent with this interpretation, and with no other. What did her companions bewail in respect to her?—not her early death, but her *perpetual virginity*. And, after her father had done to her according to his vow, it is said of her that “she *knew no man*,”—a thing quite superfluous to be said on supposition of her death.

The ground over which we have passed is fruitful in important practical suggestions, which I can* only notice in the briefest manner.

1. We see the perpetual tendency of poor fallen human nature to *backslide from God*. The history of the Israelites through all these years is little else than a history of their backslidings. Oft-repeated corrections and recoveries did not cure them of this propensity. No sooner was the infliction lightened, and restraint removed, than back they would fall into their former courses of sin.

2. We see the astonishing *forbearance* of God. Why did he not give up this people utterly? Why did he bear with them after such repeated provocations? Why not abandon them to their own hearts' wanderings? Because “he is merciful and gracious, long-suffering, keeping mercy for thousands, forgiving iniquity, transgression, and sin.”

3. We learn the *faithfulness* of God in visiting his people with afflictions. Were they of the world, they might be left to prosper in their pride, and perish in their iniquity; but as they are his covenant people, whom he has promised to keep and to save, he is bound in faithfulness to visit their transgressions with a rod, and their iniquity with stripes. Nevertheless, his loving-kindness he will not take from them, nor cause his faithfulness to fail (Ps. lxxxix. 30–33).

4. We see the readiness of God to return to his people so soon as they return to him. Whenever these Israelites began to relent, and to cry to him for mercy, his soul was grieved for their miseries; and we hear him saying, “How shall I give you up, Ephraim? how shall I deliver you, Israel? My heart is turned within me, and my repentings are kindled together.”

Finally, if God's people would not feel his correcting rod, then they must refrain from sin. Let them live near to God at all times, and walk closely and consistently with him, and their peace shall be as a river, and their righteousness as a flowing stream. They may dwell perpetually in the sunshine of his love.

CHAPTER XXVI.

SAMUEL AND SAUL.

THE last chapter closed with the death of Eli and the capture of the ark of the covenant by the Philistines. Eli was the first high priest in the line of Ithamar, the youngest of the sons of Aaron. Up to this time, the office had continued in the line of Eleazar, Phinehas, and their successors.* It was restored to the line of Eleazar in the time of Solomon, when Abiathar, a descendant of Ithamar, was deposed, and Zadok was appointed in his stead.†

At the time of Eli's death, Samuel is supposed to have been about twenty-two years old. He became a prophet of the Lord at the age of twelve, and denounced the judgments of God upon the house of Eli for their wickedness.‡ During the next ten years, he had repeated revelations from God, and was recognized and acknowledged in all Israel as an inspired prophet. The Israelites may have taken courage to go out against the Philistines from the fact that they had a prophet among them; but the issue of the contest, as we have seen, was most disastrous. They were beaten in two encounters: thirty-four thousand of their men were slain, and the ark of God was taken. It is probable that Shiloh, the sacred seat of the tabernacle-worship, was at this time captured and destroyed.§

But the capture of the ark was of no advantage to the Philistines, but rather a curse. They first took it to Ashdod, one of their principal cities, and placed it in the house of Dagon, their god; but the image of Dagon fell down before it, and brake off its head and arms, so that there was nought but the stump of Dagon left. Also the men of Ashdod were smitten with a terrible disease; and, in their distress and terror, they concluded to send

* See 1 Chron. vi. 4-6. † 1 Kings ii. 27. ‡ 1 Sam. iii. 11-14. § Jer. vii. 12-14.

away the ark to Gath. But the people of Gath fared no better. They were smitten with a like disease, and resolved to remove the ark to Ekron. But the Ekronites wisely refused to receive it; and then it was concluded to send back the fatal, dreaded symbol into the land of Israel, where it belonged. So they placed the ark in a new cart, and hitched to it two milch-cows, who, as if by instinct, but really by a divine direction, drew the ark back into the land of Israel.

It first rested at Beth-shemesh, in the hill-country of Judæa; but, for presumptuously looking into the ark, God smote the men of Beth-shemesh, and great numbers of them died. Upon this the survivors sent messengers to Kirjath-jearim, requesting that the ark might be received there. And there it *was* received; and there it rested, in the house of Abinadab, more than eighty years,—through the whole administration of Samuel and Saul, and into the first part of the reign of David. There was no longer a place for it at Shiloh, as the city was destroyed, and the tabernacle removed.*

That Samuel was a judge as well as a prophet in Israel, we are expressly informed; but, at what time he became a judge, we cannot positively determine. It could not have been before the death of Eli, at which time he was twenty-two years of age. We hear little of him during the next twenty years; all which time, although the Israelites were constantly distressed by the Philistines, they persisted in the practice of idolatry. But, at the end of twenty years, they began in earnest to seek after the Lord. And Samuel said unto them, “If ye do return unto the Lord with all your hearts, then put away the strange gods that are among you, and prepare your hearts unto the Lord, and serve him only; and he will deliver you out of the hand of the Philistines.” Then the children of Israel put away Baal and Ashtaroth and their other idols, and entered anew upon the service of the Lord.

Encouraged by these appearances, Samuel gathered the people together to Mizpeh, a central place in the land of Benjamin, and there kept a solemn day of humiliation, fasting, and prayer. There was a general and public confession of sin, and an earnest supplication to God for mercy.

When the Philistines heard that the children of Israel were assembled at Mizpeh, they came out in great force against them; but, upon the intercession of Samuel, the Lord appeared for the

* Upon the destruction of Shiloh, the tabernacle was removed, first to Nob, and afterwards to Gibeon.—See 1 Sam. xxi. 1, and 1 Kings iii. 4.

deliverance of his people. He "thundered upon the Philistines with a great thunder that day, and discomfited them;" and the children of Israel pursued after them till they came to Bethcar. And here Samuel took a stone, and set it up in token of the victory, and called the name of it Ebenezer, *the stone of help*, saying, "Hitherto hath the Lord helped us."

So effectually were the Philistines subdued at this time, that they came no more into the land of Israel until the reign of Saul. Also the cities which they had taken from the Israelites were restored to them, and the land had peace.

This interval of quiet, which lasted quite a number of years, Samuel diligently improved for the good of the people. He had his house in Ramah, near to Mizpeh, where he built an altar unto the Lord;* but he went an annual circuit to Bethel, to Gilgal, and to Gilead, on the other side of Jordan, reforming abuses, administering justice, and instructing the people in the ways of the Lord.

Samuel had two sons, Joel and Abiah, whom, when they had arrived at a suitable age, he established as judges at Beersheba, in the southernmost border of the land. This was an innovation upon previous custom; and it operated unfavorably, both upon the young men and upon the minds and hearts of the people. His sons, we are told, "walked not in his ways; but they turned aside after lucre, and took bribes, and perverted judgment."† Their conduct so disaffected the people, that the elders of Israel came together to Samuel, to Ramah, and insisted on a change in the form of government. They wished him to anoint them a king, that they might be, in this respect, like the other nations. The proposition was displeasing to Samuel, who endeavored to dissuade them from it, but in vain. They continued to clamor for a king; and God, at length, directed Samuel to yield to their wishes. They should have a king: but then he must be such a one as God should appoint; and he must reign over the people as God's *vicegerent*, subject to his authority, and bound, like every one else, to obey his laws.

I need not detail the circumstances which led to the anointing of Saul, the son of Kish, a Benjamite, to be the first king of Israel.

* As Samuel was a Levite, he might properly engage in offering sacrifices, as he often did (1 Chron. vi. 22, 28).

† Samuel had a grandson, by the name of Heman, who was among the singers (1 Chron. vi. 33).

He was a man of high promise, portly in appearance, taller by his whole head than any of his fellows, and possessing, so far as appears, an unblemished character. Saul must have been at this time near forty years old, since early in his reign we find his brave son Jonathan engaged in successful warfare against the Philistines. Samuel must have been between fifty and sixty: he is expressly called an old man. Saul reigned forty years; and Samuel died only a few years before him, at the age of ninety-two.*

Samuel did not cease to be a judge in Israel on the accession of Saul to the kingdom; for it is said expressly that he "judged Israel all the days of his life" (1 Sam. vii. 15). Saul was a military chieftain. He had charge of the army, and of the military defences of the country; but the administration of justice, the moral training and religious instruction of the people, were intrusted to Samuel, as they had been before. Indeed, Saul himself was, to some extent, under the control of Samuel. As an inspired prophet of God, Samuel directed his movements; reprovéd him for his faults; in some instances, countermandéd his orders; and finally, when he found that he could not confide in Saul, set up another and better man to succeed him.

Saul's first military achievement was against the Ammonites. Nahash, their king, had encamped against Jabesh-gilead, a town near the territory of Ammon, on the east side of the Jordan. He had sent a most insulting message to the men of Jabesh, consenting to spare them only on the condition of their coming out to him, and submitting every one of them to have his right eye bored out. Saul, hearing of this, quickly raised an army, and went to the relief of the men of Jabesh. In this expedition he was completely successful. He routed the Ammonites, and scattered their forces in all directions. His bravery and success on this occasion went far to establish his authority as king over Israel.

Saul's second military expedition was against those old and valiant enemies of Israel, the Philistines. They had been gradually extending their conquests eastward, until nearly all Central Palestine had come into their possession. The sanctuaries long frequented in the centre of the country, at Bethel, Mizpeh, and Shiloh, were deserted; and, when Saul was inaugurated, the services had to be performed in the very outskirts of Palestine,—at Gilgal, in the Valley of the Jordan.

* See 1 Sam. viii. 1; Acts xiii. 21.

The Philistines had a garrison in Geba, — a town not far from Gibeah, the home of Saul. In the second year of his father's reign, Jonathan attacked this garrison, and took it; and this brought on a war between the Israelites and Philistines.

The forces of Saul were assembled at Gilgal, where Samuel had appointed to meet him in the course of seven days to offer burnt-offerings and peace-offerings, and to show him what he ought to do. But when Samuel failed to come within the time appointed, and Saul saw that the people were scattered from him for fear of the Philistines, he ordered the burnt-offerings and sacrifices to be brought unto *him*; and he, though neither a priest nor a Levite, began to offer them himself. Before he was through, Samuel came, and was much displeased with what he had done. He reproved and threatened him, and then left him to carry on the war as best he could. So Saul went up from Gilgal to his own house at Gibeah of Benjamin, attended by only six hundred men; and here he must have been defeated by the enemy, had it not been for the faith, the courage and valor, of his noble son Jonathan. "Come," said he to his armor-bearer, "and let us go over to the garrison of the Philistines. It may be that the Lord will work for us; for there is no restraint to him to save by many or by few." So they went over, and discovered themselves to the advance-guard of the enemy; and Jonathan and his armor-bearer fell upon them, and slew about twenty men. At the same time, there was an earthquake and a great trembling; and the Philistines fled away in terror. In their haste, they trod down and destroyed one another. When Saul saw what was doing, he joined in the pursuit; multitudes came out of their hiding-places, and followed him; and the Philistines were beaten with a great slaughter.

The conduct of Saul on this occasion was displeasing to God, to Samuel, and to the people generally. He should have waited for Samuel before entering upon the war, and not have ventured himself upon the offering of sacrifices. And then in the course of the war, when he had ordered the priests to consult the oracle, he did not wait for a response, but hurried away to pursue his enemies; and, in the heat of the pursuit, he rashly denounced a curse upon any one who should stop to eat bread or drink water. And, when he found that Jonathan had tasted a little honey, he would have put him to death, had he not been restrained by the people.

But, unsatisfactory as his conduct in some instances had been,

God still was with him, and gave him the victory over his enemies. "He fought against Moab, and against the children of Ammon, and against Edom, and against the kings of Zobah," on the other side Jordan; and, whithersoever he went, he prospered.

At length, Samuel came to him with a direct message from the Lord of hosts: "I remember what Amalek did to Israel; how he laid wait for him in the way when he came out of Egypt. Go, therefore, and smite Amalek, and utterly destroy all that they have, both man and woman, infant and suckling, ox and sheep, camel and ass." Such was the commission which Saul received from God. We shall see how he fulfilled it. He gathered a great army, and went down into the south country to fight the Amalekites; and he smote them from Havilah, near the Persian Gulf, till thou comest unto Shur, which is over against Egypt. He utterly destroyed all their people, but spared Agag their king, and also the best of their sheep and oxen, their fatlings and lambs. In this instance he failed to obey the whole divine command, and thus exposed himself anew to the displeasure of God and to the rebukes of Samuel. Samuel now told him plainly, that, as he had rejected the word of the Lord, the Lord had rejected him from being king over Israel: "The Lord hath rent the kingdom from thee, and hath given it to a neighbor of thine that is better than thou."

Saul professed to humble himself, and to repent. He asked forgiveness of God and of Samuel, and begged that Samuel would yet stand by him, and honor him before the people and the elders of Israel. To this, Samuel consented for the time; but he soon returned to his house at Ramah, and all pleasant intercourse between him and the king was from that period broken off. Nevertheless, Samuel seems to have had an affection for Saul, and sincerely mourned that the Lord had rejected him.

Soon after this, Samuel was sent on a secret errand to Jesse the Bethlehemite, that he might anoint one of his sons to be the future king of Israel. This Jesse was now an old man, — a grandson of Boaz and Ruth. He had eight sons, seven of whom were with him at the time of the prophet's visit; but the Lord had not chosen either of these. David the youngest was then called, who was absent with the sheep: and no sooner did he make his appearance than the Lord said to Samuel, "Arise and anoint him; for this is he." David was at this time about seventeen years old, "ruddy, and of a beautiful countenance, and goodly to look to."

He had been trained as a shepherd ; and, like other shepherds, had learned to play the harp, and perhaps other instruments.

The only immediate effect of David's anointing was that "the Spirit of the Lord from that day came upon him." By this we may understand that he was from that time endued with an unwonted spirit of courage and valor, as well as of faith and confidence in God. It was under the influence of this spirit that he was enabled, while a shepherd, to slay the lion and the bear, and rescue his flock from between their teeth.

The effect of Samuel's desertion of Saul, and of his denunciations against him, was to render him moody and melancholy, to sour his temper, and harden his heart. In Scripture phraseology, "the Spirit of the Lord departed from him, and an evil spirit from the Lord troubled him." I would not say that a literal evil spirit had nothing to do with his case : perhaps it was so. But, whatever the cause, the effect upon Saul was most unhappy. His nervous system became deranged ; and he was gloomy, irritable, turbulent, untractable. As a remedy, he was advised to have recourse to music ; and, having heard of David as a skilful player on the harp, he sent and called him to stand before him. This was David's first introduction at court ; and he succeeded with his harp in soothing and calming the troubled spirit of Saul.

How long David remained with Saul at this time, we do not know ; probably not very long. The Philistines were preparing for another invasion of Israel ; and the bustle of the occasion may have had the effect to relieve the mind of Saul, so that the services of David were no longer needed. At any rate, he returned to his father, and was again employed in caring for the sheep.*

Meanwhile the Philistines invaded the territory of Judah, and encamped at Shochoh, a town nigh to Bethlehem. Saul and his army went out to meet them, and encamped so near, that there was nought but a valley between the two armies. David's three eldest brothers were in the army of Saul ; and David was sent by his father to carry provisions to them, and to inquire after their welfare. It was at this time that Goliath presented himself for forty successive days, challenging any one of the Israelites to fight with him, and defying the armies of the living God. His boasts and blasphemy moved the spirit of David, and he offered him-

* Some critics make this first visit of David to the court of Saul to occur after his conquest of Goliath ; but I prefer the course of the narrative as it stands in our Bibles. — See *Horne's Introduction*, vol. i. p. 403.

self at once to go and fight the Philistine. With the story of his victory, and the consequent victory of the Israelites, you are familiar.* The result was to bring David into notice and high honor, and to excite the envy and the hatred of Saul. Jonathan became attached to David with a singular and undying love. The women of Israel sang his praises with tabrets and instruments of music: "Saul hath slain his thousands, and David his ten thousands." But Saul was very wroth, and from that day forward sought the life of David. Twice he undertook to kill him with a javelin while David was playing the harp before him. Repeatedly he engaged him in close conflict with the Philistines, hoping that they might take his life. He charged Jonathan and his servants to kill David; but they loved him too well to be guilty of his blood. He gave his youngest daughter to David, thinking that she might be a snare to him; but she helped him to escape from her father's hand.

Saul had now become satisfied that David was the appointed of God to be his successor in the kingdom; and his zeal and rage were enkindled the more for his destruction. He gave his officers and servants a charge to take David wherever they might find him. He killed the priests of the Lord at Nob † because they had unwittingly harbored the fugitive and shown him favor. He meanly pursued his valiant son-in-law from one desert and cavern to another, and hunted him like a partridge on the mountains. In two separate instances during this mad pursuit, Saul fell completely into the hands of David, so that he might have taken his life with the utmost ease; but he refused to do it. He would not lift his hand against the anointed of the Lord. Tired at length with this course of life, and despairing of safety so long as Saul lived, David fled into the land of the Philistines, and took refuge with the king of Gath.

Meanwhile Samuel, the great and the good, the venerable prophet and judge of Israel, died at his home in Ramah at the age of ninety-two. He had been a prophet in Israel eighty years, and a judge about sixty. At the command of God, he had commissioned one man to reign over Israel; and when this man disap-

* The last psalm in the Septuagint (the eli.), which is not found in our Bibles, purports to have been written by David after the killing of Goliath. The slightest inspection is enough to satisfy any one that David did not write it.

† Nob was situated on the northern spur of Mount Olivet, not far from Jerusalem. After the destruction of Shiloh, the tabernacle was set up here; and here was the residence of the priests.

pointed him, at the same divine command he had anointed another. He had directed the affairs of his people, instructed them in the ways of the Lord, and administered justice with an even hand. He had done much towards furnishing the people with true copies of the sacred writings. He is supposed to have revised and edited the Books of Moses and Joshua. He wrote the Books of Judges and Ruth, and the first Book of Samuel, up to near the time of his death.

For the better preserving and inculcating of the truth of God, Samuel set up a new class of institutions in Israel; viz., "the schools of the prophets." He may have been led to this by the growing degeneracy of the priesthood, and for the better education of those who were to succeed to the sacred ministry, whether as prophets or priests. These schools were established at different places, — as at Ramah, Bethel, and Gilgal, — and had some one set over them to be their teacher and head. Here young men studied the law of Moses, and learned to expound it. Here they were instructed in sacred psalmody, or, as the Scriptures express it, "to prophesy with harps, with psalteries and cymbals" (1 Chron. xxv. 1, 7). Here too, by some peculiar exercises, chiefly devotional, they prepared themselves to receive the spirit of prophecy whenever it should please God to impart the gift. In these schools were written sacred biographies, like those of Nathan the prophet, and Gad the seer. In them were trained up sacred poets and singers, such as Asaph, Heman, and Jeduthun, whose names occur in the Psalms. From them were taken, for the most part, the prophets and seers, who followed each other in long succession, from the days of Samuel to those of Malachi.

Perhaps to no individual, after Moses and Joshua, were the Israelites so much indebted as they were to Samuel; and great was the lamentation at his death. The people came together in vast numbers to his burial; they mourned over him as a spiritual father; they laid him in his own sepulchre which he had prepared at Ramah.

About two years after the death of Samuel, the Philistines, who, though often defeated, were not subdued, drew together their armies to renew the war against Israel. David was still in the country of Achish, king of Gath: and Achish was minded to take him and his men with him to the war to fight against his own people; but, owing to the jealousy of the other lords of the Philistines, this calamity was averted. David, after having com-

menced the march with Achish, was permitted to return to his place.

The army of the Philistines was gathered together at Shunem, a town near Mount Carmel ; while Saul and his army were encamped at Gilboa. But, when Saul saw the host of the Philistines, he was greatly terrified ; and, when he inquired of the Lord, the Lord answered him not, neither by dreams, nor by Urim, nor by prophets. In his distress, he sought out a woman that had a familiar spirit, though he had previously endeavored to drive all such characters out of the land. At his request, the witch professed to bring up Samuel, and he was permitted to have a conversation with the old prophet ; but he derived no comfort from the interview. Samuel told him that the Israelites would be beaten before their enemies, and that himself and his sons should on the morrow be slain. And all this was terribly fulfilled. The men of Israel fled before the Philistines ; and many of them were cut off in Mount Gilboa, among whom were three of the sons of Saul. And when Saul himself was wounded, and found that he could not escape, he fell upon his sword, and put an end to his life. His body was found the next day by the Philistines, who stripped it, beheaded it, and hung up the maimed trunk upon the wall of Bethshan. It was not suffered, however, to remain there : the men of Jabesh-gilead — whom Saul, in the beginning of his reign, had delivered from the Ammonites — came and took it down. They also recovered the bodies of his three sons, and took them all to Jabesh, and burned them. The bones they buried under a tree, and mourned and fasted seven days.

Saul died at the age of eighty, in the two thousand nine hundred and forty-eighth year of the world, in the three hundred and thirty-seventh after the exode from Egypt, and a thousand and fifty-six years before the coming of Christ ; having reigned over Israel forty years.*

The principal difficulty in the narrative over which we have passed relates to Saul's interview with the witch of Endor. Did the soul of the departed prophet really appear to Saul, and have communication with him ? or was it all an imposition, a juggle of the witch ?

If Samuel was raised, it is generally believed that the incantations of the witch had nothing to do in raising him ; that, if raised at all, he was raised by the power of God ; and that she was greatly

* See Acts xiii. 21.

surprised and frightened at the apparition. It is admitted that this view of the case is more in accordance with the literal meaning of the sacred text than any other; and yet very serious objections are urged against it. In the first place, the departed soul of Samuel was undoubtedly in heaven; whereas it is here represented as coming up from the under-world, — coming out of the earth. Then, secondly, if God would not answer Saul when inquired of in the appointed ways, — neither by dreams, nor by Urim, nor by prophets, — how unlikely it is that he would disquiet the soul of Samuel, and send him back to the earth to bring a message to the terrified king! And, thirdly, if God would send Samuel at all on such an errand, how unlikely that he would do it in connection with a woman who claimed to have a familiar spirit, thus giving countenance to a personage and a practice which his law condemned!

In view of these reasons, some good men have insisted that there was nothing supernatural in this affair at all; that the witch knew from the first with whom she had to do; and that she thoroughly imposed upon the affrighted king. It is not said in the narrative that Saul saw Samuel, or saw any thing supernatural. The witch pretended to see him; and having often seen him, and heard him, too, while alive, she was able to personate him exactly. She could tell how he looked, and could mimic his speech; and, knowing full well the state of things in the camp of Saul (for Mount Gilboa was only a little way from Endor), she could predict, without much hazard of failure, the issue of the morrow's battle. She could feign, too, all the surprise and terror which the occasion required: and as to the language of the narrative, it may be regarded as *phenomenal* rather than literal; as accommodated to existing appearances, and the prevailing habits of opinion and thought, rather than as describing the real facts of the case.

Such is the interpretation of this remarkable story as given by some excellent men. Whether it is to be accepted or not, I pretend not to say. I will say, however, that, in general, it is safer to abide by the obvious meaning of Scripture rather than be drawn or driven from it by *à-priori* reasonings and difficulties.

The life of Samuel is a highly instructive one. It shows the beauty and the importance of early piety. We know not how early Samuel gave his heart to God. He was consecrated by his parents before his birth, and seems to have been sanctified almost from the womb. Nothing can be more interesting than his intercourse and example in the corrupt family of Eli. The venerable priest, who

could have had little comfort in his own children, must have rejoiced exceedingly in the piety and promise, the dutiful conduct and obedience, of young Samuel.

When only twelve years of age, he became an inspired prophet of God; and his first message was one of terrible import to his aged patron and friend. Nevertheless, he delivered it with the strictest fidelity; and it was received with becoming submission on the part of Eli: "It is the Lord: let him do what seemeth him good."

As we trace the history of Samuel, from its early beginning, through his long and eventful life,—in his public instructions, warnings, and reproofs; in directing the affairs of the nation; in the administration of justice; in the setting-apart of kings; in the study and preparation of the sacred oracles; in the establishment of institutions for the future benefit of his people; in all his duties and his trials,—we shall find that the foundation of his high honors and great usefulness was laid in youth. It was his youthful piety which prepared him to be such a blessing to his people and to the world; which entitled him to such high consideration both in life and in death, and to such a grateful remembrance in all coming time.

Those who would be honorable and useful like Samuel must be careful to follow his example. Let them early enlist in the service of God, and persist in it, and he will not leave them nor forsake them: "Those that honor me, I will honor; but they that despise me shall be lightly esteemed."

The life of Saul too, as well as of Samuel, is highly instructive. It shows the uncertainty of hopeful appearances where true piety is wanting. Saul seems to have been a youth of high promise; and when, at the age of forty, he was exalted to the kingdom, no more suitable person, to human appearance, could be found in the land. But he was selfish and ambitious, without religious principle or affection; his heart was not right in the sight of God; and the state of his heart was soon manifest in his life. Samuel learned, ere long, that he could not trust him, and that the God who had exalted him was about to reject him.

And this leads to another remark,—the tendency of our probation here on earth to draw out the secrets of our characters. Had Saul remained in private life, his integrity and uprightness might never have been suspected. But he was not destined to private life: his probation was to be of another kind; and it soon

brought out his real character. And so it is with each of us. The design of our probation is to form character, and to exhibit it, so that ourselves may know, and others may know, what manner of spirit we are of. And the course of treatment to which we are subjected in this probationary life is admirably fitted to answer this important end. God takes care to try us here on earth in a great variety of ways,—with prosperity and adversity, with comforts and afflictions, with trying changes and fierce conflicts. He turns us over and over, places us here and there, pursues one course of treatment with us, and then another, till our characters are formed and sufficiently developed, and the purposes of our trial are accomplished; and then it is soon brought to a close. The silver cord is loosed, the golden bowl is broken, and we go to the retributions of eternity.

I have but another remark,—the tendency of unsanctified afflictions is always to harden the heart. Some persons regard affliction as of a softening, subduing character, and trust to the punishments of sin to bring all sinners ultimately to repentance. But we see in the case of Saul, as of a thousand others, that this trust is vain. During the last half of his reign, Saul had almost continual vexations and afflictions; and what was the consequence? To make him better? No; but to harden him, and make him worse. And so it is in every case of unsanctified affliction. “Though thou bray a fool with a pestle in a mortar, yet will not his foolishness depart from him.”

CHAPTER XXVII.

DAVID AND SOLOMON.

THE birth and early history of David were spoken of in the last chapter. He was born at Bethlehem, — a town near to Jerusalem, — the same in which, about eleven hundred years later, the great Son of David appeared in the flesh. He was the great-grandson of Boaz and Ruth. At the age of seventeen, he was privately anointed by Samuel to be the future king of Israel, and received at the same time special communications of the Holy Spirit. Soon after this, he was called away from the quiet pursuits of a shepherd-boy to play the harp in the presence of King Saul. At the age of twenty-two he fought Goliath and killed him, and thus obtained great notoriety and honor in Israel.

From this time, Saul began to envy him, to persecute him, and seek his life; and the eight following years were little else than a continual struggle on the part of Saul to destroy him, and on the part of David to escape his hands. After having tried repeatedly to kill him in his own house, to engage his servants to kill him, and to cut him off by the hands of the Philistines, Saul drove him into concealment and exile, and hunted him with the zest of a bloodthirsty tiger. He pursued him first to Naioth, where was a school of the prophets; next to Nob, where was the tabernacle and the priests; then to Adullam, — a large cave not far from Bethlehem, — where he and his men, and his father's family, concealed themselves for a time. Next we find David with the king of Moab at Mizpeh, where he left his aged parents that they might be secure from the rage of Saul. From the land of Moab he turned back into Judæa, and concealed himself in the forest of Hareth. David was now surrounded with a small but choice band of warriors and followers, among whom were Abiathar the priest, and Gad the prophet; and, hearing that the Philistines had captured Keilah, — a walled town in the south-western border of

Judah, — he went up against them, and recovered Keilah. From motives of gratitude, he hoped that the men of Keilah would protect him against Saul; but, having learned from God that they would not, he departed, and concealed himself in the Wilderness of Ziph. Ziph was in the south-eastern part of Judah; and so also were Maon and Engedi, — places to which David successively fled for safety. It was in a cave at Engedi that David cut off the skirt of Saul's robe, and killed him not; thus showing that he had no intent to injure him. It was while David lay concealed in this vicinity that he had the difficulty with Nabal which resulted in Nabal's death, and in David's marrying his accomplished wife Abigail. He had been previously married to Michal, the youngest daughter of Saul; but Saul had taken her from him, and given her to another man.

Though David had once spared the life of Saul when he might have taken it, and had obtained from him a promise that he would desist from his persecutions, still the envious, malicious monarch could not rest. He came once more, with three thousand chosen men, into the Wilderness of Ziph, in pursuit of his prey. Here again David surprised him sleeping in a cave, and carried away his spear from his bolster, but hurt him not. At this Saul was greatly affected, and made promises; but David knew him too well to trust him.

After this, David went over, with his family and his followers, — about six hundred men, — into the country of the Philistines, and threw himself upon the hospitality of Achish, king of Gath. He was graciously received; and Achish put him in possession of the town of Ziklag, lying on the borders of the land of Israel, where he dwelt securely until the death of Saul.

It was during this period of persecution that David wrote many of his Psalms. They grew out of the circumstances in which he was placed; in which — mixed up with complaints and imprecations against his enemies — we find the devoutest aspirations, and the fullest expressions of faith and confidence in God. The Church had never been favored with these quickening songs but for David's bitter persecutions, — an instance among many in which we find a permitted evil overruled for a greater good.

While David was at Ziklag, he made war upon the plundering tribes that dwelt to the south of him; viz., the Geshurites, the Gezrites, and the Amalekites. These he conquered, and carried away much spoil.

But the Philistines were now preparing for another invasion of Israel; and Achish was resolved to take David with him to the war. This placed David in a very critical and alarming position. Shall he disoblige his friend Achish, and refuse to go with him? or shall he consent to go and fight against his own people? David seems to have referred the whole question to God, who interposed in a remarkable manner for his deliverance; for, after he had actually commenced his march with Achish, the other Philistine leaders interfered, and forbade his going: so he returned to Ziklag, where he found, that, during his absence, the Amalekites (perhaps in revenge of his late attack upon them) had captured, plundered, and burned the city, and carried away the women and children into captivity. Of course, David and his men were in great distress; but, instead of yielding to despondency, they encouraged themselves in God, pursued after the freebooters, overtook them, and recovered all.

David had scarcely returned to Ziklag, when tidings were brought to him of the death of Saul. It is remarkable that the messenger who brought these tidings was a fugitive Amalekite, who came to him with a lie in his mouth, pretending that he had himself slain Saul; hoping, no doubt, to obtain a reward from David. And he did obtain a fitting reward; for David ordered one of his young men to fall upon him and kill him because he had slain the Lord's anointed.

It was on this occasion that David composed that tender and beautiful elegy upon Saul and Jonathan: "The beauty of Israel slain upon his high places! How are the mighty fallen! Tell it not in Gath, publish it not in the streets of Ashkelon, lest the daughters of the Philistines rejoice, lest the daughters of the uncircumcised triumph." It may be thought that this funeral elegy is too eulogistic, too highly colored, in praise of Saul; but perhaps this is not the case. To be sure, during the latter part of Saul's reign, he had treated David very hardly and cruelly; but, through the whole forty years of his administration, he had proved himself a brave military chieftain. He had enlarged and defended the coasts of Israel; and his people had, for the most part, enjoyed prosperity: and, whatever else may be said of Saul, he had never, so far as we know, been guilty of idolatry, but had exerted his influence to root it out of the land.

After the death of Saul, David, by God's direction, removed to Hebron, — a central city in the land of Judah, — whither the

princes of Judah came in a short time to make him their king. Meanwhile Ishbosheth, a son of Saul, had been made king at Mahanaim, a fortress on the east side of the Jordan. Hence there were two kings now reigning over the children of Israel, — David at Hebron, over Judah; and Ishbosheth over the other tribes. Abner, the son of Ner, Saul's uncle, was chief of the forces of Ishbosheth; and Joab, the son of Zeruiah, a sister of David, had the command of his army. The way in which Joab came to be advanced to this important post was as follows: The fortress Jebus had never yet been taken from the Jebusites. It was a stronghold in which they had dwelt from the time of Joshua, and from which they defied the whole power of Israel. "And David said, Whosoever smiteth the Jebusites first shall be chief and captain. So Joab, the son of Zeruiah, went first up, and was chief"* (1 Chron. xi. 6).

For about two years, there were no hostilities between David and Ishbosheth; but subsequently a war broke out, in which, after several engagements, David triumphed. The affairs of Ishbosheth now waxed worse and worse. He had a quarrel with his chief general, Abner; in consequence of which Abner deserted him, and went over to David. His coming, however, did not strengthen David so much as it weakened his adversary; for no sooner had he given in his adhesion to David, and been graciously received, than Joab fell upon him, and treacherously slew him. This was done partly out of envy and jealousy, but more that he might avenge the death of his brother Asahel, whom Abner had slain in the war. David was much displeased at the death of Abner, and took occasion to manifest his displeasure in every possible way. He made a public funeral for the fallen chief, wept over him, and pronounced his eulogy: "Know ye not that a prince and a great man has fallen in Israel to-day?"

Not long after the death of Abner, two of the servants of Ishbosheth assassinated him when asleep, cut off his head, and brought it as a present to David; hoping thereby to gratify him, and to receive a reward. But their reward was like that of the Amalekite who pretended that he had killed Saul: the king rebuked them severely, and then slew them. He cut off their hands and feet, and hung up their maimed bodies in a public place, to be a terror to regicides in all coming time.

* David had two sisters, who seem to have been much older than himself; viz., Zeruiah and Abigail. Zeruiah was the mother of Joab, Abishai, and Asahel, — all chief men in the army of David. Abigail was the mother of Amasa and Jonathan; the former of whom was treacherously slain by Joab; the latter was one of David's counsellors.

After the death of Ishbosheth, the tribes which had followed him sent deputies to David at Hebron, acknowledging his title as king, and pledging their allegiance: so that now he was proclaimed king over all Israel when he had reigned over Judah seven years and six months.

Being thus invested with full regal power, and having under his control a mighty army, David entered at once upon the great work of his life: which was, to extirpate the remains of the original inhabitants of Canaan; to enlarge and defend the borders of Israel; to correct disorders, and root out idolatry from the land; to establish the worship of the true God, and confirm his people in it.

I have already spoken of the conquest of Jebus, the stronghold of the Jebusites, under the direction of Joab. David at once took possession of the same fortress, calling it after his own name. Jerusalem was built around it, and became the capital of David's kingdom.

He next engaged in war with the Philistines, who brought one army after another into the field against him; and so completely did he humble them, that they gave Israel no more trouble for many years. Meanwhile Hiram, the king of Tyre and Sidon, sent messengers unto David to congratulate him on his successes. He also sent him a present of cedar-trees, with carpenters and other artificers, to assist him in preparing a palace for himself.

Nor did David concern himself with private interests only. He thought of the ark of God, which had been at Kirjath-jearim almost from the death of Eli, — a period of more than eighty years. He took measures for bringing it into his own city Jerusalem; which object, after some delay, was with great pomp and solemnity accomplished.

David now thought of building a temple for the worship of the God of Israel, and communicated his design to the prophet Nathan. Nathan, at first, approved of it; but, the night following, he was directed by God to forbid it. The prohibition, however, was accompanied with assurances that God accepted the good intentions of the king; that his son and successor should build the temple; and that his posterity should reign for many generations.

With these divine and gracious assurances, the heart of the good king was much affected. He went into retirement, sat down before the Lord, and said, "Who am I, O Lord God! and what is my father's house, that thou hast brought me hitherto? And

even this was a small thing in thy sight, O Lord God! but thou hast spoken also of thy servant's house for a great while yet to come. And now what can David say more unto thee?" *

From this time, David entered with new zeal upon the work of enlarging the borders of Israel, and putting down his enemies round about. He subdued the Moabites, demolished their fortifications, and slew their men of war; leaving only enough to cultivate the ground. From the country of Moab he marched his army still farther east to recover his territory lying on the Euphrates. The Syrians of Zobah, under the command of Hadadezer, came out with a strong force, and gave him battle; but he soon routed them, and took from them a thousand chariots and seven thousand horsemen. The Syrians of Damascus, hearing of Hadadezer's ill success, came to his assistance; but David routed them in like manner, slew twenty-two thousand of their men, became master of their country, and laid them under tribute. On his return from Syria he was met by a great body of Edomites, to whom he gave battle. He slew eighteen thousand of them in the Valley of Salt, and made them also his tributaries.

This was David's most important military expedition. It contributed more than any other to establish his authority at home, and to make him known and respected abroad. He returned from it laden with the richest spoils, the most of which he laid up in store for the building of the temple.

This war is mentioned not only in the Bible, but by heathen writers; as Eupolemus, and Nicolas of Damascus: "After this," says Nicolas, "there was a certain Hadad, a native of Syria, who ruled over Damascus, and over all Syria except Phœnicia. He undertook a war with David, king of Israel, and contended against him in a number of battles; but in the last of them, by the River Euphrates, he suffered a defeat." †

During the persecutions of David from the hand of Saul, he had been assisted by Nahash, king of the Ammonites: wherefore, upon hearing of the death of Nahash, he sent messengers to his son and successor, Hanun, to condole with him, and to proffer him his friendship. But Hanun and his wise counsellors had no faith in the good intentions of David: he had sent an embassy to spy out the land: so they seized his messengers, treated them with great indignity, and sent them back to David. This led to a long

* See 2 Sam. vii. 18-29.

† See Rawlinson's Evidences, p. 89.

and bloody war between the forces of David and the Ammonites ; in which the latter, though assisted by the Syrians, were beaten, their capital was taken, their king's crown was wrested from him and given to David, and multitudes of the Ammonites were put to death.

It was during this war that David sinned and fell in the matter of Uriah.* The manner in which he received Nathan's pointed reproof for his sin, and in which he humbled himself and made full and public confession of his guilt, shows that, though David was not proof against temptation, his heart was essentially right in the sight of God. He sought and he obtained forgiveness in respect to the *future* punishment of his sin ; but, from its distressing temporal consequences, he was not delivered. The child of his adultery was taken from him at a stroke ; and then followed in quick succession the rape of Tamar, the murder of Amnon, and the rebellion and consequent death of Absalom ; thus verifying the denunciations of the prophet, that the judgments of God should follow him, and that the sword should never depart from his house.

In the twenty-second year of the reign of David, not long after the conquest of the Ammonites, Solomon was born of Bathsheba, who had been the wife of Uriah. David had several older sons ; but Solomon was the chosen of God and of his father to be his successor on the throne of Israel. David had another son by Bathsheba, whom he called Nathan, after the name of the prophet (1 Chron. iii. 5) ; and it is remarkable that from these two sons, in different lines, the parents of our Saviour were descended. Joseph, the reputed father of our Lord, descended from Solomon ; and Mary, his mother, from Nathan.†

We need not go here into the particulars of Absalom's treachery, his defeat, and death. He was an accomplished demagogue and dissembler. He murdered his brother Amnon, and would have murdered his father if he could have taken him. The heart of David was all but broken at his death, although he knew that he deserved to die. The battle in which Absalom was slain was fought at Mahanaim, a city of Gilead, on the east side of the Jordan.

Soon after the return of David to his capital, another rebellion broke out under Sheba, the son of Bichri ; but this was easily

* Uriah was one of David's thirty mighty men (2 Sam. xxiii. 39).

† See Matt. i. 6, 16 ; and Luke iii. 31.

put down through the prompt action and bravery of Joab, who obtained the traitor's head, and brought it to Jerusalem.

Not far from this time, the land was visited with a distressing drought and famine of three years' continuance. Upon inquiring the cause, David learned that it was an infliction of God on account of Saul's cruelty to the Gibeonites. David, therefore, sent to the Gibeonites to know what satisfaction they desired; and, when he was told that they demanded seven of Saul's descendants to be given up them, he yielded to their request. Two sons and five grandsons of the late king were delivered to the Gibeonites, who slew them, and hanged up their dead bodies. But David sent and took them down. He also disinterred the bones of Saul and Jonathan, and buried them together in the tomb of Kish, the father of Saul.

At an earlier period, David showed special favor to Mephibosheth, a son of his friend Jonathan, who was lame in his feet. He took him into his own household, and treated him with all the tenderness of a child.

In the latter part of his reign, David had four several engagements with the Philistines, in each of which he was victorious. In these battles, several of the race of the giants which remained were put to death. In commemoration of these and his preceding victories, David composed that triumphal song, beginning, "The Lord is my rock, my fortress, my deliverer, the God of my rock, in whom I will trust." * It is deeply interesting to connect the history of David with his Psalms, and see how, under all circumstances, — whether of prosperity or adversity, of defeat or deliverance, — his heart continually rose to God in submission or in gratitude, as the case might be.

About two years before his death, David became exceedingly and criminally anxious to know the number of his people, and more especially of his men of war. Accordingly, he gave orders to Joab and to his other high officers that the people should be numbered. Joab tried to dissuade him from his purpose, but in vain. Agents were therefore sent through all Israel (with the exception of the tribes of Levi and Benjamin), and brought in the number to the king; viz., eight hundred thousand fighting men in Israel, and five hundred thousand in Judah. The writer of the Chronicles makes the warriors of Israel eleven hundred thousand, and the warriors of Judah four hundred and seventy thousand (1 Chron.

* Recorded in 2 Sam. xx.; also, with some variations, in Ps. xviii.

xxi. 5). The difference may be accounted for by supposing that the standing army of Israel, amounting to three hundred thousand, is included in Chronicles, but not in Samuel; and that the standing army of Judah, amounting to thirty thousand, is included in Samuel, but not in the Chronicles.

After the numbering was finished, the king's heart smote him; and the prophet Gad was sent to reprove him for what he had done. The probability is that it was done from motives of ostentation, or from a false confidence, — a disposition to trust to the multitude of his warriors rather than to the mighty power of God. At any rate, David sinned in this matter, and he became sensible of it; and his people were sorely chastised on account of it. A pestilence broke out among them, which in a short time destroyed seventy thousand men. As the destroyer drew nigh to Jerusalem, an angel of God appeared hovering over the city with a drawn sword in his hand. While David was humbling himself before God, and imploring mercy, the prophet Gad was sent to him, with the command that he should purchase the threshing-floor of Araunah the Jebusite, over which the destroying angel stood, build an altar upon it, and offer up sacrifices and peace-offerings. All this was done instantly, and the plague was stayed. This threshing-floor was on Mount Moriah, — the very spot on which Solomon was directed, a few years later, to build the temple of the Lord.*

There is a difference in the accounts in Samuel and in Chronicles as to the price which David paid for the threshing-floor. In Samuel, it is said to be fifty shekels of silver; but in Chronicles, six hundred shekels of gold.† The accounts are reconciled by supposing that David made, in all, two purchases. On the spur of the occasion, he purchased merely the threshing-floor for fifty shekels of silver; but afterwards, on learning that this was to be the site of the temple, he purchased all the grounds about it for six hundred shekels of gold.

As David had now purchased a site for the temple, he seems to have spent the remainder of his days in making the most princely preparations for it. "Solomon, my son," said he, "is young and tender; and the house that is to be builded for the Lord must be exceeding magnificent, of fame and glory throughout all countries.

* This Araunah, or Ornan, was a Jebusite prince who had been expelled by Joab when he took the fortress of Jebus. Nevertheless, he retained his possessions in the vicinity of Jerusalem until they were purchased by David.

† See 2 Sam. xxiv. 24; 1 Chron. xxi. 25.

I will now, therefore, make preparation for it." So David prepared abundantly before his death.

But David's end was now approaching; and his last days were embittered by another instance of treachery in his family. Adonijah, the eldest of the king's living sons, born of the same mother as Absalom, aspired to the kingdom. By some means, he gained Joab, the veteran chief of David's forces, and Abiathar the high priest, over to his party. He invited all the king's sons except Solomon, and most of the great men of the kingdom, to a sumptuous entertainment at Enrogel, a well or fountain a little east of Jerusalem, where the guests were expected, after feasting for a while, to proclaim him king in the place of David his father. But Nathan the prophet, having learned what was doing, went and acquainted Bathsheba with it, and urged her to go immediately to the king and persuade him to declare Solomon his successor. This she did, giving David the first notice of Adonijah's conspiracy. She was followed almost immediately by the prophet Nathan, who told the king the same story. This intelligence aroused the enfeebled monarch. He commanded Nathan, and Zadok the priest, and Benaiah the captain of his guards, with other high officers and ministers of state, to take Solomon and put him on his own mule; to conduct him to Gihon, another fountain west of Jerusalem, and there to anoint and proclaim him king. All this was quickly done; and the people of Jerusalem, by their loud acclamations, gave testimony of their joy at David's choice. The sound was heard by Adonijah and his company, who saw at once that their design was defeated, and that they must shift for themselves in the best way they could. Adonijah fled to the altar for safety, where he obtained from Solomon a promise of pardon on condition of his future allegiance and good behavior.

After this, David recovered a little from his disease, and made preparation for a more public and formal coronation of Solomon. He called together the officers of his court and his army, and made to them a solemn oration, reminding them of all God's goodness to him personally; assuring them that the succession of Solomon was by divine appointment, and that it would devolve on him to build a temple for the public worship of God. He gave to Solomon a plan of the temple, and an account of the treasures which he had provided for it. He called upon the princes to contribute for the same object; and, when he saw their readiness and their liberality, he concluded with a solemn thanksgiving to God, and an

earnest prayer that Solomon might be enabled to accomplish all that had been enjoined.

The next day, Solomon was anointed the second time. Zadok was constituted high priest in place of Abiathar; and Benaiah was made chief commander of the army in place of Joab. The last work of David was to give to his son and successor a solemn charge; the burthen of which was, that he should be steadfast in his duty to God; that he should "walk in his ways, and keep his statutes, his judgments, and his testimonies," that so he might prosper in all the work of his hands.

Shortly after this, the good king died, in the seventy-first year of his age, when he had reigned forty years, — seven years at Hebron, and thirty-three at Jerusalem. He was buried with great pomp in a tomb which he had prepared for himself in that most strongly fortified part of Jerusalem which was called emphatically "the city of David."

Of the character of David I need not speak at length. That he was a man of great natural endowments and of fervent piety, there can be no doubt. He was an inspired prophet, a sweet poet, a brave and successful warrior, and a good king. He has the honor to stand pre-eminent among the progenitors of Christ, who is called emphatically "the Son of David." His songs have been the delight of the Church for three thousand years, and will continue to be so to the end of time. Still he did not claim to be a perfect man. He had his foibles and his faults, of which no one was more sensible than himself. Falling in with the polygamous practices of the age, he could not govern his household as he ought; and the consequence was, that, in the latter part of his life, his children gave him much trouble. Still his long reign was an inestimable blessing to his country. He vanquished the enemies of Israel on every side. He extended his dominion from the Euphrates to the Mediterranean, and from Damascus to Egypt. He rooted out idolatry from among the people, established on a firm basis the worship of the true God, and thus prepared the way for the splendid and prosperous reign of his son and successor, Solomon.

Solomon was eighteen years old when he began to reign; and he reigned over all Israel forty years in Jerusalem. As his name (Solomon) signifies *peace*, so his reign was eminently peaceful and prosperous, — fit emblem of the reign of that greater Son of David of whom he was a type. Among the first acts of his reign, he

put out of the way several persons whom he thought dangerous to his government. Adonijah, who was suspected of plotting another insurrection, and Joab, who was known to favor him, were both of them put to death. It may seem hard that Joab, the hero of so many battles fought in the service of his father David, should thus fall at the command of his son: but it must be remembered that Joab's treatment of David on several occasions was any thing but respectful; that he had treacherously murdered in cold blood Abner and Amasa, two men whom David considered better than himself; that he was naturally cruel, imperious, revengeful, and ready for any conspiracy against Solomon, and in favor of Adonijah; and especially that David had signified his pleasure that the hoar head of Joab should not go down to the grave in peace.

Solomon became pious in early life. In the very beginning of his reign, it is said of him that "he loved the Lord exceedingly, and walked in the statutes of David his father." Soon after his accession, he went to Gibeon, a few miles from Jerusalem, where were the tabernacle and the altar which Moses had prepared in the wilderness (2 Chron. i. 3); and here he offered in sacrifice a thousand burnt-offerings. It was here that the Lord appeared to him in a dream, and, in answer to his own request, promised to give him wisdom and an understanding heart. He also promised to bestow upon him riches and honor beyond that of any of the kings of the earth.

Solomon's first marriage was with a daughter of Pharaoh, king of Egypt; and she, it is generally supposed, became a proselyte to the Jews' religion. At any rate, we never hear of her as exerting any influence in favor of idolatry. This is the first that we hear of any connection of the Israelites with Egypt after their escape from bondage.

The great event of Solomon's reign was the building of the temple, and the ordering and establishing of the temple worship. Next to this in importance was the building of a palace for himself, and another for his Egyptian wife. In all these great works, he was essentially aided, both in materials and artificers, by Hiram, king of Tyre. These events are distinctly referred to, not only in the Scriptures and in Josephus, but by the historians of ancient Tyre.*

In the fourth year of his reign, King Solomon commenced build-

* See Josephus against Apion, book i. sect. 17, 18; also Rawlinson's Evidences, p. 308.

ing the house of the Lord ; but it was not finished until the eleventh year. The temple itself was not a very large structure ; but the numerous courts and offices round about it constituted a vast pile. And when we consider the exquisite art, as well as strength, with which the whole was finished, we are led to wonder that it could have been perfected in so short a period.

The dedication of the temple, when the ark of the covenant was removed from the city of David and deposited in the most holy place, was an occasion of great and joyful interest. We have a full account of it, also of Solomon's prayer of dedication, of the sacrifices which he offered, and of the feast which he made for all the people, in the eighth chapter of the first book of the Kings.

At the close of this solemn service, God appeared unto Solomon a second time, told him that his offerings were accepted, and gave him assurances of continued favor both to himself and his posterity, but *only* on the condition that he and they adhered faithfully to the service of the Lord : " But if you shall at all turn from following me, you or your children, and shall go and serve other gods, then will I cut off Israel out of the land which I have given them ; and this house which I have hallowed for my name will I cast out of my sight ; and Israel shall be a proverb and a byword among all people."

Solomon had a taste for expensive buildings ; for, besides the temple and his palaces, he erected " the house of the forest of Lebanon," where he frequently resided. He built also the walls of Jerusalem, and an armory, and a senate-house called Millo. He repaired and fortified Hazor, Megiddo, the two Beth-horons, Baalah or Baalbek, Tadmor in the desert (called by the Greeks Palmyra), and Gezer, a city which the king of Egypt had given him in dowry with his daughter. Solomon had two ports on the Elanitic Gulf of the Red Sea, where he provided a navy, and where, in connection with his friend Hiram, he engaged somewhat extensively in navigation. He also had his ships of Tarshish on the Mediterranean Sea. One of his fleets brought home no less than four hundred and twenty talents of gold, besides various other commodities and curiosities of great value. In short, Solomon soon came to be one of the richest and most powerful princes then on the earth. His annual revenue was six hundred and sixty-six talents of gold, besides the tribute which he received from subject kings. His furniture and ornaments were all of gold ; silver being

little accounted of in the days of Solomon. Presents of the greatest value were sent unto him from different quarters; and to see his face and hear his wisdom was the prevailing desire of the great men of the age.

It was under the influence of such a desire that the Queen of Sheba came from Arabia to make him a visit. She came with rich presents, and to test his wisdom with hard questions.* But Solomon answered all her questions; and, when she saw the magnificence and glory in which he lived, she went away astonished, declaring, that, though the fame which she had heard of him was very great, the half had not been told her.

Solomon devoted much time to philosophical inquiries and pursuits. He wrote three thousand proverbs; and his songs were a thousand and five. He knew the virtue of all plants and trees, from the lofty cedar of Lebanon even unto the hyssop that springeth out of the wall. He treated also of beasts, of fowl, of creeping things, and of fishes.

Solomon's situation was one of great temptation; and, sad to say, his temptations for a time overcame him. In conformity with the custom of Oriental monarchs, he must surround himself, not only with all other forms of pageantry, but with a harem of outlandish women; and these, as might be expected, drew away his heart.† He married wives from among the Moabites, the Ammonites, the Hittites, the Edomites, and the Zidonians; and, to show his liberality, he built high places for them in Jerusalem, and not only tolerated but countenanced them in their idolatries. Wherefore the Lord was angry with him, and sent a prophet to reprove him and to denounce impending judgments. The Lord also stirred up adversaries against him; viz., Hadad, king of Edom, and Rezon of Damascus, and more especially Jeroboam, one of his own servants. Jeroboam had been designated by Ahijah the prophet as the man who should in future reign over ten tribes in Israel. Having on this account, as well as others, excited the suspicions of Solomon, he fled for protection to Shishak, king of Egypt, where he continued until Solomon's death.

* Menander, a Syrian historian, reports that Solomon sent riddles to King Hiram, and asked to receive riddles from him, on the condition that the one that could not solve them should pay a sum of money to the other. When Hiram had agreed to this, and was not able to solve the riddles, he paid a large sum of money as a forfeit. — See *Josephus against Apion*, book i. sect. 17.

† It is not to be supposed that Solomon collected his seven hundred wives and three hundred concubines for his own personal gratification, more than that he kept his twelve thousand horses for his own personal use. Both constituted parts of his royal equipage, and one as much as the other.

If it be inquired why the king of Egypt, to whom Solomon was allied in marriage, should afford protection to the fugitive Jeroboam, the difficulty is explained by the supposition, that, during the reign of Solomon, there had been a revolution in Egypt. The dynasty to which he was allied had been deposed, and another had taken its place, which, on account of the existing alliance, might be expected to be hostile to Solomon.

At what time Solomon began to countenance idolatry, and how long he persisted in it, we are not precisely informed. The sacred writer tells us, that, "when he was *old*, his wives turned away his heart" (1 Kings xi. 4); and, as he died at fifty-eight, his defection could not have been very long before his death. That the Book of Ecclesiastes was written by Solomon, and written late in life, is evident on the very face of it; and it furnishes abundant proof of his ultimate repentance and restoration. This book is mainly a record of his thoughts and opinions at different periods, — of the workings of his great mind and heart in the varied circumstances of life, and more especially during the melancholy period of his defection. And it comes out nobly at the close; showing that Solomon had learned, in conclusion of the whole matter, that "to fear God, and keep his commandments, is the whole duty of man."

Although Solomon had so many wives, the Scriptures make mention of but three children, — one son and two daughters (1 Kings iv. 11, 15). He died, as I have said, at the age of fifty-eight, having reigned forty years; and was buried near his father, in the city of David.

The life of Solomon is full of instruction for us; but I shall be able to touch on only a few of the more important lessons, and that in the briefest manner: —

1. We learn the danger of loving and pursuing the world. This was that which overcame Solomon. As a philosopher, he was in search of the *summum bonum*, the chief good of man. Did it consist in worldly gratification? He had every means of gratification in his power; and he resolved to plunge into it, and make the experiment. He did so; and the experiment well-nigh ruined him. He came out of it, often repeating the exclamation, "Vanity of vanities; all is vanity. I found all to be vanity, and vexation of spirit."

2. We see that at no period of life, and under no circumstances, so long as probation lasts, are we out of danger. One would have

thought that Solomon in his old age, and surrounded with so many inducements to persevere, could hardly be in any danger of falling. And yet he did fall. He fell foully and shamefully, though we think not finally. Let those in years, as well as in youth, learn a lesson from him: "Let him that *thinketh* he standeth take heed lest he fall."

3. We have here a lesson which has been hinted at on a former occasion, but which may well be thought of again. We learn how God will be likely to treat his own servants when they fall into sin. He will "visit their iniquities with a rod, and their transgression with stripes." The ungodly he may leave to wander on and perish; but his own children, with whom he is in covenant, and whom he is bound to reclaim and to save, he will be likely to correct in faithfulness. So he did to Solomon; so he will do in every other case.

4. Let those who have wandered away from God do as Solomon did, — review their past lives, repent of their sins, and learn, with the wise king of Israel, that to "fear God, and keep his commandments, is the whole duty of man."

CHAPTER XXVIII.

KINGS OF JUDAH AND ISRAEL.

WHEN Solomon was dead, Rehoboam, his son, went to Shechem, in Mount Ephraim, where the elders of the people were assembled to make him king; but as the nation had been burthened with heavy exactions during some part of his father's reign, — for, with his great works and luxurious living, how could it be otherwise? — before they would consent to crown his son, they desired a redress of grievances. His father's wise counsellors advised Rehoboam to satisfy them in this respect; but influenced by his boon companions, and carried headlong by his own stupidity and folly, he refused. He even threatened them with increased impositions; and this so disgusted the people, that they threw off their allegiance, and declared for another king. When Rehoboam understood what was done, he sent Adoram, his collector, to appease them; but the pacification came too late. They were so exasperated, that they fell upon the collector, and stoned him to death; and Rehoboam was obliged to consult his own safety by fleeing to Jerusalem. He thus secured to himself the two tribes of Judah and Benjamin; while the other ten tribes — occupying the greater and more fertile part of the country — seceded, and constituted Jeroboam, the son of Nebat, their king. Thus was this great and goodly kingdom split into two parts, and continued separate unto the time of its dissolution.

Rehoboam was forty-one years old when he began to reign; and consequently was born one year before David's death. His mother's name was Naamah, an Ammonitess. To revenge the insult put upon him, he collected a vast army, with the intent to make war upon Jeroboam; but, at the instance of the prophet Shemaiah, he changed his purpose, disbanded his army, and proceeded to garrison and fortify his dominions.

In the mean time, Jeroboam was not idle. He enlarged, beauti-

fied, and fortified Shechem, and made it his capital. He sometimes dwelt at Penuel, on the other side Jordan, that he might secure the affections of the tribes which resided there. He had more solicitude about the religion of his people than any thing else; foreseeing, that, if they went up to Jerusalem to worship at the temple, they would inevitably return to the house of David. Consequently, he resolved on a bold innovation. He set up two golden calves, with their altars, after the manner of Egypt, — placing one of them at Bethel, and the other at Dan; and, as the regular priests would not patronize his idolatries, he banished them from his kingdom, seized their estates, and created priests from the lowest of the people. In consequence of these hard measures, the priests and Levites generally went over to Rehoboam's party, and were followed by as many of the people as had any true regard for the God of Israel. God sent his prophets to Jeroboam to reprove him; but neither warnings nor miracles nor inflicted judgments had any good effect. He persisted in his idolatrous practices, and bequeathed them to his successors for many generations.*

Nor was Rehoboam, king of Judah, much better. For two or three years, he kept up the worship of God at Jerusalem; after which he and many of his people relapsed into the idolatries and filthy practices of the heathen. They set up groves and images upon every high hill and under every green tree, and perpetrated the same abominations for which the original Canaanites had been destroyed. Under all these provocations, God sent against them Shishak, king of Egypt. He came up with a powerful army, ravaged the country, took most of the fortified places, entered Jerusalem, plundered the temple and the palace, and carried away the shields of gold which King Solomon had made. So soon were the vast treasures of Solomon dispersed, and his son and successor was left in poverty and infamy!

The recent discoveries in Egypt afford a striking confirmation of this part of the sacred history. The tomb of Shishak has been opened; and among the kings he had conquered is distinctly mentioned the king of the Jews.†

After Shishak's invasion, Rehoboam reigned twelve years (sev-

* It is generally supposed that Jeroboam, like the worshippers of the calves in the wilderness, did not mean to forsake the worship of the God of Israel, but only to worship him through the medium of images; thus breaking the second commandment rather than the first (compare Exod. xxxii. 4 with 1 Kings xii. 28).

† See Rawlinson's Evidences, p. 109.

enteen in all), and died at fifty-eight,—the same age with his father. He was a prince of small abilities, and a bad disposition. He seems to have been a spoiled child from his youth. It is to be presumed that Solomon entertained no high hopes respecting him; for he says in a tone of deep despondency, “I hated all my labor which I had taken under the sun, because I was to leave it to a man that should come after me; and who knoweth whether he shall be a wise man or a fool?” (Eccles. ii. 18, 19.)

We are told that there was war between Rehoboam and Jeroboam all their days. This seems to have been a border, guerilla warfare, as they came to no one pitched battle. Rehoboam left many children, but appointed Abijam, the eldest son, to succeed him on the throne.

Abijam may have been forty years old when he began to reign, and his reign continued only a part of three years. He was a brave, warlike prince; and, wishing to put an end to the long quarrel between the kingdoms of Judah and Israel, he got together an army of four hundred thousand men to fight against Jeroboam; and, notwithstanding Jeroboam’s army was twice as large, Abijam resolved to give him battle. But first he made a long and eloquent appeal to the army of Jeroboam, which is recorded in 2 Chron. xiii. 5–12. In this contest, Abijam was victorious; and Jeroboam lost no less than five hundred thousand of his men,—a terrible slaughter, from the effects of which he never recovered.

Abijam was succeeded by his son Asa, who may have been twenty years old when he began to reign, and whose reign continued forty-one years. There is some confusion as to the mothers of Abijam and of Asa. In Kings, Abijam’s mother is said to have been Maachah, the daughter of Abishalom; but in Chronicles she is called the daughter of Absalom.* Undoubtedly, Abishalom and Absalom were slightly different names of the same person. This Maachah is also called the mother of Asa. She was his grandmother.† In another passage, Abijam’s mother is said to have been the daughter of Uriel of Gibeah.‡ This daughter of Uriel must have been Abijam’s grandmother. In Scripture, grandparents are often spoken of as parents, and grandchildren as children.

Asa commenced his reign in the twentieth year of Jeroboam,

* Compare 1 Kings xv. 2 with 2 Chron. xi. 21, 22.

† 2 Chron. xv. 16.

‡ 2 Chron. xiii. 2.

king of Israel. For the first ten years, the kingdom of Judah was at peace, — a period which Asa wisely improved in reforming abuses, destroying idolatrous groves and images, and in bringing back his people to the service of the true God. He also fortified his frontier-towns, and trained and prepared a prodigious army to be in readiness in case of necessity. Nor was the necessity long in coming: for Zerah the Ethiopian, who reigned in South-western Arabia, invaded Judah with a vast army; but he was defeated by Asa with a much inferior force. Almost in the beginning of the battle, the Lord struck the Arabians with such a panic, that they fled, and trampled down each other. Asa pursued after them, took the spoil of their camp, carried away their cattle, smote their cities, and returned in triumph to Jerusalem.

Jeroboam was now dead: and so was his wicked son and successor, Nadab; for, when Nadab had reigned less than two years, Baasha, the captain of his forces, conspired against him and slew him, and reigned in his stead.

After his conquest of the Arabians, Asa had peace again five years; which interval he improved as he had a former one, — in promoting a reformation among his people. Because his mother (or rather grandmother) Maachah had been the patroness of idolatry, he removed her from being queen, destroyed her idols, burnt her grove, and threw the ashes into the Brook Kidron.

The blessings of Asa's reign brought over many from the kingdom of Israel into his dominions. To prevent further emigration, Baasha undertook to fortify Ramah, a border-town, so as to cut off all communication between his kingdom and that of Judah.* Understanding his policy, Asa sent messengers to Benhadad, king of Syria, that he might hire him to invade Baasha on the north, and thus divert him from his purpose at Ramah. The plan was successful: Baasha was constrained to depart from Ramah; and Asa came and carried away his materials into his own country.

But Asa sinned in this matter; and a prophet of God was sent to reprove him because he had put his trust in man, and not in the Lord. Nor did Asa receive the reproof with submission and thankfulness: on the contrary, he was fretted with it, and even put the prophet in chains.

From this time forward, King Asa became petulant and unhappy. He had a disease in his feet, — perhaps the gout, — which may

* Ramah was not more than six miles from Jerusalem.

account in part for his peevishness and ill-humor. He is remembered, however, as one of Judah's best and most prosperous kings.

While Asa reigned over Judah, Israel was cursed with no less than eight wicked kings; viz., Jeroboam, Nadab, Baasha, Elah, Zimri, Tibni, Omri, and Ahab. Jeroboam died about two years after the commencement of Asa's government. Nadab was assassinated by Baasha when he had reigned less than two years. In the twenty-sixth year of Asa, Baasha died,* and was succeeded by his son Elah, a vicious man, who, in the second year of his reign, was murdered by Zimri, one of his officers. Zimri reigned only seven days, when he was cut off by a military chief whose name was Omri. The Israelites were now about equally divided between Omri and Tibni; but Omri at length prevailed, and Tibni was slain.

Omri founded the city of Samaria, which was ever afterwards the capital of the kingdom. He compelled his people to worship the golden calves, and restrained them by severe statutes from going up to Jerusalem. These prohibitory laws were stigmatized by the prophet Micah as "the statutes of Omri" (Mic. vi. 16).

In the thirty-eighth year of Asa, Omri died, and was succeeded by his son Ahab. He was the most profligate and wicked of all the kings of Israel; for he not only continued the worship of the calves, but having married Jezebel, daughter of Ethbaal, king of Tyre, he brought back into Israel the worship of Baal.† He built a temple for Baal in the new city of Samaria, and set up an altar, and made a grove, where all sorts of impurities were practised. He was the first to set an example of persecution in Israel by slaying the prophets of the Lord.

To reprove him for his wickedness, God sent him Elijah the Tishbite, — one of the most renowned of the ancient prophets, — armed with miracles both of mercy and of judgment, who, when his work on earth was finished, was translated visibly to heaven. During the reign of Ahab, there was a drought and a famine in Israel of more than three years' continuance; which was finally removed at the intercession of Elijah.

* In 2 Chron. xvi. 1, it is said that Baasha was alive "in the six and thirtieth year of the reign of Asa;" but this evidently is a mistake of some transcriber. Baasha died ten years earlier, and seems to have engaged in the fortifying of Ramah in the last year of his life.

† Menander, the Tyrian historian, makes mention of Eithbals (Ethbaal) as king of Tyre at this very time; also of the drought in the time of Ahab. — See *Ruolinson's Evidences*, p. 111.

After this, Benhadad, the king of Syria, invaded Israel, and was twice beaten by the forces of Ahab ; but in a third conflict with the Syrians, undertaken in direct opposition to the warnings of heaven, Ahab was mortally wounded, and died.

I have said that Ahab came to the throne of Israel in the thirty-eighth year of Asa, king of Judah. Three years later, Asa died, and was succeeded by his son Jehoshaphat, who, in all acts of piety and religion, imitated, if not exceeded, the doings of his father. Jehoshaphat was thirty-five years old when he began to reign ; and he reigned twenty-five years in Jerusalem. He commenced his reign, not only by suppressing idolatry, with its kindred vices, but by taking measures for the better instruction of his people in the duties of religion. He sent priests and Levites into all the cities to read and expound the law of God. In consequence of his fidelity, God blessed Jehoshaphat with riches and honors. His people loved him, and his enemies submitted themselves unto him, and gave gifts. The great fault of his administration was, that he married his son and successor, Jehoram, to Athaliah, a daughter of Ahab and Jezebel. This alliance was offensive to God, and it involved him and his family in many troubles. Jehoshaphat was present with Ahab at Ramoth-gilead when the latter was slain, and with difficulty escaped from the field.

After this, the Moabites and Ammonites, with a numerous band of auxiliaries, invaded his kingdom ; but he proclaimed a fast, sought help from God, and received a promise of victory without his striking a blow. And the promise was remarkably fulfilled ; for, when Jehoshaphat and his army approached the camp of his enemies, he found them all dead. The mixed multitude had quarrelled among themselves, and had utterly destroyed one another ; so that nought remained to Jehoshaphat and his people but to carry away the spoil.

Jehoshaphat, like Solomon, engaged in commerce from the ports of Eloth and Ezion-geber, on the Red Sea. In his first attempt he was unsuccessful, on account of his partnership with Ahab ; but afterwards, when freed from this damaging alliance, he had better success. On the whole, Jehoshaphat was a good king. He was greatly honored and respected while he lived, and deeply lamented at his death. He was succeeded by his son Jehoram.

In the seventeenth year of the reign of Jehoshaphat, Ahab was slain, as before related, and was succeeded by his wicked son Ahaziah. His reign was inglorious and short, having lasted scarcely

two years. He died in consequence of a fall from a lattice* in his house; and was succeeded by Jehoram, another son of Ahab. Jehoram commenced his reign in the eighteenth year of Jehoshaphat, and continued it twelve years. He reformed some of the abuses which his father and brother had encouraged. He put an end, for a time, to the worship of Baal, but persisted in the worship of the calves. It was during his reign that the prophet Elisha made his appearance in Israel. He came in the spirit and power of Elijah, and, like him, performed many miracles. Jehoram engaged in war with the Moabites, and had the address to make Jehoshaphat and the king of Edom his confederates. As the three kings, with their armies, were crossing the desert to attack the Moabites, they found no water, and were on the point of perishing with thirst; but, in answer to the prayer of Elisha, an abundant supply of water was furnished, and a victory was gained.

At a later period in the reign of Jehoram, the land of Israel was distressed with repeated invasions from the king of Syria. At one time, Samaria was besieged until "an ass's head was sold for four-score pieces of silver, and the fourth part of a cab of dove's dung for five pieces of silver;" until famished mothers were constrained to cook and eat their own children. But by a miraculous interposition, according to the word of Elisha, the siege was suddenly raised; the affrighted Syrians fled; and from the spoils of their camp the starved city was abundantly supplied.

In the seventh year of Jehoram, good Jehoshaphat died, and was succeeded, as I said, by his son Jehoram: so that there were now two Jehorams reigning together, — one over the kingdom of Judah, and the other over Israel. One of them was a son, and the other a son-in-law, of the infamous Jezebel; and both walked in the steps of that guilty corrupter of God's people. Jehoram of Judah began his reign by destroying all his brothers, the sons of Jehoshaphat, and with them many of the chief rulers of the kingdom. He received one of the most remarkable warnings of which we have any account in the Bible, — a letter of reproof and denunciation from Elijah the prophet, who, several years before, had been translated from earth to heaven. Whether the letter was sent directly from heaven, or whether the old prophet, foreseeing what was to take place after the death of Jehoshaphat, prepared the letter, and left it behind him to be delivered when the occasion for it should occur, I pretend not to say. It had no good effect, how-

* A window constructed with cross-bars or sashes.

ever, upon the guilty Jehoram. He persisted in his wicked courses, and was visited with crushing judgments. His tributaries revolted from him; the Philistines and Arabians invaded his territories, and carried away his wives and children; and, to crown all, he was seized with an incurable disease of the bowels, under which he sank, after an inglorious reign of eight years.

There is some confusion as to the time when this Jehoram of Judah commenced his reign. In 2 Kings i. 17, it is said that Jehoram of Israel began to reign in the second year of Jehoram, the son of Jehoshaphat, king of Judah; but in 2 Kings iii. 1 it is said that Jehoram of Israel began to reign in the eighteenth year of Jehoshaphat, — six or seven years before Jehoshaphat's death. The solution is, that Jehoshaphat not only appointed his son Jehoram to be his successor, but made him the partner of his throne several years before his death. He reigned alone seven or eight years after the death of his father.

Jehoram of Judah was succeeded by his youngest son, Ahaziah, — or Jehoahas, as he is called in 2 Chron. xxi. 17, — the only one of his sons who escaped the ravages of the Philistines and Arabians. He was the son of Athaliah, the wicked daughter of Ahab and Jezebel; and, being entirely under his mother's influence, his short reign was one of idolatry and sin. He ascended the throne at the age of twenty-two, and died in less than two years.* Both he and his uncle, Jehoram of Israel, were slain on the same day by Jehu, the son of Nimshi.

The death of these two kings was on this wise: In his wars with the Syrians, Jehoram, assisted by Ahaziah, had laid siege to Ramoth-gilead, which he claimed as belonging to himself. Here he was wounded, and retired to his palace in Jezreel to be healed of his wounds; leaving his army, under the command of Jehu, to carry on the siege. Meanwhile Ahaziah left Ramoth-gilead, and came to Jezreel to visit Jehoram. While the kings were absent from Ramoth, Elisha commissions one of the prophets to go there, and anoint Jehu to be king over Israel. He goes in the most quiet way possible, and executes his commission. But no sooner is it known that Jehu has been anointed than the army arises at once, and proclaims him king: whereupon, being surrounded by a

* In 2 Chron. xxii. 2 he is said to have been forty-two years old when he began to reign; but this is manifestly an error of some transcriber. It would make him older than his father. Athaliah, too, is called the daughter of Omri (2 Chron. xxii. 2): she was his grand-daughter.

company of valiant men, Jehu rides post-haste from Ramoth to Jezreel, kills both Jehoram and Ahaziah, and causes the death of old Jezebel herself. Next he writes letters to Samaria, about twenty miles distant, and orders that the heads of seventy of the royal family of the house of Ahab should be brought to him. He then slew all that remained of this wicked family in Jezreel, with their great men, their kinsfolk, and their idolatrous priests, until he left none remaining. Jehu now gets into his chariot to go to Samaria. On his way he meets more than forty of the royal house of Judah, all of them connected with the family of Ahab, going up to Samaria to visit their cousins. These, too, he destroys, and then presses on to the capital, where he kills all that remains of Ahab, according to the word of the prophet Elijah. Next, under pretence of a great idolatrous festival, he draws together all the priests and the worshippers of Baal to Samaria; and, while they were practising their heathen rites, he fell upon them, and destroyed them. And thus was the worship of Baal, which Ahab and Jezebel had done so much to promote, effectually put down in Israel, to be revived no more.

Jehu was now established on the throne of Israel, where he reigned during the next twenty-eight years. Though he commenced with a fiery zeal against idolatry, he did not carry the reformation consistently through. He continued the worship of the golden calves, and bequeathed the same to his successors.

When it was known at Jerusalem what Jehu had done, Athaliah, the queen-mother, who still survived, undertook to destroy all that remained of the seed royal of David, and take the government into her own hands; and she well-nigh succeeded in her diabolical purpose. No one but Joash, an infant son of the late king, was left. He was secreted by an aunt, the wife of Jehoiada the high priest, and was kept concealed in the temple for the next six years. During all this period, Athaliah reigned over the land, and idolatry triumphed.

But, when Joash was seven years old, his uncle Jehoiada, after having taken all necessary precautions, brought him out into the court of the temple, where he anointed him, crowned him, and proclaimed him king. Athaliah, hearing the shouts of the people, ran towards the temple, crying "Treason, treason!" But the guards of the young king instantly fell upon her, and slew her with the sword.

Joash was now acknowledged king of Judah, over which he

reigned forty years. During the first half of his reign, while Jehoiada, his great patron and instructor, lived, he governed faithfully and well. He took much pains in repairing the house of the Lord, which, since the death of Jehoshaphat, had been neglected.* He labored, also, to reclaim the people from idolatry, and establish them in the service and worship of God; and, happily, Jehoiada lived to the age of one hundred and thirty. But, when he was dead, Joash fell under the influence of bad advisers, who led him to tolerate and even countenance idolatry; and, though the prophets were sent to reprove him, he grew no better: he was angry with them, and persecuted them. He was so angry with Zechariah, a son of his old friend Jehoiada, for reproving him, that he took his life: wherefore God visited him, as he was wont to do in like cases, with distressing judgments. He sent against him, year after year, the king of Syria, who, on one occasion, entered and pillaged Jerusalem. He also afflicted him with a complication of diseases. At length, two of his servants conspired against him, and took his life.

In the twenty-first year of the reign of Joash, Jehu, the king of Israel, died. He was succeeded by his son Jehoahaz, who continued the worship of the calves, as his father had done. He reigned seventeen years, and was succeeded by his son Joash. This was in the thirty-eighth year of Joash, king of Judah; so that, for the next two years, the kings of Judah and Israel again bore the same name.

The successor of Joash, king of Judah, was Amaziah, who came to the throne at the mature age of twenty-five. For a time, he governed his people well, and was prospered. He made war upon the Edomites, who had revolted from Judah, and triumphed over them. He slew ten thousand of them in the Valley of Salt, and pursued the remainder to Selah (now Petra), their capital city. He took the city, and destroyed another ten thousand there; but, strange to tell, on his return from the slaughter of the Edomites, Amaziah brought back their idols with him, and set them up at Jerusalem, and worshipped them. For this he was sternly

* It is said in 2 Kings xii. 13, that, of the money contributed to repair the house of the Lord, no vessels were made for the service of the house; but in 2 Chron. xxiv. 14 it is said that such vessels *were made* of the money that remained after the repairs were finished. But here, obviously, is no contradiction. No vessels were made until the repairs were finished, as stated in Kings; but when *they were finished*, and a surplus of money was found to be left, it was concluded to make of it vessels of silver and gold.

reproved by the prophets, but in vain: consequently, he was visited with heavy judgments, and died in disgrace. He provoked a war with Joash, king of Israel, in which he was beaten, taken captive, and brought a prisoner to Jerusalem. The temple was pillaged; the wall of the city was broken down; a tax was levied on the people; and hostages were taken to secure the payment of it. After this shameful defeat, Amaziah lived several years; but, persisting in his idolatry, the affairs of the kingdom waxed worse and worse. At length, his subjects became so tired of him, that they pursued him to Lachish, and there slew him. His entire reign was twenty-nine years.

Joash, king of Israel, began to reign two years previous to the death of Amaziah. In the first part of his reign, the prophet Elisha fell sick and died. Joash visited him in his sickness, wept over him, and received his blessing: yea, more than this; Elisha encouraged him to make war upon the Syrians, and promised him three successive victories. And all this was gloriously fulfilled; * for in three pitched battles he triumphed over the king of Syria, and recovered the cities which had before been taken from Israel. Of his success against Amaziah I have already spoken. He reigned sixteen years, and was succeeded by his son, Jeroboam II.

Encouraged by the prophet Jonah, Jeroboam engaged successfully in several military expeditions. He enlarged the border of his dominions north and east, till they were as extensive almost as in the days of David and Solomon. He was one of the greatest of the kings of Israel, and died in great honor after a reign of forty-one years.

Amaziah of Judah died in the fifteenth year of the reign of Jeroboam, and was succeeded by his son Azariah, sometimes called Uzziah. He was only four years old at the death of his father, and did not come to the throne until the age of sixteen,—after an interregnum of twelve years. He reigned in all fifty-two years. It may be said of him, as of his father, that, in the first part of his reign, he governed his people well, and was prospered. He had a mighty army, with which he triumphed over the Philistines, the Arabians, and the Ammonites. He repaired the walls of Jerusalem, fortified them with towers, and was the first inventor of engines with which to hurl darts and stones. Such weapons had never been known or used before in the wars of the East. He was also a lover of agriculture, and did much to encourage and

* Elisha prophesied about sixty years.

improve it among his people. But, like thousands of others, his prosperity ruined him. Contrary to the law of Moses, he madly intruded himself into the priests' office, and took it upon him to offer incense. For this offence he was smitten with leprosy, and continued a leper to the day of his death. This disastrous event took place in the thirty-third year of his reign; after which he was obliged to live, like other lepers, in a separate house; while the government was administered by his brave son, Jotham.

In the period of which we are speaking, several of the prophets whose writings have come down to us commenced their ministry. The first of these were Jonah and Hosea, who prophesied chiefly in the kingdom of Israel. Following them were Joel, Amos, Obadiah, and Isaiah. Isaiah commenced his prophesy in the reign of Azariah, and continued it down to the time of Hezekiah.

Jeroboam II. lived until the twenty-sixth year of the reign of Azariah; but his son Zachariah did not come to the throne until the thirty-eighth of Azariah: consequently, there was an interregnum of twelve years (2 Kings xv. 8). And, when Zachariah came to the throne, he held it only six months, when he was murdered by Shallum, a usurper; and thus was fulfilled the divine promise to Jehu, that his sons should sit upon his throne to the fourth generation (2 Kings x. 30).

From this point we shall drop, for the present, the history of the kings of Judah, and follow out that of the ten tribes until the overthrow of their kingdom.

Shallum, the murderer of Zachariah, reigned but one month; when he was put to death by Menahem, one of his generals. Menahem was a man of blood; but by the help of Pul, king of Assyria, whose favor he had purchased, he was enabled to hold the government ten years. This Pul is the first of the kings of Assyria whose name occurs in the Old Testament. He reigned at Nineveh, and may have been the king to whom Jonah preached.

Menahem was succeeded by his son Pekahiah, who was murdered, after two years, by Pekah, the son of Remaliah. Pekahiah died the same year with Azariah, king of Judah.

Pekah, the son of Remaliah, reigned over Israel twenty-one years, but not without great trouble and perplexity. In repeated instances, Tiglath-pileser, king of Assyria, invaded his land, took his cities, ravaged the country, and carried many of his people into captivity. At length, as Pekah had murdered his master, Hoshea, the son of Elah, murdered him.

He died in the fourth year of the reign of Ahaz, or in the twentieth from the accession of Jotham, the father of Ahaz (2 Kings xv. 30); but it was not until the twelfth year of Ahaz that Hoshea began to reign (2 Kings xvii. 1): consequently, there must have been an interregnum here of eight or nine years.

These were times of great confusion and distress in Israel, owing to the repeated invasions of the king of Assyria. Encouraged by him, Ahaz seems to have interfered with the affairs of Israel, and set up a pretence to be their king. He is called in one place the King of Israel (2 Chron. xxviii. 19). But at length, in the twelfth year of Ahaz, Hoshea, the murderer of Pekah, was called to the throne, which he held for the next nine years. He was the last of the kings of Israel.

In the second year of his reign, Shalmaneser, king of Assyria, invaded his country, and laid him under tribute. For several years, Hoshea paid the tribute-money; but becoming, at length, tired of it, he entered into a confederacy with So, otherwise called Sabacon, king of Egypt, and withheld his tribute from the king of Assyria. Upon this, Shalmaneser came against him with a great army, ravaged the country, besieged Samaria, and after three years took it. He put Hoshea in chains, and shut him up in prison to the day of his death. He carried the great body of the Israelites into captivity, and placed them in the northern part of Assyria, in the cities of the Medes. As the same time, he brought a mixed multitude of people from the different provinces of his empire, and planted them in the cities of Israel; and from these foreigners, mixed up with some straggling Israelites who remained in the land, descended *the Samaritans*, of whom we hear so much in the subsequent history of the Jews. No wonder the Jews would not acknowledge them as the veritable seed of Abraham, and that an interminable prejudice existed between the two nations.

When the kingdom of Israel was overthrown by Shalmaneser, it had been in existence about two hundred and fifty-six years: it commenced with Jeroboam, the son of Nebat, and ended with Hoshea, the son of Elah.

CHAPTER XXIX.

KINGS OF JUDAH AND ISRAEL.—CONCLUDED.

IN the last chapter, I brought down the history of the kings of Judah to the death of Azariah, and of the kings of Israel to the carrying-away of the ten tribes by Shalmaneser. Fifty years later, Esarhaddon, the grandson of Shalmaneser, came into the land of Israel, and carried away a great multitude,—nearly all that remained of the former captivity. These captives, like those which preceded them, were settled in the cities of the Medes, and their places were supplied by colonists from those regions. These being joined by a few of the Israelites, and being instructed somewhat in the Israelitish worship, constituted what were known as *the Samaritans* in subsequent ages. They were not pure Israelites, though they adopted, to some extent, the religion of Israel. There was a bitter hostility between them and the Jews, which continued till the coming of Christ.

Leaving now the ten tribes in their remote exile, and leaving their land in the possession of these mongrel Samaritans, we turn to contemplate further the history of the kings of Judah.

Jotham, who, on account of his father's leprosy, administered the government for him several years before his death, came to the throne in the second year of Pekah, son of Remaliah. He was now twenty-five years of age, and he reigned alone sixteen years. He was an excellent prince, distinguished alike for his piety, his justice, and his strict regard for the best interests of his people. He made it his business to correct disorders and reform abuses; and he would have accomplished much more than he did, but for the perverseness of some of his people. He repaired the walls of the city and the temple, and did much to strengthen and fortify his kingdom. He subdued the Moabites who had revolted from Judah, and brought them again under tribute. He died in peace at the age of forty-one, and was buried in the sepulchre of the kings.

He was succeeded by Ahaz, his son, who came to the throne at the age of twenty, and possessed it sixteen years. He was a wicked king, regardless alike of God and of the welfare of his people. He not only worshipped the golden calves, but made molten images of the gods of the heathen round about, and caused his sons to pass through the fire to Moloch. For these offences he was terribly chastised by the confederate armies of Rezin, king of Syria; and of Pekah, the king of Israel. They vanquished his army, with the loss of a hundred and twenty thousand men, plundered his cities, captured Jerusalem, and slew many of his princes. They carried away two hundred thousand captives, whom they intended to have sold for slaves; but, moved by the remonstrances of the prophet Oded, they released them, and sent them back to their own land. Next, the Edomites on the south of Judah, and the Philistines on the west, took possession of those parts that lay contiguous to them, and ravaged and plundered the other parts.

Distressed on every side, Ahaz now applied to Tiglath-pileser, king of Assyria, for help. He sent him large presents of gold and silver, and promised to be his servant in time to come if he would consent to help him against the kings of Syria and Israel. Accordingly, the king of Assyria marched against Rezin, king of Syria; slew him in battle; besieged and took his capital city, Damascus; carried the Syrians into captivity, and planted them in Upper Media. After this, he waged war upon Pekah, king of Israel; took from him all his possessions east of the Jordan; plundered Galilee; and then proceeded towards Jerusalem, hoping to squeeze some further tribute out of Ahaz, — which he did. He then went into winter-quarters at Damascus, where Ahaz met him to pay him homage as his vassal and tributary. Here Ahaz saw an altar, with which he was so much pleased, that he sent a model of it to Jerusalem, with orders to the high priest to prepare one like it. This was accordingly done; and then the altar of the Lord was taken away to give place to the new heathen altar. At length, he caused the temple to be closed, and the worship of the God of Israel to be suppressed; devoting himself entirely to the worship of idols. But he was driven away in the midst of his wickedness, at the early age of thirty-six; and his good son Hezekiah reigned in his stead.

As Ahaz was but thirty-six years old when he died, and Hezekiah was twenty-five years old when he began to reign, it would seem that Ahaz was but eleven years old when this son was born; but this difficulty is removed by supposing, that, in the confusion and

distress of the times, two or three years may have elapsed between the death of Ahaz and the accession of Hezekiah. It was the custom of these kings to give their children in marriage at a very early period; and instances have been known in which persons have become parents at the age of from twelve to fifteen.

Hezekiah was one of the best of the kings of Judah. Immediately on his accession, he set about a thorough reformation of religion. He caused the doors of the temple to be opened; cast forth the new Syrian altar, and put the Lord's altar in its place; and, whatever other pollutions the sacred places had contracted, he caused to be purged away. He sanctified the priests, offered sacrifices according to the law, and appointed singers to praise the Lord in the words of David, and of Asaph the seer. He revived the Passover, and invited the people of Israel to unite with his own subjects in observing it. And so interested were they all in this solemn national festival, that they continued it fourteen days, — twice the usual appointed time. There had been no such Passover in Israel since the days of Solomon. At the close of the feast, those who had observed it went out together, and brake in pieces the images, cut down the groves, demolished the high places and altars of idol worship, and restored the worship of the true God in Israel. They even destroyed the brazen serpent which Moses had made in the wilderness, because it had been perverted to purposes of idolatry. And God, whom Hezekiah so diligently served, granted him unusual prosperity. He overcame the Philistines, and not only recovered from them the cities which his father had lost, but made great inroads upon their own territories.

It was in the early part of Hezekiah's reign that Shalmaneser besieged and took Samaria, and put an end to the Israelitish kingdom. When this was accomplished, the conqueror meditated an attack upon Jerusalem; but he was diverted from his purpose by an expedition against Tyre, where he died.

Not long after this, Hezekiah was visited with distressing sickness, and was warned by the prophet Isaiah to prepare for death. At the same time, he was threatened with an invasion by Sennacherib, the son of Shalmaneser, king of Assyria. In his distress, he cried unto the Lord; and his prayer was heard. Soon the prophet was sent again unto him to assure him of a recovery from sickness, and of a deliverance out of the hands of the Assyrians; and, in confirmation of the message, a stupendous miracle was wrought, — the sun went ten degrees backward upon the dial of Ahaz, on which it had gone down.

Upon Hezekiah's recovery, the king of Babylon sent messengers to congratulate him, and to inquire respecting the wonder which was done in the land. Hezekiah was flattered with the attention shown to him, received the messengers gladly, and showed them all the treasures of his house. For his pride and ostentation in this matter, he was reprov'd by Isaiah, and was told that the time was near when all his treasures should be carried to Babylon.

Meanwhile Sennacherib had invaded the land, and captured several of the cities of Judah. At length, he came and sat down before Lachish, intending, when that was taken, to attack Jerusalem itself. Hezekiah made every possible preparation for defence. He fortified the city; he enrolled and drilled his army; he entered into an alliance with the king of Egypt. This last measure proved of no advantage to him; and for it he was reprov'd and censured by the prophet. At length, he bought off the king of Assyria, and induced him to turn his hand against Egypt; but Sennacherib soon came back, re-invested Lachish, and sent three of his principal officers to demand the surrender of Jerusalem.* Hezekiah now brought the case more directly to God, and entreated the prophet Isaiah to intercede for him. He did so, and received for answer that Jerusalem was safe; that it was under the divine protection; that Sennacherib should not come near it, nor shoot an arrow against it.

Almost immediately upon this, Sennacherib received intelligence that his own dominions were invaded by Tirhakah, king of the Ethiopians. He was constrained, therefore, to leave Judæa, and march against them. When these troubles were disposed of, — as they soon were, — he hasted back into Judæa, resolved to destroy Jerusalem and all that were in it; but his bloody purpose was most remarkably defeated. An angel from God came down into his camp, and slew a hundred and eighty-five thousand of his men in a single night. Terrified at this dreadful slaughter, Sennacherib hastened back into his own country, where he was slain by two of his sons.

After this memorable deliverance, Hezekiah passed the remainder of his days in peace, revered by his own subjects, and feared and honored by the surrounding nations. He fortified Jerusalem in the strongest manner, brought a supply of pure water into it,

* Distinct accounts of these expeditions of Sennacherib, and of the siege of Lachish, have been recovered from the mounds near the Tigris, all going to confirm the sacred history. — See *Rawlinson's Evidences*, pp. 119, 120.

and did all in his power for the improvement and happiness of his people. He died in the fifty-fourth year of his age, and the twenty-ninth of his reign, and was buried in the most honorable of the sepulchres of the sons of David.

Manasseh, his son, was only twelve years old when he came to the throne; and, falling into the hands of wicked advisers and guardians, he became as pre-eminently corrupt and sinful as his father had been holy. He not only restored the high places, worshipped idols, and erected altars unto Baal, but he removed the ark of the covenant from its place in the sanctuary, and set up an idol in its stead. He practised enchantments, consulted those who had familiar spirits, and made his children pass through the fire to Moloch. Nor was he content to work these abominations alone; but, being naturally of a cruel temper, he raised a persecution against those who would not unite with him. The prophets who were sent to reprove him he treated with the utmost contempt and outrage, and filled Jerusalem, not only with idols, but with innocent blood. The venerable prophet Isaiah, the friend and counsellor of his father, he is said to have sawn asunder with a wooden saw.

But it was not long before the vengeance of God overtook him. Esarhaddon, the son and successor of Sennacherib, undertook to accomplish what his father had in vain attempted, — the subjugation of all Palestine to his sway. He first marched his army into the territory of the ten tribes, and carried away a multitude of Israelites, — the remains of the former captivity. He then sent his generals into Judæa, where they found and captured Manasseh, bound him with chains, and carried him a prisoner to Babylon. His prison and his chains here brought him to repentance. With deep sorrow and humiliation, he implored the divine pity and forgiveness; and God was pleased so to melt the heart of the king of Babylon, that he consented to restore him to his liberty and his kingdom.

Upon his return to Jerusalem, Manasseh redressed, so far as possible, the mischiefs which his former impiety had occasioned. He cleansed and purified the temple, destroyed the idols, restored the reformatations which his father had made, and obliged his people to worship and serve the Lord only. After this, he reigned in prosperity about twenty years. His whole reign was fifty-five years, — longer than that of any of the kings of Judah. He retained to the last a deep sense of his unworthiness, and was unwilling

on this account, as the Jews tell us, to be buried in the sepulchres of the kings. We have what purports to be his penitential prayer in one of the apocryphal books of the Old Testament.*

Manasseh was succeeded by his son Amon. He imitated the wickedness of the first part of his father's reign, but not the repentance of the latter part. He gave himself to all sorts of impiety. But his time was short. Two of his servants conspired against him, and slew him when he had reigned only two years. He died at the age of twenty-four.

His son Josiah was only eight years old at his father's death. He began early to seek the Lord, and was a prince of extraordinary goodness and piety. At the age of sixteen, he took upon himself the administration of the kingdom; and, beginning with the reformation of religion, he endeavored to purge it from all those corruptions which had been introduced in the preceding reign. He travelled through his kingdom, demolishing the altars, cutting down the groves, and breaking in pieces the molten images. He defiled Tophet, which was in the Valley of Hinnom; burned the chariots of the sun; and drove the Sodomites out of the land. He went beyond his own borders into the land of Israel, and destroyed the monuments of idolatrous worship there. He overthrew the altar of Jeroboam's calf at Bethel, where it had stood more than three hundred years.

Having purged the land, so far as possible, from idols, his next care was to repair and purify the temple. This work Josiah committed to Hilkiah, the high priest, who, while he was searching in every place, chanced to find *the book of the law of the Lord*. The probability is that he found the *original copy*, written by Moses, which had been deposited in the ark of the covenant with the tables of stone. The book was carried immediately to the king, who had never before seen a copy of the law, and was read before him. He was much affected in view of the great guilt which had been incurred, rent his clothes, and sent some of his principal officers to Huldah the prophetess to inquire of the Lord.

* This is a very humble and remarkable prayer, whether prepared by Manasseh or not: "My transgressions, O Lord! are multiplied, my transgressions are multiplied; and I am not worthy to behold and see the height of heaven for the multitude of mine iniquities. I am bowed down with many iron bands, that I cannot lift up my head; neither have I any release: for I have provoked thy wrath, and done evil before thee. I did not thy will, neither kept I thy commandments. I have set up abominations, and have multiplied offences. I have sinned, O Lord! and I acknowledge my iniquities. Wherefore, O Lord! forgive me, and destroy me not in my sins."

She returned answer, that the judgments threatened in the book of the law would ere long be executed ; but that, on account of the contrition of the king, they should not come in his day.

Josiah now called together the elders and people of the land, and had the book of the law publicly read to them ; when they all entered into a solemn covenant to observe and do according to its precepts. After this Josiah made another circuit of the land, that he might ferret out and destroy all the remains of idolatry ; and, when the season of the Passover came round, he kept it with more exactness and solemnity than had ever before been witnessed in Israel. In short, this excellent prince did all in his power to appease and avert the wrath of God ; but the doom of Judah had been pronounced, and could not be revoked.

In the thirty-first year of his reign, Pharaoh-nechoh, king of Egypt, desired to pass through some part of Judæa on his way to fight the king of Babylon ; but Josiah would not consent to this, and unwisely drew up his army in the Valley of Megiddo to oppose him. The two armies came to a battle, and Josiah was slain ; and great was the lamentation in Judah on account of him. Jeremiah the prophet prepared a funeral elegy on the occasion, which was long sung by the singers in Israel.

After the death of good Josiah, his son Jehoahaz (also named Shallum) was called to the kingdom ; but he reigned only three months. On the return of the king of Egypt from his war in the east, he deposed Jehoahaz, and sent him a prisoner into Egypt, where he died.

Jehoahaz had an elder brother, whose name was Eliakim. Him the king of Egypt took, changed his name to Jehoiakim, and placed him on the throne of Judah. He was a cruel, wicked prince, who strove to undo all that his pious father had established ; and, when reproved by Jeremiah and the other prophets, he was angry, and put some of them to death. In the fourth year of his reign, Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, captured Jerusalem, and took him prisoner ; but upon his humbling himself to the king of Babylon, and consenting to become his tributary and vassal, his throne and kingdom were restored to him. It was at this time that the first captives were taken from Jerusalem to Babylon ; among whom were Daniel and his three friends. This is reckoned as the commencement of the seventy-years' captivity.

Only three years after this, Jehoiakim rebelled against Nebuchadnezzar, and entered into a confederacy with the king of

Egypt: whereupon the Babylonians again invaded Judah, took Jehoiakim prisoner, and slew him with the sword. His lifeless body was cast out into the field, having none to bury it; thus fulfilling one of the prophecies of Jeremiah: "Thus saith the Lord of Jehoiakim, king of Judah, His dead body shall be cast out in the day to the heat, and in the night to the frost; and I will punish him and his seed for their iniquity" (Jer. xxxvi. 30).

After the death of Jehoiakim, his son Jehoiachin ascended the throne. He is also called Jeconiah, and sometimes Coniah. In the Chronicles, it is said that he was eight years old when he began to reign; but in the Kings, that he was eighteen.* Both may be true. The probability is that he shared the government with his father ten years; and that at the age of eighteen, when his father died, he began to reign alone. He continued in the government only three months and ten days; when he was taken prisoner by Nebuchadnezzar, and carried to Babylon. He was kept in prison until the death of Nebuchadnezzar; after which he was released; but he never returned to Jerusalem. In him was fulfilled another of the prophecies of Jeremiah: "I will give thee into the hand of them that seek thy life; and I will cast thee out into another country, and there shalt thou die" (Jer. xxii. 24-28). Many of the princes and principal inhabitants of Judah were carried into captivity at the same time with Jeconiah; among whom was the prophet Ezekiel.

Jerusalem and the temple were yet standing, and many of the poorer class of the people still remained in the land. Over these Nebuchadnezzar placed Zedekiah, a third son of Josiah, exacting of him at the same time a most solemn promise to be true and faithful to himself. This engagement Zedekiah fulfilled for several years; but in the eighth year of his reign he violated it, and entered into a confederacy with the king of Egypt. This brought Nebuchadnezzar again to Jerusalem with a great army, by which the city was closely besieged; and, after a time, taken and destroyed. When Zedekiah saw that his affairs were desperate, he endeavored to escape towards the wilderness; but he was soon discovered, brought back, and carried to Nebuchadnezzar to Riblah, where he gave judgment upon him. He first caused his children to be slain before his eyes; then his eyes were put out; and he was carried in chains to Babylon, to be a close prisoner to the end of life.

* Compare 2 Kings xxiv. 8 with 2 Chron. xxxvi. 9.

When Jerusalem had been taken, the officers of Nebuchadnezzar first gathered together all the wealth of the place, including the vessels of the house of the Lord: they then set fire to the city and temple; brake down the walls, the fortresses, and towers; and ceased not till they had made the place an utter desolation. Some of the more considerable of the people were put to death; and large numbers were carried away to Babylon to join their brethren who were already there.

Some of the poorer of the people — enough to till the ground and dress the vineyards — were left in Judæa; and Gedaliah, the son of Ahikam, was made their governor. With him Jeremiah chose to remain rather than go with the captives to Babylon. In a short time, Gedaliah was treacherously murdered by Ishmael, one of the seed royal, who thought to make himself king. In this, however, he did not succeed, and, fleeing for his life, took refuge with the Ammonites. Johanan, the son of Kareah, now took upon himself the office of governor; and, fearing the return of the Babylonians to revenge the death of Gedaliah, he resolved, in direct opposition to the word of the Lord by Jeremiah, to flee into Egypt. He did so, taking Jeremiah and many others of the people with him. It is supposed that Jeremiah died in Egypt.

About two years after the capture of Jerusalem, the Babylonians came and swept over the land of Israel again, carrying away the poor remains of the scattered people. This last company of exiles amounted, in all, to seven hundred and forty-five persons (Jer. lii. 30). Thus the Holy Land was left waste and desolate, to enjoy her sabbaths, according to the denunciations of the prophets, until the time of the captivity should be fulfilled.

As our chief authority in preparing the above account of the kings of Judah and Israel has been the sacred Books of Kings and Chronicles, it may be well to close the narrative with some remarks respecting these books.

The two Books of Kings formerly constituted but one book, and are closely connected with the Books of Samuel: indeed, the two Books of Samuel are called in the Vulgate the first and second Books of Kings; while our Books of Kings are the third and fourth. The present division and naming of the books are of modern date.

Our two Books of Kings may have received their names from the fact that they contain a history of the several kings of Judah and Israel; or more probably from the fact that the initial word

of the first book is מלכים *King*. Thus the Hebrew names of Genesis, of Ecclesiastes, and of some other books, come from the initial words.

Respecting the author or authors of the Books of Kings and Chronicles, there has been much difference of opinion. Some have thought them the work of the same author, and have ascribed the whole to Ezra; but I cannot be of this opinion. The Books of Chronicles are evidently *supplementary* to those of Kings, and were written at a later period. This consideration is against the supposition that they belong to the same author. If Ezra wrote the Kings, why should he long afterwards write the Chronicles, including much of the same matter, and often in the same words? Why not incorporate the whole in one book?

The most probable supposition in regard to these books is, that they were not originally composed by any one author, but were compiled by some inspired prophet or prophets from the authorized records of the kings of Judah and Israel. That such records were carefully kept, there can be no doubt: under each reign, an individual was appointed for this very purpose. Thus Jehoshaphat, the son of Ahilud, was David's recorder (2 Sam. viii. 16); and Joab, the son of Joahaz, was Josiah's recorder (2 Chron. xxxiv. 8). The records which these men kept were called *the Chronicles*—in Hebrew, the *day-books*, or *diaries*—of the Kings, and are continually referred to in our books as the sources from which the history was taken, and as containing more full accounts than it comported with the plan of the sacred writer to give. "Now, the rest of the acts of —, and all that he did, are they not written in the Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah?" or "of Israel?" By the Book of the Chronicles here referred to, we are not to understand *our* Books of Chronicles, but the registers which were daily made and carefully preserved in the recorder's office, or, as we should say, in the office of Secretary of State. From these registers, and others equally authentic, our sacred narrative was undoubtedly compiled; the Holy Spirit directing the writer just what to take and what to omit, and how to modify and correct the different statements, so that the completed work might be regarded as the inspired word of God.

Who the inspired compiler or compilers of the Books of Kings were, it is impossible now to say. There was a succession of inspired prophets, reaching all the way from David to Zedekiah,—such as Nathan and Gad and Iddo, and Elijah and Elisha and Jonah,

and Isaiah and Micah and Jeremiah, — either or all of whom may have been concerned in this matter. Jeremiah had Baruch for a scribe; and it is not unlikely that Baruch, under the direction of Jeremiah, may have finished the writings of the Kings, unless it be the last four verses of the second book. The whole may have been revised, and these last verses added, by Ezra, after the captivity.

Several passages may be quoted to show that the Books of the Kings — with the exception, perhaps, of some supplementary paragraphs — were written before the captivity. Thus it is said of the ark, after it was put by Solomon in the most holy place in the temple, “And there it is *unto this day*” (1 Kings viii. 8). But there it could not have been after the captivity, because the temple, the ark, and the holy place, were all demolished by Nebuchadnezzar. So the kingdom of the ten tribes is spoken of in the First Book of the Kings as subsisting *unto this day* (chap. xii. 19); but the kingdom of the ten tribes was extinct long previous to the captivity.

The Books of Chronicles were obviously written, or rather compiled, after the captivity; and were designed, as I said, to be *supplementary* to the Books of Kings. They sustain about the same relation to the Kings that the Gospel of John does to the other Gospels. They contain not a little which we find in the Kings, and often in nearly the same words; showing that the writers of both had access to and copied from the same original documents. Still the Chronicles omit much which we find in the Kings, and contain much that we do not find there. They are called in the Septuagint *παραλειπόμενα*, — things *left out* or *omitted*. There is no reason to doubt that these books were compiled by Ezra. The last two verses in the second Book of Chronicles, and the first two in Ezra, are the same.

Much has been said of *discrepancies* between the statements in the Kings and Chronicles. If by discrepancies are meant *differences* of statement, there undoubtedly are such. Why should the latter book have been written at all, if they were to contain the same as the former, and in the same words? But if by discrepancies are meant irreconcilable *contradictions*, I can only say that I have found none. There are a few errors of transcribers, more especially in regard to numbers, which require to be corrected; but, with the exception of these, *there are no contradictions*. I have noticed those in the foregoing pages which have been thought the most formidable, and find them easy of solution.

Among the things omitted in the Chronicles, which are found in the Books of Samuel and the Kings, are the following:—

1. A history of the reign of Ishbosheth, the son of Saul, and of all the kings of the ten tribes, after their secession under Jeroboam. In the Chronicles, we have only incidental references to these kings; while in Kings we have distinct accounts of them all. This makes quite a difference in the two histories from the time of Jeroboam to the captivity of the ten tribes.

2. The account of David's sin in the matter of Uriah is not in the Chronicles. Nor, —

3. Do we find in the Chronicles the disgraceful story of Amnon's treatment of his sister Tamar, and of his consequent death at the hand of Absalom. Nor, —

4. Do the Chronicles inform us of Absalom's rebellion, defeat, and death.

5. The Chronicles have nought to say of the hanging of the seven sons and grandsons of Saul to appease the Gibeonites and avert the severity of famine (2 Sam. xxi.).

6. David's psalm of thanksgiving, after having vanquished all his enemies, is not in the Chronicles (2 Sam. xxii.).

7. We have no account in Chronicles of Adonijah's conspiracy and death; neither of the death of Joab. Nor, —

8. Have we any account in Chronicles of Solomon's defection in his old age, and of the consequent denunciations pronounced upon him.

9. As we have no distinct history in the Chronicles of any of the kings of Israel, we hear nothing there of Ahab and his descendants, and of the intercourse of Elijah and Elisha with that wicked race of kings. The numerous miracles of Elijah and Elisha; the story of the drought, the famine, and of Elijah's successful intercession for rain; the miracles of both these men in raising the dead, with the narrative of Elijah's translation to heaven,—all this, and much more in regard to these prophets, is omitted by the writer of the Chronicles. It had been circumstantially narrated in the Kings; and why should the pen of inspiration record it again?

But as there is much valuable instruction in the Books of Samuel and the Kings which we do not find in Chronicles, so there is as much and equally valuable in the Chronicles which we do not find in the other books.

1. There are the genealogical tables, reaching from Adam to the

time of Ezra, and some of them even later, recorded in the first nine chapters of the First Book of the Chronicles.

2. The number and names of David's mighty men; also the numbers, from the different tribes of Israel, who came to David to Hebron to make him king (1 Chron. xi., xii.).

3. The story of Hiram's kindness to David in sending him materials and artificers from Tyre to build him a house (1 Chron. xiv. 1, 2).

4. The number and names of the Levites who assisted David in bringing up the ark; also the song of praise which was sung on that occasion (1 Chron. xv., xvi.).

5. No account of the great preparation which David made in the latter part of his life for the building of the temple occurs in Samuel or the Kings (See 1 Chron. xxii., xxviii., xxix.). Neither, —

6. Do we find in these books any account of David's appointing the courses of the Levites, the priests, the singers, the porters, and the captains, such as is given in the Chronicles (1 Chron. xxiii.—xxvii.).

7. David's charge to Solomon and the princes concerning the temple and other matters is much more full in the Chronicles than in the Kings.

8. In the Kings, we have no account of Abijam's speech to Jeroboam and his army, and of the great victory which he gained over them (2 Chron. xiii.). Neither, —

9. Have we in the Kings any account of Manasseh's repentance, and of his restoration to his throne and kingdom. Of this most remarkable display of the power and grace of God in the recovery of a flagrant and hardened transgressor, we should never have heard but for the writer of the Chronicles.

On the whole, we have much reason to be thankful for these Books of Chronicles. Instead of raising cavils and objections concerning them, and thus endeavoring to disparage their authority and bring them into contempt, we should rather bless God for them, diligently study them, and gather up lessons of heavenly wisdom from them. Like all other Scripture, when properly used, these books are profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness.

The *general* design of the writer and of the Holy Spirit in giving us these books was to instruct and benefit the Church of God in all coming time. The more *specific* design of the writer was to benefit the afflicted Church of God in his own time. He wished

to encourage the returned exiles from Babylon in building the new temple by setting before them the high examples of David and of Solomon. By showing them how much their former princes contributed for the old temple, he wished to stir up the princes and people around him to a corresponding liberality. He wished also to instruct the priests and Levites in their appropriate duties by pointing them to the manner in which the orders of God's house had been observed in other days. And, finally, as there was danger, in the confusion and distress of the times, that the genealogies of the people might be broken and lost, it seemed good to the writer of these Books of Chronicles, and to the Holy Ghost who inspired him, to give a new and abbreviated edition of these genealogies, that so the line of them might be preserved to the coming of Christ, that he might be known to be — what it had been predicted he should be — *the Son of David*.

CHAPTER XXX.

THE JEWS UNDER THE BABYLONIANS.

IN our last chapter, we brought down the history of God's ancient covenant people to the time of their captivity. The ten tribes were carried into captivity by the kings of Assyria: first by Tiglath-pileser in the reign of Pekah; secondly by Shalmaneser, who took Samaria, and put an end to the Israelitish kingdom; and thirdly by Esarhaddon, who some fifty years later swept over the country of the ten tribes again, and carried away the last remains of the Israelites. It was at this time that Manasseh, king of Judah, was taken prisoner by Esarhaddon, and carried to Babylon, where he repented, and was restored to his kingdom.

Some seventy years after this, Jerusalem was taken by Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon; the city and temple were destroyed; the Judæan monarchy was subverted; and great multitudes of the Jews were carried away to Babylon. Since the kingdoms of Judah and Israel were overthrown by the monarchs of Assyria and Babylon, it may be well to preface the following narrative with a brief account — the briefest possible — of these two great nations.

Babylon was founded by Nimrod, a son of Ham, about a hundred and ten years after the Flood. At the same time, or near it, Nineveh, the capital of Assyria, was founded by Ashur, a son of Shem (see Gen. x. 10, 11). Assyria derived its name from Ashur; and Nineveh, from his son and successor Ninus. Babylon was situated on the Euphrates, in north latitude 32° ; and Nineveh on the Tigris, about four degrees farther north.

Ninus, the first king of Nineveh after its founder, was an aspiring, ambitious man. He began a war of conquest, and was "the first," says Shuckford, "to break the peace of the world." He conquered the Babylonians, and annexed their city and territory to his empire. He was succeeded by his more ambitious wife, Semiramis, who removed the seat of empire from Ninéveh to Babylon, and did

much to adorn and strengthen this latter city. She was succeeded by her son Ninyas, who seems to have been a quiet, luxurious prince, who labored to improve his kingdom rather than to enlarge it, and who cultivated the arts of peace.

After the death of Ninyas, the Assyrians are scarcely mentioned in history for a long period. We hear almost nothing of them or their rulers, except in an incidental way, for the next twelve hundred years. Among the kings who invaded Sodom, and whom Abraham conquered, were "Amraphel, king of Shinar," the very country in which Babylon was situated, and "Chedorlaomer, king of Elam," or Persia, which lay beyond the Tigris (Gen. xiv. 1). Perhaps one of these may have been, under another name, the king of Assyria. Mention is made of Assur, or Assyria, in the prophecy of Balaam, who was a native of that country (Num. xxiv. 22-24). Among the things which Achan hid in his tent in the time of Joshua was a "goodly Babylonish garment," which shows that Babylon was then a city of some importance (Josh. vii. 21). Assur is spoken of in the Psalms as among the confederates against Israel; probably in the war with Hadarezer, king of Zobah, when David extended his conquests to the Euphrates (see Ps. lxxxiii. 8; 1 Chron. xviii. 3).

From incidental motives such as these, we infer that the kingdom of the Assyrians, or Chaldæans, existed all along from the days of Nimrod and Assur to the time of the Persian conquest, though during the earlier part of this long period it could not have been of very great extent. It is earnestly hoped that the excavations at Nineveh and Babylon may throw further light on the history of this ancient people.

The prophet Jonah, who may have been contemporary, or nearly so, with Elisha, was sent of God to Nineveh to announce its destruction (see 2 Kings xiv. 25). Nineveh was at this time "an exceeding great city, of three days' journey," — an indication that it had been favored with great prosperity.

Not long after this, during the reign of Menahem, king of Israel, "Pul, the king of Assyria, came into the land; and Menahem gave him a thousand talents of silver, that his hand might be with him to confirm the kingdom in his hand. And Menahem exacted the money of Israel to give to the king of Assyria: so the king of Assyria turned back, and staid not there in the land" (2 Kings xv. 19, 20). This was the first king of Assyria who invaded Israel, and may have been the king of Nineveh who repented at the preaching of Jonah.

The Assyrian Empire was at this time one ; but it was ere long divided. Sardanapalus, the reigning king, was an effeminate prince, so much so as to inspire the contempt of his subjects : wherefore two of his principal officers, Arbaces the governor of Media, and Belesis governor of Babylon, conspired against him, overcame him, and divided his kingdom between themselves ; the former reigning at Nineveh, and the latter at Babylon. Arbaces was the Tiglath-pileser of the Scriptures, — the same who fought against Pekah, king of Israel, and carried many of the Israelites into captivity (2 Kings xv. 29). Belesis is the same as Nabonassar, with whose reign commences the celebrated astronomical era called the era of Nabonassar. He is called Baladan in the Scriptures (Isa. xxxix. 1).

Shalmaneser succeeded his father Tiglath-pileser, and completed the conquest of the ten tribes of Israel. This event took place in the year before Christ 720. Among the captives at this time was Tobit, with his wife Anna, and his son Tobias, as recorded in one of the apocryphal books of the Old Testament (Tob. i.).

The same year in which Samaria was taken by Shalmaneser, Merodach-baladan, the son of Baladan (or Belesis), commenced his reign at Babylon. This is that king of Babylon who sent messengers and a present to King Hezekiah on hearing of his recovery from sickness (Isa. xxxix. 1).

Shalmaneser was succeeded on the throne of Assyria by his son Sennacherib. He repeatedly invaded Judæa, and proudly threatened the destruction of Jerusalem ; but in answer to the prayers of Isaiah and Hezekiah, and in rebuke of his own blasphemy, his army was terribly destroyed. The angel of the Lord went forth into his camp, and in a single night smote a hundred and eighty-five thousand of his men : “ So Sennacherib departed, and returned to Nineveh. And it came to pass, as he was worshipping in the house of Nisroch, his god, that two of his sons smote him with the sword ; and they escaped into the land of Armenia. And Esarhaddon his son reigned in his stead ” (Isa. xxxix. 37, 38)..

Esarhaddon came to the throne of his father in the twenty-second year of King Hezekiah, and reigned in great prosperity and glory thirty-nine years. In the twenty-sixth year of his reign, he vanquished the monarch of Babylon, and united that kingdom to his own. Soon after this, he invaded Palestine, and carried into captivity the poor remains of the ten tribes of Israel. At the same time, he sent an army into Judæa, as before related, and captured Manasseh, one of the vilest and wickedest of the

kings of Judah. He took Manasseh with him to Babylon, where his prison, his chains, and his deep affliction, brought him to repentance.

The successors of Esarhaddon were Sundochæus his son, and Chyridanus his grandson,—both imbecile, inglorious, luxurious princes, who accomplished nothing worthy of mention in history. Against the latter, Nabopolassar, one of his generals, conspired, took from him his kingdom, and reigned at Babylon twenty-one years. Nabopolassar, in connection with the Medes, destroyed the great city of Nineveh when it had stood about sixteen hundred years. In this destruction were fulfilled the terrible predictions of the prophet Nahum against Nineveh; and from this time Babylon became the sole metropolis of the Assyrian Empire. Nabopolassar was the father of the renowned Nebuchadnezzar, who destroyed Jerusalem, and led the Jews into captivity.

Nebuchadnezzar seems to have reigned conjointly with his father a few years previous to his father's death. It was while his father was yet alive that he first invaded Judæa,—in the fourth year of Jehoiakim, the son of Josiah, king of Jerusalem. Jerusalem was conquered at this time, and Jehoiakim was taken prisoner; but upon his humbling himself to the king of Babylon, and consenting to become his vassal, his throne and kingdom were restored to him. It was at this time, as remarked in the last chapter, that the first captives were sent from Jerusalem to Babylon, among whom were Daniel and his three friends.

It was in the second year of Nebuchadnezzar's reign, after the death of his father, that he had the vision of a mighty image, in shape like a man, whose head was of gold, whose breast and arms were of silver, whose belly and thighs were of brass, whose legs were of iron, and whose feet and toes were partly of iron, and partly of clay. The dream greatly astonished the king at the time; and yet, when he awoke, it was gone from him: he could recall nothing of it; nor could any of his wise men assist him at all in this matter. It was the disclosing of the dream, and the interpretation of it, which first brought Daniel into favor with Nebuchadnezzar, and established his reputation as the wisest man in the kingdom. Daniel was now a youth, not more than twenty-two years of age; yet he received the richest gifts, and was advanced to the highest honors. The king "made him ruler over the whole province of Babylon, and chief of the governors over the wise men of Babylon."

It was in the eighteenth year of King Nebuchadnezzar (according to the Septuagint), after the destruction of Jerusalem and the return of his army to Babylon, that the king set up that majestic image of gold on the plain of Dura, in the province of Babylon, and commanded all his princes, governors, officers, and people to fall down and worship it. The three friends of Daniel refused; and for this offence they were cast into a burning fiery furnace, from which they were miraculously delivered by the power of God. But where was Daniel on this occasion? Was he absent?—this is hardly probable. Did he fall down and worship the image?—this is still more improbable. The most likely supposition is that he was not accused. Owing to his high position, and great influence with the king, the accusers of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, did not venture to aim their shafts at him. At any rate, they thought it safer to dispose of his three friends first.

In the second year after the destruction of Jerusalem, Nebuchadnezzar marched his armies again into Syria, and laid siege to Tyre. This was a strong and wealthy city; and the capture of it occupied him several years. While the king, with a part of his army, lay before Tyre, another part was sent into the land of Israel to glean the straggling Jews who still lingered there, and send them into captivity to Babylon. This was the last transportation of exiles from Judæa; and the number carried away amounted to no more than seven hundred and forty-five persons.

During the siege of Tyre, the armies of Nebuchadnezzar were also employed in subjecting most of the surrounding nations,—as the Ammonites, the Moabites, the Edomites, the Philistines, and Zidonians,—thus verifying the denunciations of Jeremiah and Ezekiel respecting them (see Jer. xxvii., xxviii., xxix.; Ezek. xxv.).

At length, the city of Tyre fell into the hands of Nebuchadnezzar, but not before the inhabitants had removed all their effects to an island about half a mile from the shore, and built there a new city: so that, in capturing Tyre, the king of Babylon took but a deserted town, and found no spoil. To reward him for the hard and bootless service—which he had performed in executing the divine wrath upon doomed Tyre, God promised him by the prophet Ezekiel that he would give him the spoils of Egypt (Ezek. xxix. 18–20). Accordingly, this same year, as soon as his army was released from Tyre, Nebuchadnezzar marched into Egypt, and overran the whole country from one end to the other. After this, having loaded his army with the rich spoils of Egypt, and made

the land his tributary, he returned to Babylon. During this ravage of the land of Egypt, most of the Jews who had fled there after the murder of Gedaliah fell into the hands of the king of Babylon, and were either slain, or carried by him into captivity. And in this was fulfilled another of the predictions of Jeremiah, when Johanan and those under him had made up their minds to go into Egypt (see Jer. xlii. 16-22).

After returning from his wars in Syria and Egypt, Nebuchadnezzar applied himself to the strengthening and adorning of his capital; and this work he continued until he made Babylon one of the wonders of the world. The walls of the city were eighty-seven feet thick, three hundred and fifty feet high, and in circumference round the city not less than sixty miles. Then there were the towers upon the walls, the hanging-gardens, the temples, the palaces, the walls and gates on the banks of the river within the city, the artificial lake and canals for the draining of the river in case of flood. Altogether there never was such a city before, and probably never will be to the end of time.

It was while Nebuchadnezzar was engaged in these stupendous works that he had his second prophetic dream. He saw a great tree which towered to the heavens, and whose branches reached to the ends of the earth. He saw it cut down by a watcher from heaven, and yet not utterly destroyed. He saw it sprout and come up again after it had for a time lain desolate and been wetted with the dew of heaven. This dream, and Daniel's interpretation of it, we have recorded in the fourth chapter of his prophecy. And in due time it was all accomplished; for as Nebuchadnezzar was walking in his palace, and looking out upon the splendors and luxuries of his favorite city, he gave utterance to the pride of his heart in the following words: "Is not this great Babylon which I have built for the house of the kingdom by the might of my power, and for the honor of my majesty?" Whereupon there befell him instantly what Daniel had predicted: his reason and his kingdom were taken away; he was driven from the society of men; he had his dwelling with the brutes; he did eat grass like an ox; and his body was wet with the dew of heaven until his hair was grown like eagles' feathers, and his nails like birds' claws. But, at the end of seven years, his reason returned, and his former kingdom and majesty were restored unto him; and then it was that he made the following noble and humble confession: "I do bless the most high God, and praise and honor Him who liveth

for ever and ever ; whose dominion is an everlasting dominion, and whose kingdom is from generation to generation. And all the inhabitants of the earth are as nothing before him ; and he doeth according to his will in the armies of heaven, and among the inhabitants of the earth ; and none can stay his hand, or say unto him, What doest thou ? I do praise and extol and honor the King of heaven, all whose works are truth, and his ways are judgment ; and those who walk in pride he is able to abase " (Dan. iv.).

From this period, Nebuchadnezzar became, as I would fondly hope, a truly pious man. He died, however, in a little more than a year ; having reigned in great prosperity and glory sole monarch of Babylon for the long space of forty-three years. He was an instrument in the hand of God of chastising many guilty nations, among whom were the Jews ; and at length, through the influence of a distinguished Jew, he was brought to the open acknowledgment and worship of the only living and true God.

Nebuchadnezzar was succeeded by his son Merodach ; or, as he is called in Scripture, Evil-merodach. He was a profligate and vicious ruler ; and yet he bestowed one act of kindness upon the Jews. He showed favor to Jehoiachin (otherwise called Coniah and Jeconiah), a former king of Judah, who had now been in confinement at Babylon thirty-seven years. As the sacred writer expresses it, the king of Babylon " spake kindly to him, and set his throne above the thrones of the kings that were with him at Babylon, and changed his prison-garments ; and he did eat bread continually before him all the days of his life " (2 Kings xxv. 28). The occasion of Jehoiachin's being so kindly treated, according to an ancient Jewish tradition, was this : " Evil-merodach, having had the government of the empire during his father's derangement, administered it so badly, that, as soon as the old king came to himself, he took it from him, and shut him up in the same prison where Jehoiachin had been so long confined. He here formed a particular acquaintance with the unfortunate king of Judah, and a friendship for him ; so that when the old king died, and Merodach came to the throne, he remembered Jehoiachin, and showed him favor."

Merodach reigned only two years at Babylon ; when Neriglissar, his sister's husband, conspired against him, slew him, and succeeded to the throne. Jehoiachin, it seems, died before him, or (what is more likely) was slain with him. While Jehoiachin lived, he was regarded by the Jews at Babylon as *the head or prince of the cap-*

tivity,—an office which descended to Salathiel his son, and was long continued among the Jews.

Of Neriglissar, and his son and successor Laborosoarchod, no mention is made in the Scriptures. Their reigns were short and inglorious; the latter having been slain by his subjects when he had been king only nine months. He was succeeded by Nabonadius, a grandson of Nebuchadnezzar, who is called Belshazzar in the Scriptures.

The Babylonian Empire, strong as it seemed under Nebuchadnezzar, was now verging to its end. Its doom had years before been pronounced by the prophets; and God was raising up a terrible power for its overthrow. The kingdom of the Medes, lying north of Babylon, had long been one of great strength. It was now governed by Cyaxares II., called in Scripture Darius the Mede. Another ancient kingdom now coming into notice was the Persian: this lay east of Babylon; was founded by Elam, a grandson of Noah, but never had distinguished itself among the nations until the times of which we speak. Cyrus, who was now on the throne of Persia, was a nephew of Darius the Mede. This brought the Medes and Persians into close alliance; and the principal thing attempted by the alliance was the overthrow of Babylon.

Cyrus, I hardly need say, was the greatest warrior of his age, and among the greatest of any age. He led the united forces of Media and Persia; and it was under him as a leader that Neriglissar had been slain. He was the chief combatant and ultimate conqueror of Belshazzar, the last monarch of Babylon; but this conquest was not achieved without many battles, and long years of siege and war.

In his attempts upon Babylon, Cyrus thought it necessary first to engage and subdue those nations that were confederate with Babylon, or subject to it. This occupied him several years; at the end of which he found himself master of Armenia, Lesser Asia, Syria, and all those countries which Nebuchadnezzar had formerly conquered. When this was accomplished, Cyrus laid siege to Babylon itself. This, obviously, was the only way in which Babylon ever could be taken; and to capture it in this way seemed almost a hopeless task. The walls were high and impregnable; and the number of men within to defend them was very great. They were furnished with provisions for twenty years, in addition to what might be raised in the gardens and tillage-lands within the city. It is not strange, therefore, that the Babylonians, in their

towers and on the walls, scoffed at Cyrus, and derided his seemingly vain efforts to molest them.

When two full years had passed away, and nothing effectual had been accomplished, Cyrus hit upon an expedient through which success seemed possible, and by which he at length got possession of the city. Having learned, that, on a set day, a great national festival was to be celebrated in Babylon, when the king and his nobles would spend the whole night in revelling, drunkenness, and other disorders, he thought this a favorable opportunity to surprise them; and, for effecting his object, he adopted this plan: He sent a party of men up to the head of the canal, leading to a vast artificial lake which had been excavated for the purpose of taking off the surplus waters of the river, with orders, at a time appointed, to remove the embankment between the river and canal, and draw off the whole current, or so much of it as possible, into the lake. At the same time, he opened the head of the trenches which had been dug round the city, and let the residue of the water into them. Meanwhile he had posted one part of his army at the place where the river ran into the city under the wall, and the other part at the place where it ran out, with orders to enter the city by the channel of the river as soon as they should find it fordable. Before midnight, the river was sufficiently drained; and both parties entered through the opened channel into the city.

But here they must have encountered an insuperable obstacle had it not been for the drunkenness and consequent carelessness of those within the walls. The brazen gates which opened down to the river from every street, and which were always shut by night, happened now to be left open; and through them both parties of the invaders ascended directly from the channel into the city. Thus remarkably was a prophecy of Isaiah, addressed to Cyrus by name, and uttered more than a hundred years before he was born, fulfilled at this time: "I will go before thee, and make the crooked places straight. *I will open the two-leaved gates, and the gates shall not be shut*" (Isa. xlv. 1, 2).

The soldiers, having entered the city in the manner described, proceeded directly to the palace, where Belshazzar and his lords were drinking wine out of the golden and silver vessels which had been plundered from the temple at Jerusalem, and where the mysterious handwriting on the wall had just been interpreted by Daniel. Here they surprised and slew the guards; and when,

upon the noise, the palace-gates were opened, they rushed forward, and planted themselves within. The king and his nobles encountered them sword in hand; but they, and all who resisted, were almost immediately slain. After this, a proclamation was issued, promising life and protection to such as would lay down their arms, and threatening destruction to all who refused. Whereupon all quietly yielded to the conquerors; and Cyrus, without further resistance, became master of the city.

Daniel was now an old man: he cannot have been less than eighty years of age. We hear little of him in any public office or employment from the death of Nebuchadnezzar until he was called to interpret the handwriting on the wall. In the first year of Belshazzar, he had his remarkable vision of the four beasts, denoting the four great monarchies of the ancient world, to be followed by the everlasting kingdom of Christ.

In the third year of Belshazzar, he had his vision of the ram and the he-goat, by which were signified the overthrow of the Persian Empire by Alexander the Great, and the persecution that was to be raised against the Jews by Antiochus Epiphanes, king of Syria. This vision was had, not at Babylon, but in Shushan, the palace by the River Ulai, in the province of Elam, — a province which soon after revolted to Persia. Daniel was here occupied in “the *king's business* ;” which shows that he was still in office under Belshazzar, though we hear very little respecting him (Dan. viii. 27).

With the taking of Babylon, the Babylonish Empire came to an end, when it had existed (reckoning from the time of Nimrod) seventeen hundred years. The city, to be sure, was not now destroyed; and yet it never flourished more. Its decline was gradual, but constant, until it became a heap of ruins; and all that the prophets had foretold of its desolation was accomplished.

The causes which hastened the destruction of this ancient city, aside from the ordinary ravages of time, were the following: —

1. The Persians declined to adopt it, and make it the capital of their vast empire. Their kings preferred to reside, for the most part, at Shushan, some two hundred miles east of Babylon. It was here that Nehemiah attended upon Artaxerxes, and that Esther resided with Ahasuerus (Neh. i. 1; Esth. i. 2).

2. The revolt of the Babylonians during the reign of Darius

Hystaspes was to them and their city a most disastrous event. Babylon was captured a second time ; its massy gates were demolished ; its walls were in part broken down ; and three thousand of its nobles were put to death.

3. When Xerxes returned from his disgraceful expedition into Greece, he passed through Babylon, threw down the Tower of Belus, and (under pretence of destroying the idols) robbed the temples of their treasures.

4. The means employed by Cyrus for the capture of Babylon operated as one of the causes of its ruin. The river, diverted from its original bed, never but partially returned : it overflowed the surrounding country, and turned it into a great morass ; thus fulfilling one of the predictions of Isaiah : " It shall be a possession for the bittern and for pools of water " (xiv. 23). This cause of destruction Alexander the Great undertook to remove by restoring the river to its channel ; but his untimely death put an end to his plans, and Babylon continued to suffer as before.

5. The building of Seleucia, or, as it was sometimes called, New Babylon, by Seleucus Nicator,* drew away from the old city a large portion of its inhabitants, and left its palaces and houses desolate.

6. Babylon was subject to the Parthians from the second century before Christ to the third century of the Christian era ; and, from their alternate violence and neglect, it suffered greatly. All succeeding writers bear testimony to its desolate condition. In the fourth century after Christ, Jerome tells us that it was used by the Persians as a park, or hunting-ground ; the wild beasts being enclosed within the walls. Babylon was visited by Benjamin Tudela, a Jew, in the twelfth century, who saw nothing there but heaps of ruins ; and these were so full of venomous serpents and reptiles, that it was dangerous to inspect them.

Thus terribly have the denunciations of the ancient prophets against Babylon been fulfilled : " It shall never be inhabited, neither shall it be dwelt in from generation to generation ; neither shall the Arabian pitch his tent there ; neither shall the shepherds make their folds there : but wild beasts of the desert shall lie there, and their houses shall be full of doleful creatures ; and owls shall dwell there, and satyrs shall dance there ; and the wild

* Seleucia was situated on the Tigris, about forty miles north of Babylon. There was another Seleucia at the mouth of the Orontes, near Antioch.

beasts of the islands shall cry in their desolate houses, and dragons in their pleasant palaces " (Isa. xiii. 20-22).

So completely has old Babylon disappeared, that it was for a long time uncertain where it was situated. Its supposed site has been lately discovered, and excavations have been commenced; but nothing decisive as to its history has thus far been eliminated.

CHAPTER XXXI.

THE JEWS UNDER THE MEDO-PERSIANS.

IN the last chapter, I spoke of the state of the Jews under Nebuchadnezzar and his successors. When Babylon fell, the captive Jews changed masters: they fell under the power of the Medes and Persians. I now propose to trace their history in connection with this power.

Upon the death of Belshazzar, Darius the Mede is said to have taken the kingdom (Dan. v. 31). And this is true; for although Cyrus had gained it by his valor, yet, so long as his uncle lived (who was also his father-in-law), he allowed him not only a joint title to it, but the first place of honor in it. This is that Darius who set over the kingdom a hundred and twenty princes, and over these three presidents, of whom Daniel was first; and who thought to set Daniel over the whole realm. This is that Darius, who, to gratify the envy of his princes, cast Daniel into the den of lions; and who, upon his miraculous deliverance, published a decree, that "men should everywhere fear and tremble before the God of Daniel; for he is the living God, and steadfast forever, and his dominion shall be even unto the end" (Dan. vi.).

While these things were transacting at Babylon, Cyrus and his army were in Syria, Palestine, and Egypt, subduing the restive nations, and setting in order the affairs of his vast kingdom. The symbolic ram was "pushing westward and northward and southward; neither was there any that could deliver out of his hand." All was reduced under him as far as to the Red Sea and the very borders of Ethiopia. Cyrus was absent on this expedition about two years, when he was summoned home by the death of Darius.

He now became sole monarch of the Medo-Persian Empire, over which he reigned in great prosperity for the next seven years. This is called in Scripture, and also in Xenophon, the first year of the reign of Cyrus; though other historians place it higher, — while

he reigned in connection with Darius. This is also the time when the seventy-years' captivity of the Jews at Babylon was fulfilled, and when the first proclamation was issued for their return (Ezra i. 1).

Long before Jerusalem was destroyed, God had said to his people by the mouth of Jeremiah, "Ye shall serve the king of Babylon *seventy years*;" and, "after seventy years shall be accomplished at Babylon, I will visit you, and perform my good word towards you in causing you to return to this place" (Jer. xxv. 11; xxvii. 10). At a still earlier period, God had spoken of Cyrus *by name* as the instrument through whom the restoration of Israel was to be accomplished. It was Cyrus who should "say to Jerusalem, *Thou shalt be built*; and to the temple, *Thy foundations shall be laid*" (Isa. xliv. 28). Accordingly, in the very first year of the reign of Cyrus, he "made proclamation throughout all his kingdom, and put it also in writing, saying, Thus saith Cyrus, king of Persia: The Lord God of heaven hath given me all the kingdoms of the earth; and he hath charged me to build him a house at Jerusalem, which is in Judah. Who is there among you of all his people? his God be with him, and let him go up to Jerusalem, and build the house of the Lord God of Israel which is at Jerusalem. And whoso sojourneth in any place, let the men of his place help him with silver and with gold, and with goods, and with beasts, besides the free-will offerings for the house of God which is in Jerusalem" (Ezra i. 2-4).

If any doubt whether the captivity of the Jews had now continued seventy years, the question may be easily settled. It commenced a year and two months previous to the death of Nabopolassar, the father of Nebuchadnezzar, — when Daniel and his three friends, with many others, were carried away. It continued through the entire reigns of Nebuchadnezzar, forty-three years; of Evil-merodach, two years; of Neriglissar, four years; of Belshazzar, seventeen years; and of Darius the Mede, two years; making a period of sixty-nine years and two months. If we suppose the proclamation above quoted to have been issued in the tenth month of the first year of Cyrus (which is as early in the year as could well be expected), we have precisely the term of seventy years from the commencement of the captivity to the decree of restoration.

All history ascribes to Daniel the chief instrumentality in procuring this decree; and the supposition is a very reasonable one.

Daniel was now a venerable man, an old minister of state, famed for his great wisdom all over the east, and of long experience in the management of public affairs. It is likely, also, that he held the same station, which was one of the highest authority (next to the king), under Cyrus, which he had held before; for we are told that "he prospered in the reign of Darius and in the reign of Cyrus the Persian" (Dan. vi. 28). He had learned from books that the years of predicted captivity were now accomplished, and had been much in prayer for the restoration of his people (Dan. ix.). As he had the ear of Cyrus, it is next to certain that he would use his influence with him to bring about this desirable event. It is evident, from the proclamation of Cyrus, that he had seen and read those prophecies of Isaiah in which he was designated as the restorer of the Jews; and who so likely to make him acquainted with them as his prime minister and chief counsellor Daniel?

In consequence of the decree of Cyrus, the Jews and Israelites gathered themselves together out of the several parts of his empire to the number of forty-three thousand. With their servants, they numbered about fifty thousand. I say, the Jews and *Israelites* gathered themselves together; for the decree of emancipation extended to all alike; and it is certain that many of the latter returned with the Jews. They had for their leaders Zerubbabel, the son of Salathiel, the son of Jehoiachin, of the seed royal, and Joshua, the son of Jozadek, the high priest. Unto them were delivered, by the command of Cyrus, all the vessels of gold and silver which Nebuchadnezzar had taken from the old temple at Jerusalem. A part of these were now returned to Jerusalem; and the remainder were brought by Ezra at a later period.

From the great number of Jews who accepted the invitation of Cyrus to return, it may be thought that only a few were left behind; but such was not the fact. Vast numbers, and those in general of the richest class, preferred to remain in Chaldæa. The Jews have a proverb, that "it was only *the bran* that returned to Jerusalem: the fine flour staid behind." Hence from this time we find a multitude of Jews in those Eastern countries, where they continued until after the coming of Christ, and where their posterity remain unto this day. Babylon (that is, new Babylon) was long the seat of a distinguished school of Jewish learning, from which the largest and most elaborate of the Talmuds was afterwards issued. The apostle Peter visited these Eastern Jews, and dates his first epistle at Babylon (1 Pet. v. 13).

The returning exiles, under Zerubbabel and Joshua, arrived in Judæa in the month Nisan, — the first in their year, corresponding to a part of our March and April. This was the second year of the reign of Cyrus, and five hundred and thirty-five years before Christ. Their first effort was to provide themselves dwellings, and to commence the cultivation of their fields; but in the month Tisri, the seventh of their year, they all assembled at Jerusalem, and united in celebrating their great annual festivals. At the same time, they made a contribution for the rebuilding of the temple, amounting to more than three hundred and fifty thousand dollars of our money, — a prodigious sum to be offered by these poor returned exiles, — an example of liberality such as the world has rarely seen. In the second month of the next year, the foundations of the new temple were laid with great solemnity; some shouting, and others weeping, so that “the noise was heard afar off” (Ezra iii. 13).

This second temple was of equal dimensions with the first, having been built upon the same foundation. Still it was in many respects far inferior. It was not built of such costly materials as the first, or adorned with such splendid ornaments, or surrounded with such elegant porches, courts, and buildings. It was also lacking in those peculiar tokens of the divine presence and favor, — the original ark of the covenant with the tables of stone, the dazzling Shechinah, the Urim and Thummin, the holy anointing oil, and the holy fire. But all these defects were more than compensated when the Lord whom they sought came suddenly to his temple, and Christ, the great Prophet, Priest, and King, honored it with his presence and worship. In this respect, the glory of the latter house did far exceed the glory of the former; and the prophecy of Haggai, who foretold that it should be so, had a complete fulfilment (Hag. ii. 9).

When the Samaritans heard that the Jews had returned, and had commenced rebuilding the temple at Jerusalem, they sent messengers unto them, offering to assist them in the work, and to unite with them in acts of worship; alleging, that, ever since the days of Esarhaddon, they had worshipped the same God with the Jews. But Zerubbabel and Joshua, with the elders of the people, declined their proffered assistance and fellowship; and for the following reasons: 1. As these Samaritans were not Israelites, but descendants, in part, of those foreigners whom Esarhaddon had planted in the cities of Israel, they were not included in the decree of Cyrus.

2. They were not true worshippers of the God of Israel, but served him in connection with their idols: "They feared the Lord, and served their own gods, after the manner of the nations whence they had been taken" (2 Kings xvii. 33). 3. The leaders of the Jews had much reason to suspect them of improper motives. They had come, not to do them good, but hurt: they sought to be associated with them for purposes of mischief.

The sequel proved that these suspicions were too well founded. Because the Jews declined their assistance and fellowship, the Samaritans became henceforth their bitterest enemies. They strove to the utmost to embarrass and hinder them in their work. They could not, indeed, annul the decree of Cyrus; but by bribes and slanders they contrived to prejudice his servants against them, and obstruct them in their important undertaking. For these causes, the building of the temple went slowly on; and was far from being completed when Cyrus, their great patron and benefactor, died.

Cyrus was succeeded by his son Cambyses, called by Ezra Ahasnerus (chap. iv. 6). To him the enemies of the Jews made supplication against them; and, though he would not revoke his father's decree, he rather discouraged than aided the work at Jerusalem.

Cambyses died after a reign of between seven and eight years, and was succeeded by Smerdis, a usurper, who pretended to be a son of Cyrus, and whom Ezra calls Artaxerxes (chap. iv. 7). Him the enemies of the Jews undertook to influence, and with more success. They wrote him a letter, a copy of which is preserved by Ezra (chap. iv. 7-16), speaking of Jerusalem as being of old "a rebellious city, and hurtful to kings;" and praying that the rebuilding of it and of the temple might be stopped. This had the desired effect. Forthwith Smerdis issued an order against the Jews, which put a stop to their work during the remainder of his reign, which, happily, continued only a few months.

The successor of Smerdis was the renowned Darius Hystaspis, who reigned thirty-six years. Although, on the death of Smerdis, his decree against Jerusalem was no longer in force, yet discouraged by opposition, and too much engrossed in their own concerns, the people neglected to enter as they should have done upon the work of the temple; and for their negligence in this respect they were visited with drought and famine. They were also stirred up to their duty by the fervid appeals and remonstrances of the prophet Haggai: "Is it time for you, O ye people!

to dwell in your ceiled houses, and this house lie waste? Go ye up to the mountain and bring wood, and build the house, and I will take pleasure in it, and I will be glorified, saith the Lord of hosts" (Hag. i. 4-8).

These and other like exhortations and promises had the desired effect. The people arose almost immediately under the direction of their leaders, began to collect materials, and to carry forward the work of the house.

Again, therefore, the Samaritans were excited to opposition. They applied to Tatnai, who was prefect, under Darius, of Syria and Palestine, and to Shethar-boznia, governor of Samaria, and persuaded them to go up to Jerusalem, and put a stop to proceedings there. But Tatnai, who was evidently a man of justice and moderation, when he had surveyed the work at Jerusalem, simply inquired of the Jews as to the authority under which they acted; and, when they showed him the decree of Cyrus, he wrote to Darius to know whether Cyrus had ever issued such a decree, and what his own pleasure in the case might be. In consequence of this inquiry, Darius made search, and found the decree of Cyrus; and, having found it, he confirmed it, and wrote to Tatnai and She-thar-boznia to see it executed. He commanded that the tribute of the Samaritans should be paid over to the Jews; and that they should be liberally assisted with money and with whatever else they needed. He finally ordered, that if any one should further oppose them, or attempt in any way to hinder them in their work, a gallows should be made from the timber of his house, and that he himself should be hanged thereon.

From this time the work of the temple went so rapidly on, that in three years more it was entirely finished. Twenty years had this second temple now been building, during the greater part of which time the people had been guided, cheered, and strengthened by the prophecies of Haggai and Zechariah. It adds new interest to these prophecies, and helps to a right understanding of them, to know the times and occasions on which they were uttered.

In the sixth year of the reign of Darius Hystaspis, and on the third day of the twelfth Jewish month Adar, the new temple at Jerusalem was dedicated. It was to all an occasion of great solemnity and rejoicing, when there were offered up "one hundred bullocks, two hundred rams, and four hundred lambs, besides twelve he-goats for a sin-offering, according to the number of tribes of Israel" (Ezra vi. 17). We have here an intimation that

the persons concerned in this transaction were not merely Jews, but members, to some extent, of all the tribes of Israel.

On the fourteenth day of the next month, which was Nisan, the Passover was celebrated at the new temple, not only by those who had returned from captivity, but by all who were prepared to unite in it: "Seven days they kept the feast of unleavened bread with joy; for the Lord had made them joyful, and turned the heart of the king of Assyria unto them, to strengthen their hands in the work of the God of Israel."

When the temple had been built and dedicated, the Samaritans claimed that they were no longer under obligations to pay custom, or tribute, for this object; but, on referring the question to Darius, he ordered that they should observe his edict, and pay their tribute as before. It was now needed for the *support* of the temple as it had before been for the building of it. From this period, we hear of no further opposition from the Samaritans until the time of Sanballat and Nehemiah.

After the dedication of the temple, Darius reigned about thirty years. He was a prince of great wisdom, energy, clemency, and justice; and, next to Cyrus, was the most distinguished benefactor of Israel who had yet appeared. It was through his favor, especially, that the temple of God at Jerusalem was finished, and that public worship was there established and maintained. He was unfortunate in some of his military expeditions, — more especially those against the Scythians and Athenians. It was during his reign that the Persians lost the famous battle of Marathon. But he extended the empire of Cyrus in other directions; having added to it in the east a considerable part of India, and, in the west, Thrace, Macedon, and the Ionian isles.

It was during this reign that the celebrated Persian philosopher, Zoroaster, flourished. He was not the author of the Magian religion, but only the reformer of it;* and the principal improvements which he introduced are supposed to have been borrowed from the Jewish Scriptures, with which he must have had a considerable acquaintance. He may have been personally acquainted with Ezekiel and Daniel, and studied the writings of Moses and the prophets. Like Mahomet and other impostors, Zoroaster pretended to have been in heaven, and to have learned the doctrines

* There seems to have been a Chaldean Zoroaster, who flourished at a much earlier period. He may have been the *author* of Magianism, of which the Persian Zoroaster was but the reformer.

of religion there. He undertook to reform the old Magianism in its *first principle*, which was *dualism*,—a god of light, and a god of darkness; the one the author of all that is good, and the other of all that is evil. In opposition to this, Zoroaster taught the doctrine of *one Supreme God*,—the prime Original, and Author of all things; and that the two great leaders in the conflict going on in the world are both of them derived and inferior beings. The struggle between good and evil, he held, “will continue to the end of the world; that then there will be a general resurrection, and day of judgment, in which all will be treated according to their works: after which the angel of darkness and his followers shall go away to a world of their own, where they shall suffer in eternal darkness the punishment of their evil deeds; whereas the angel of light and his disciples shall go to a world of light, to receive the endless rewards of their goodness. From this period, the two classes are to be forever separated; and light and darkness are no more to be mingled to all eternity.”

Like the more ancient Magians, Zoroaster and his followers abhorred images; but he taught his disciples to worship the sun and the fire,—not that he considered either of these as a god, but that they were the special residences and brightest exhibitions of God. The book containing the revelations of Zoroaster is called the *Zendavesta*; or, by contraction, the *Zend*. He presented a copy of it to Darius Hystaspis, bound in twelve volumes, each of which consisted of a hundred skins of vellum. The book is still preserved among the Magians in the East, and regarded by them with great veneration. The wise men who came from the East to worship our Saviour at his birth were undoubtedly philosophers of this class. Pretended fragments of the *Zend* have been published at different times,—more particularly by the Gnostics and the New Platonists after the time of Christ; but these are entitled to little confidence.

Darius was succeeded by his son Xerxes, sometimes called the Great. He was a grandson of Cyrus, whose daughter Darius had married. Xerxes confirmed to the Jews at Jerusalem all the privileges which had been granted them by his father. In particular, he ordered that the tribute from the Samaritans for the support of the temple-worship should be paid. In the third year of his reign, Joshua, the venerable high priest at Jerusalem, died, and was succeeded by Jehoiakim his son.

The reign of Xerxes is chiefly remarkable for his unfortunate

expedition into Greece. His preparations for this, in men and money and naval armaments, were immense. As had been predicted by Daniel, he literally "stirred up *all* against the realm of Grecia" (chap. xi. 2). He entered into a league with the Carthaginians, by which they were to assist him with an army and with ships. He drew together from all parts of his vast empire such a body of men as the world had never seen. According to Herodotus, his active forces, when he arrived at the straits of Thermopylæ, amounted to 2,642,610 men; while the servants, eunuchs, women, sutlers, and others who followed the camp, were thought to be as many more. Here, then, was a collection of more than five millions of souls, brought together at a single point for the subjugation of Greece. No wonder that Xerxes wept as he looked down upon them from an eminence, under the impression, that, in less than a hundred years, not one of them would be left: they would all be dead. Josephus informs us (and the statement is quite probable) that in this vast company were many Jews.

My readers have all heard of the manner in which this unwieldy army of Asiatics was received at Thermopylæ by Leonidas and his invincible Spartans. You have read of the battle of Salamis, where the Greeks took and destroyed hundreds of the Persian ships, and obliged the rest to flee to the coasts of Asia. Upon the loss of his fleet, Xerxes, with the greater part of his army, hastened back into Asia, and took up their winter-quarters at Sardis. Meanwhile the Carthaginians, on whom he had relied to assist him, were so totally defeated in Sicily, that scarcely a man remained to tell of the disaster. On his return out of Greece, Xerxes left Mardonius, one of his generals, behind, with three hundred and fifty thousand men. These encountered the Greeks at Plataea the next year, where they were utterly defeated, and the most of them were slain.

Thus ended this ill-planned and worse-conducted expedition into Greece. Xerxes, on hearing of the defeat of his army at Plataea, and of the destruction of the remainder of his fleet at Mycale (which occurred the same day), lost no time in getting back to Persia. He only stopped to destroy and to plunder all the idolatrous temples which stood in his way. This he is supposed to have done for two reasons: first, being himself a Magian, and a follower of Zoroaster, he was opposed to idol-worship; and, secondly, he needed the spoils of the temples to indemnify him for the enormous expenses of the war. It was at this time that he plundered the

temples and destroyed the images of old Babylon. As he passed through Babylon on his way to Shushan, his capital, he overthrew, in part, the famed Tower of Belus, or Babel; thus fulfilling, without knowing it, the prediction of Jeremiah: "Bel is confounded; Merodach is broken in pieces: her idols are confounded; her images are broken in pieces." "I will do judgment upon all the graven images of Babylon" (Jer. l. 2; li. 52).

From this time, we hear of no great Persian expedition into Greece; but soon the tide of war flows in the other direction, and Greece is pouring her armies into Persia.

The remainder of the reign of Xerxes was far from being honorable to him. After his return to his capital, he became involved in shameful domestic troubles, which could be terminated only in cruelty and blood. When these were at length adjusted, he gave himself up to luxury and ease, minding nothing but the gratification of his pleasures and lusts; on which account, one of his military officers conspired against him, and slew him in his bed.

He was succeeded by his third son, known in history as Artaxerxes Longimanus. He was called *Longimanus* on account of the length of his arms and hands, with which, it is said, he could touch his knees when standing upright. He was the great-grandson of Cyrus. The incidents of his reign, with the distinguished favor which he showed to the Jews, will be the subject of the next chapter.

CHAPTER XXXII.

THE JEWS UNDER THE MEDO-PERSIANS. — CONTINUED.

THE last chapter closed with some account of the reign of Xerxes, and of the condition of the Jews under his government. His successor, as I said, was his third son, Artaxerxes Longimanus, known in Scripture as Ahasuerus, the husband of Esther.* Artaxerxes had great difficulties to contend with in the beginning of his reign, — more especially from those who had slain his father, and from his eldest brother, the governor of Bactria; but by his energy and wisdom these were at length overcome: after which he set himself to reform abuses and disorders in the empire; to call the governors of the provinces to an account, and to remove such as had proved themselves unworthy. By these means he not only strengthened himself in the kingdom, but secured the affections and confidence of his subjects.

In the third year of his reign, when his government was firmly established, he appointed a solemn festival to be observed in his palace for the term of one hundred and eighty days; and, when these were ended, he made another for *the people* that were in Shusan, seven days. His queen, at the same time, made a like entertainment in her apartments for the women. “On the seventh day, when the heart of the king was merry with wine, he commanded his seven chamberlains to bring in the queen with the crown royal upon her head, that he might show to the princes and people her beauty.” But the fair queen resented this injunction, as being inconsistent with her dignity, and unbecoming the modesty of her sex: she would not come. Upon this the king was highly incensed, and called around him his wise counsellors that he might

* It has long been a question which of the Persian kings was the husband of Esther. I acquiesce in the opinion of Prideaux, Stackhouse, and some others, that it must have been Artaxerxes Longimanus. — See an able article on the subject in the *Journal of Sacred Literature for April*, 1860, p. 120.

confer with them respecting the matter. Believing the example of disobedience which the queen had set to be one of dangerous influence in the realm, they advised that she should be forthwith deposed and divorced; that she should come no more into the presence of the king; and that her royal estate should be given to another better than herself. This advice was accepted of the king; and a decree went forth for its immediate execution.

The disgrace of Queen Vashti prepared the way for the elevation of Esther, whose story is told with inimitable beauty in the book which bears her name. Her Jewish name was Hadassah; but her Persian name was Esther. She was instrumental, as we shall see, in the hand of God, of promoting in various ways the interests of her people, — more especially of delivering them from a threatened destruction, and of effecting the ruin of their proud and cruel enemy. In memory of this deliverance, an annual festival was long observed among the Jews, — the feast of *Purim*, or *the lots*.

In the seventh year of the reign of Artaxerxes, Ezra obtained of him and his counsellors a commission to go up to Jerusalem, with as many of the Jews as were pleased to accompany him, with full power to settle the State and reform the Church of Israel, and to govern both according to their own laws. This Ezra, who was a priest by descent, was a very learned and holy man. He was a faithful, useful, and divinely-inspired man. He is spoken of as “a ready scribe in the law of his God.”

The commission which he received from Artaxerxes is given at large in the seventh chapter of the Book of Ezra. It is certainly very ample, granting every favor and all the authority which he could desire. He was authorized to take with him any number of his people who were minded to go, and any amount in gold and silver, and in vessels for the house of the Lord, which might be contributed: “And whatsoever more shall be needed for the house of thy God, bestow it out of the king’s treasure-house. I, Artaxerxes, do make a decree to all the treasurers that are beyond the river” (the Euphrates), “that whatsoever Ezra, the scribe of the law of the God of heaven, shall require of you, it be done speedily. And thou, Ezra, according to the wisdom of thy God which is in thee, set magistrates and judges which may judge all the people that are beyond the river; and whosoever will not do the law of thy God, and the law of the king, let judgment be executed speedily upon him, whether it be unto death, or unto banishment, or to confiscation of goods, or to imprisonment” (Ezra vii. 20–26).

From the purport of this remarkable decree, it may be inferred that Ezra was in high reputation at the Persian court for integrity and wisdom; otherwise such powers and largesses had never been intrusted to him. It is further probable that the hands of Mordecai and Esther were in the thing to help it forward; because, without such intercessors, it would hardly have been thought of, much less executed.

Having received his commission, Ezra commenced his journey from Babylon on the first day of the first Jewish month, — about the middle of our March. He halted a little at the River Ahava, in Assyria, till the rest of his company came up; when in a solemn fast he commended both himself and them to the protection of the Almighty. They then set forward on their way to Jerusalem, where they all safely arrived on the first day of the fifth month; having been just four months on the journey.

Arrived at the temple, Ezra delivered to the keepers of it the gifts and offerings which had been made by the king and his princes, and the people of Israel who remained in Chaldæa, amounting to one hundred talents of gold and six hundred and fifty talents of silver, together with vessels of gold and silver, for the service of the temple, of exceeding value. He then entered upon his government according to the king's decree, and continued in it, much to the comfort and edification of his people, for the next thirteen years.

It is the opinion of Dean Prideaux and other eminent chronologists, that the seventy weeks of Daniel, at the close of which the Messiah was to be cut off, had their beginning with the above commission to Ezra, which was given in the seventh year of the reign of Artaxerxes. The prediction of Daniel is in the following words: "Seventy weeks are determined upon thy people and upon the holy city, to finish the transgression, and to make an end of sins, and to make reconciliation for iniquity, and to bring in everlasting righteousness, and to seal up the vision and prophecy, and to anoint the Most Holy. Know therefore, and understand, that from the going-forth of the commandment to restore and to build Jerusalem unto Messiah the Prince shall be seven weeks and threescore and two weeks. And after threescore and two weeks shall Messiah be cut off, but not for himself; and he shall confirm the covenant with many for one week, and in the midst of the week he shall cause the sacrifice and the oblation to cease" (Dan. ix. 24-27).

It has been generally understood, that in these seventy prophetic weeks, or four hundred and ninety days, each day stands for a year; so that the whole period designated is four hundred and ninety years. Now, it is a remarkable fact, that the period intervening between the seventh year of Artaxerxes, when the above commission was given to Ezra, and the year of our Lord's crucifixion, is precisely four hundred and ninety years.* I make this statement concerning the time, as one that may be relied upon, without going at all into the disputed questions respecting the true import and meaning of this interesting prophecy.

It would be needless to repeat in this connection the story of Haman's defeat and Mordecai's advancement, and the deliverance of the Jews from impending destruction through the intercession of Queen Esther. These events took place in the twelfth and thirteenth years of the reign of Artaxerxes. For a narrative of them, I refer to the Book of Esther, with which no human account of the matter can compare. If any one doubts that "pride goeth before destruction, and a haughty spirit before a fall," or doubts as to the odiousness and wretchedness of unsated malice, envy, and revenge, let him ponder the history of Haman as recorded in the Scriptures.

When Ezra arrived at Jerusalem, he found the people much degenerated and corrupted, and much in need of a thorough reformation; and such a reformation he immediately attempted. He obliged those persons who had connected themselves in marriage with the people of the land to put away their strange wives, and conform in this respect to the law of Moses. He took much pains to instruct the people in the law; multiplying copies of it, and causing it to be read and expounded on great public occasions. By degrees, he brought the Jewish Church into an outward, visible state, in which it remained to the coming of the Saviour.

Nor was this the only important work which he accomplished. Being an inspired man, and one thoroughly versed in the sacred books, he was led to collect and revise those holy records, and give to the Church a correct edition of them, or of such of them as had then been written. Some of these books he wrote himself; and the others he so prepared and set in order as in effect to settle the canon of the *Old-Testament Scriptures*. He settled it so perfectly,

* Our Saviour was crucified in the year of the Julian period 4746. The seventh year of Artaxerxes was the year of the Julian period 4256. The difference between these two numbers is 490.

that it received the sanction of our Saviour and his apostles, and has been accepted by Jews and Christians in all periods since.* This was the great work of Ezra's life. For this he will be remembered in gratitude and honor so long as the Bible is read or the world endures.

It has been questioned whether it was Ezra, or some later teacher, who introduced the worship of the *synagogue* into the Church of Israel. It is very certain that there were no synagogues in the land previous to his time, and that they were in use shortly after his death. It would seem, also, that they must have been of divine institution, or they would not have been frequented and sanctioned by our Saviour. Neither can it be doubted that they were of great advantage to the Israelites, tending, as they necessarily must, to multiply copies of the sacred writings, and to promote a better understanding of them among the people. Previous to the establishment of synagogues, the people, having no religious worship but that of the temple, and being comparatively ignorant of the law, were perpetually running into idolatry. The gods of the surrounding nations were a constant snare to them; but after the introduction of synagogues, in which the law was read and explained every sabbath, they were as much averse to idolatry as they had been before addicted to it. And so it has been with the Jews ever since: they have fallen into other great sins; but with the worship of idols they have not been chargeable.

But the question returns as to the origin of the synagogues. The Scriptures do not acquaint us with their origin: but we know that Ezra was in the habit of reading and expounding the law to the people; and the probability is that the synagogues grew up from the influence of his example, if they were not established by his direct authority. If the synagogue was of divine appointment, it must have originated with some *inspired man*; and who so likely to have introduced it as Ezra?

Some have supposed that the Hebrew vowel-points were introduced by Ezra, and that they are of equal authority with the sacred text; but the arguments against this supposition seem to me conclusive: 1. The copies of the Old Testament made use of by the Jews in their synagogues have ever been and still are without the points. 2. The more ancient various readings of the sacred

* Some few verses in the Chronicles and in Nehemiah were inserted after the time of Ezra. With these exceptions, he may be said to have settled the whole canon.

text have respect, all of them, to the letters, and not to the points; thus showing that the points are not of a high antiquity. 3. We have further evidence of the same conclusion in the fact that the ancient Cabalists derive none of their mysteries from the points, but all of them from the letters. 4. If we compare the more ancient versions of the Old Testament, as the Septuagint and the Chaldee Paraphrases, with our pointed Hebrew Bibles, we find that they do not always agree; showing that the authors of those versions did not read the text according to the present punctuation. 5. In neither of the Talmuds, written after the coming of Christ, is any mention made of the vowel-points; as there certainly would have been, had they been in existence, and of authority, when the Talmuds were written.

It is no part of my present purpose to give a history, or to detract from the importance, of the Hebrew vowel-points. That they are of essential service in learning and using the Hebrew language, both Jew and Gentile now agree; but that they originated with Ezra or with any other inspired man, or that any divine authority is to be attached to them, cannot, I think, be maintained. They probably originated with the Masorites, or Jewish critics, long after the canon of the Old Testament was closed.*

I have said that the practice of publicly reading and expounding the law commenced with Ezra. This led to the setting apart of an order of men for the purpose. Their expositions, accompanied often with traditionary legends, soon came to have authority; and an antiquity was ascribed to them to which they had no claim. In short, we have now arrived at the period when the oral traditionary law began to appear; and by many it was regarded as of equal authority with the written law. As years rolled on, the traditions were multiplied and increased, till, in the time of our Saviour, the written law was quite obscured, and in some instances nullified, by them: hence we hear our Lord complaining of the Pharisees and scribes that they "had made the commandment of God of none effect by their traditions" (Matt. xv. 6).

At length, the traditions became so numerous, that they could no longer be handed down orally: they were committed to writing, and constitute the substance of the Talmuds. There are two Talmuds, — that of Babylon, and that of Jerusalem; the former ten times as large as the latter. Each Talmud consists of two parts, —

* The Hebrew vowel-points were not in existence in Jerome's time, in the fourth century. — See Schaff's *Ecc. Hist.*, vol. iii. p. 970.

the Mishna, or text, which is much the same in both; and the Gemara, or comments of the rabbins on the Mishna. It is supposed that the Talmuds began to be written about two hundred years subsequent to the time of our Saviour.

That Ezra was an eminently wise and good man, I have before remarked, and his works declare. His administration was one of great value, not only to the Jews at Jerusalem, but to the whole Israel of God. Few men have ever lived to whom the Church is more indebted than to this venerable scribe of the law. Still he seems to have been more a scholar than a ruler: at any rate, he was not an efficient magistrate. After his utmost endeavors to reform abuses and to carry forward the work of the Lord, irregularities crept in among the people; and the enclosing and fortifying of the city was not accomplished. This is evident from the sad account of things which was brought to Nehemiah, then in Persia, and which led to his appointment as successor to Ezra in the government.

Nehemiah was a Jew whose ancestors had formerly lived at Jerusalem; but his genealogy is not given. He was now an inhabitant of Shushan, the royal city of Persia; was a man of indomitable energy and profound wisdom; was the possessor of great wealth; and held an important office near the king. While in this station of honor and influence, he learned from certain Jews who had come from Jerusalem that his brethren there were in great affliction and reproach; that the walls of the city were still broken down; that its gates had not been set up; and that, though the temple had been rebuilt and its worship established, the city remained comparatively desolate.

When Nehemiah heard these things, he "sat down and wept and mourned, and fasted certain days, and prayed before the God of heaven." He resolved at the same time that he would apply to the king for permission and authority to repair to Jerusalem, and set up its gates and build its broken walls. Accordingly, he sought an opportunity, when it came his turn to wait upon the king, and when Queen Esther was sitting beside him, to present a petition to this effect; which was readily and liberally granted. A royal decree was issued for rebuilding the walls and gates of Jerusalem; and Nehemiah was sent thither, as governor of Judæa, to put it in execution. And, to do him the greater honor, the king sent a guard of horse with him to conduct him in safety to his province. He also wrote letters to all the governors beyond the Euphrates to aid

him in his work, and to the keeper of his forests to allow him as much timber out of them as he should need.

Thus commissioned and furnished, Nehemiah went up to Jerusalem, took upon him the administration of government, and immediately commenced the great work for which he had come. All this took place in the twentieth year of the reign of Artaxerxes; and from this time the civil administration of Ezra closed.

No sooner had the Jews, under their new governor, commenced repairing the gates and walls of their city, than they were assailed by their old adversaries the Samaritans, and by the other surrounding nations. Prominent among these were Sanballat the Horonite, Tobiah the Ammonite, and Geshem the Arabian, who gave them all the disturbance in their power. They assailed the Jews, not only with derision, reproach, deceit, and treachery, but with threats of *force* and *violence*: so that, while a part of the people labored on the wall, another part were under arms for their defence; and all had their arms at hand to repel an assault if one should be made. In consequence of the excellent arrangements of the governor, and the diligence and perseverance of the people, the wall of Jerusalem was repaired in less than two months; the gates were set up; and a public dedication was celebrated with great solemnity by all the Jews.

Having thus accomplished the first great object of his mission, Nehemiah next set himself to ease the people of their burthens, and to accomplish all necessary reforms; in which good work he was essentially aided by the counsel and co-operation of Ezra. Previous to this time, the rich among the Jews had been in the habit of exacting usury of their poorer brethren, and of oppressing them in various ways; so that many had been constrained to alienate their possessions, and even to sell their children into servitude, to procure bread for the support of themselves and families. Upon hearing these things, Nehemiah was resolved to correct the evil at once; and so, having called the people together, he showed them how grossly they had violated the law of God, and how much their oppressions tended to provoke his wrath. Whereupon it was resolved by the whole assembly, not only that these odious exactions should cease, but that full restitution should be made to the poor of all that had been taken from them.

The next thing projected by Nehemiah was to increase the population of Jerusalem, and fill it up with houses and inhabitants; for while it was unfortified, without walls and gates, few had been

inclined to take up their abode there. In furtherance of this object, he first prevailed upon the rulers, the elders, and the great men of the nation, to build themselves houses within the city; and then others, influenced by their example, voluntarily offered to do the same; and of the rest of the people, every tenth man was taken by lot, and obliged to come and settle in Jerusalem. In this way the city was soon filled with inhabitants, and recovered something of its ancient greatness. Herodotus, speaking of it shortly after this time (under the name of Cadytis), compares it with Sardis, the capital of Lesser Asia.

In carrying out his plans as to the settlement of the country, Nehemiah found it necessary to inquire very carefully into the genealogies of different families, that he might know from what tribes they were descended, and to what portions of the country they should be assigned. With characteristic energy, this matter was carried through; and the result is recorded in the seventh chapter of Nehemiah.

It was about this time (under the direction of the governor) that Ezra engaged, more publicly and formally than ever before, in the reading and exposition of the law. The occasion selected was one of the great festivals, which occurred in the seventh month, when all the people were assembled at Jerusalem. The reading was continued from day to day until the whole was read and expounded to the people. In the words of the sacred historian, Ezra and his assistants "read in the book of the law distinctly, and gave the sense, and caused the people to understand the reading" (Neh. viii. 8).

Nor was this effort of the excellent governor and priest without good results. The people were greatly affected in view of their transgressions: a day of fasting was observed; a public confession of sins was made; and reformation was promised. A solemn covenant was entered into by the whole congregation that they would abstain from those *particular sins* into which they had more scandalously fallen, and that they would observe the law of God in time to come.

From this period, as I have before remarked, the public reading and expounding of the law was more frequently practised, not only on the great festivals at Jerusalem, but in the cities and villages of Judæa and Galilee; and public buildings, or *synagogues*, were ere long erected for the accommodation of the people on these occasions.

When Nehemiah had been twelve years governor of Judæa, he was under a necessity of returning to the Persian court: indeed, he left his place at court, in the first instance, under a promise to return. He was absent from Jerusalem on this service about five years, when he was sent back with a new commission from the king; and by this time his return was greatly needed, since, during his absence, some flagrant abuses and corruptions had been tolerated. In particular, he found that his old enemy, Tobiah the Ammonite, had allied himself in marriage to the family of the high priest; and, for his special accommodation, the high priest had assigned to him one of the chambers in the house of the Lord. But Nehemiah was not long in removing this evil. He cast forth at once "all the household stuff of Tobiah out of the chamber," and commanded that it should be cleansed, and restored to its former use.

Nehemiah also found, that, during his absence, the portions of the singers and Levites had not been given them; so that they had been constrained to forsake their appropriate employments about the temple, and seek a support by the labors of the field. This evil also was soon corrected. Nehemiah got the rulers together, and chided them, saying, "Why is the house of God forsaken?" Under his vigorous administration, the Levites were quickly restored to their places; and the tithes of corn and wine and oil were duly rendered.

The next abuse with which Nehemiah grappled was the violation of the sabbath. There were some among the Jews who trod their wine-presses on the sabbath, and brought sheaves and all manner of burthens into Jerusalem; also the Tyrian merchants brought fish and all kinds of ware, and sold them in Jerusalem on that holy day. For these things Nehemiah sharply reprovèd the rulers and nobles of the city, saying, "Did not your fathers thus? and did not our God bring all this evil upon us and upon this city? Yet ye bring more wrath upon Israel by profaning the sabbath" (chap. xiii. 18). From this time Nehemiah commanded that the gates of the city should be shut the evening before the sabbath, and that no secular business should be performed either within the city or without the walls.

At the same time, Nehemiah discovered that many of the Jews, and some even of the priests, had corrupted themselves by inter-marriages with the Philistines, the Moabites, and the Ammonites. With his characteristic energy, he attacked this evil also, and had

the happiness to see it speedily removed. Those who had taken strange wives were obliged either to put them away, or to be themselves separated from the congregation of the Lord.

Among those who were driven out from the congregation was Manasseh, one of the sons of the high priest. He had married a daughter of the notorious Sanballat, governor of Samaria, and refused to put his wife away. "Wherefore," says Nehemiah, "I chased him from me." Manasseh fled to Samaria, carrying with him a copy of the book of the law, and persuaded Sanballat to build a temple for him on Mount Gerizim after the same pattern with that at Jerusalem. We have here the origin of the Samaritan Pentateuch, and of the worship on Mount Gerizim, which continued until after the coming of Christ. We have also one of the causes of that inveterate hatred of the Samaritans which continued so long among the Jews.

It was during the prevalence of those corruptions which had crept in at Jerusalem during the absence of Nehemiah, that Malachi, the last of the Hebrew prophets, made his appearance. He does not, like Haggai and Zechariah, reprove the people for neglecting to build the fallen temple, but for neglecting what appertained to the true worship of God in it. In short, the corruptions which he charges upon the Jews were the same which Nehemiah undertook to correct on his return; which leads to the conclusion that Malachi must have lived and prophesied in these days.

How long after this Nehemiah lived, or when he died, we are not informed. The reformation which he so happily accomplished after his return from Persia is the last of his history of which we have any knowledge. He outlived his great prince and patron, Artaxerxes; and was retained in office by Darius Nothus, his son. Nehemiah, Ezra, and the prophet Malachi, — fellow-laborers in the work of the Lord at Jerusalem, — disappear from the sacred page together; and with them, with the exception of a few names in the genealogies,* the canon of the old Testament closes.

I need not here speak particularly of the character of Nehemiah: this is best known from his works. That he was a man of great firmness, decision, and energy, as well as goodness, — "a terror to evil-doers, and a praise to them that do well," — is very obvious; that he had a quick insight into human character, and much experience and wisdom in the direction of public affairs, is equally obvious. In short, he was in some sense a *model magistrate*,

* See 1 Chron. iii. 19-24; Neh. xii. 22.

raised up and qualified for the particular service to which he was called, and to whom his nation was under the highest obligations.

I ought to say a word, in this connection, of his *liberality*, his *public spirit*. During the whole time that he was in office, he sustained the honors of it with a princely magnificence, and all *at his own personal expense*. There was provided for his table daily, as he himself tells us, "one ox and six choice sheep, together with fowls and wine;" yet for all this he would receive no salary or support from the people, because their burthens were heavy upon them (Neh. v. 18).

Artaxerxes Longimanus (the Ahasuerus of Esther) reigned over the whole Persian Empire forty-one years. His administration was in general peaceful and prosperous, and *eminently favorable to the Jews*. He reconquered the Egyptians, who had revolted from him, and held them in subjection to the end of his reign. He succeeded early in concluding a peace with the Greeks, which added much to his own security and tranquillity. During the latter part of his reign, the Peloponnesian war was raging in Greece, which furnished sufficient employment for that restless and turbulent people, without turning their arms against the Persians. It was at this time that Socrates commenced his philosophical career at Athens, and that Plato, his most distinguished pupil and follower, was born.

Artaxerxes was succeeded, after some petty domestic struggles, by his son Darius Nothus; of whose reign, so far as it concerned the Church of God, I shall give some account in the following chapter.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

THE JEWS UNDER THE MEDO-PERSIANS AND GREEKS.

THE last chapter was entirely occupied with the state of affairs among the Jews during the long reign of Artaxerxes Longimanus. It was under him that Jerusalem was rebuilt, and that Ezra and Nehemiah were successively appointed to be governors of Judæa. With the closing chapter of the Book of Nehemiah, the sacred history of the Old Testament ends. Nehemiah was at this time an old man; and the probability is that he died soon after at Jerusalem.

After him, there seem not to have been any more governors in Judæa. This country was annexed to the province of Cœlo-Syria, and was subject to its prefect, who resided at Damascus. The chief ruler at Jerusalem, in affairs civil and ecclesiastical, was the high priest.

During the government of Nehemiah, Eliashib was high priest. He was grandson of Joshua, who came with the first company of exiles from Babylon. He was succeeded in office by his son, Joiada. It may be feared that neither of these men had any strict regard for the religion of their fathers; since the former was allied in marriage to Tobiah the Ammonite, and prepared for him a chamber in the house of the Lord; and the latter was similarly connected with Sanballat the Horonite, as stated in the last chapter.

Darius Nothus was now on the throne of the Persian Empire. He succeeded in quelling revolts and rebellions, and in keeping his vast empire together. By aiding the Lacedæmonians, he enabled them to overcome the Athenians, and thus put an end to the Peloponnesian war; but this only left the Lacedæmonians at liberty to invade the Persian provinces in Asia, whereby great injury accrued both to the king and his successors.

Darius died after a reign of nineteen years, and was succeeded

by his son, Artaxerxes Mnemon. Mnemon had a younger brother, whose name was Cyrus, who governed the provinces of Lesser Asia. Cyrus raised a great army, composed in part of Greeks, and marched into Persia for the purpose of driving his brother from the throne. They came to a battle on the plains of Cunaxa, near Babylon, where Cyrus was slain. The Greeks who accompanied him, under the direction of Xenophon, effected a retreat of more than two thousand miles, — the longest and most remarkable that was ever made through an enemy's country. This expedition and retreat form the subject of Xenophon's "Anabasis." The "Cyropaedia" of Xenophon relates to a very different person, — the older Cyrus, that great monarch by whom Babylon was overthrown.

The reign of Artaxerxes Mnemon was long, and, on the whole, prosperous. He is represented as a mild and generous prince, who ruled with clemency and justice, and whose name was revered and honored throughout the empire. He had long and bloody contests with the Greeks, more especially the Lacedæmonians, who harassed and plundered the provinces of Lesser Asia. When these were quelled, he undertook the subjugation of Egýpt, which had been for some time in a state of revolt; but he did not live to see this object accomplished.

In the thirty-fourth year of Artaxerxes Mnemon, Joiada, the high priest at Jerusalem, died, and was succeeded by Jonathan, his son. This Jonathan was a man of blood; for when one of his brothers aspired to the high priest's office, and undertook to drive him from it, he fell upon him, and slew him, in the inner court of the temple. By this murderous act, Jonathan greatly incensed the governor of Syria and Palestine, who, in punishment of it, imposed a fine upon the temple. He condemned the priests to pay him, for every lamb they offered in sacrifice, a tribute of fifty drachms, which is about eight dollars of our money.

Artaxerxes died at the age of ninety-four years, forty-six of which he had reigned over the Persian Empire. He was succeeded by his cruel and wicked son, Artaxerxes Ochus. He made his way to the throne by blood; and, when he had secured it, he slew most of the members of the royal family, without regard to age, sex, or condition. There were disturbances in the provinces at the commencement of this king's reign; but, by the energy of his government, these were ere long subdued, when he bent all his force for the reduction of Egypt. With this view he put himself at the head of his army, and marched in person into Syria and

Phœnicia. He inflicted a terrible destruction on the city of Sidon ; and, because he suspected the Jews of favoring the Sidonians, he had a quarrel with them. He sent an army into Judæa, besieged and took Jericho, and made many of the Jews captives. A part of these he took with him into Egypt ; and a part he sent away into Hyrcania, and planted them on the shores of the Caspian Sea. He soon effected the subjugation of Egypt, and drove their king, Nectanebus, into Ethiopia. This king was the last native Egyptian that ever reigned on the throne of Egypt. From that time to the present, Egypt has been governed by strangers, according to the prophecy of Ezekiel : “ It shall be the basest of kingdoms ; neither shall it exalt itself any more among the nations ; for I will diminish them, that they shall rule over the nations no more ” (Ezek. xxix. 15).

After the reduction of Egypt and the other revolted provinces, Ochus gave himself up to his pleasures, spending his whole time in indolence and luxury. He was poisoned by his favorite eunuch Bagoas, and died, when he had reigned twenty-one years.

In the third year of Ochus, Alexander the Great was born, — he who was destined so soon to effect the overthrow of Persia. In the eleventh year of the reign of Ochus, Plato, the celebrated Athenian philosopher, died. Seven years later died Jonathan, the high priest at Jerusalem : he was succeeded by Jaddua, his son, who is the last of the high priests whose names occur in the genealogies of the Old Testament (Neh. xii. 11).

After the death of Ochus, Bagoas, his murderer, placed Arses, his youngest son, upon the throne ; but, being offended with him, he slew him when he had reigned only two years. The wretch now gave the throne to Darius Codomannus, a descendant of Darius Nothus, but not a son of the late king. Not finding him so obsequious as he desired, Bagoas undertook to remove him, too, by poison ; but Darius, being advised of the fact, compelled him to drink the potion himself. In this way he destroyed the traitor, and became firmly settled in the kingdom. Darius is represented as of an imposing stature, of great personal bravery, and of a mild and generous disposition. In ordinary times, he might have reigned as long and as happily as any of his predecessors ; but, having the genius of Alexander to contend with, he was not able to stand against it.

Shortly after his father's death, Alexander, being now about twenty-one years of age, was appointed generalissimo of all the

Greeks ; and each of the Grecian cities agreed to furnish its quota of men and money for carrying on a war against the Persians. Thus furnished, this brave young man crossed the Hellespont into Asia in the second year of the reign of Darius. His army consisted, at this time, of only thirty thousand men ; nor had he the means of supporting them for more than thirty days. Still he was not discouraged : he trusted to his good fortune and to the providence of God ; and Providence favored him in a most remarkable manner. In a few days, he gained a complete victory over a Persian army five times as great as his own, at the River Granicus, which put him in possession of a vast amount of treasure and of all the provinces of Lesser Asia. In the year following, he came to the still more decisive battle of Issus, in which he defeated an army of six hundred thousand Persians, and left a hundred thousand dead upon the field. Darius himself hardly escaped ; while his camp, his baggage, his mother, his wife, his children, all fell into the enemy's hands. In consequence of this victory, Damascus, with its immense wealth, came into possession of the conqueror, and with it the entire province of Syria.

Alexander now bent his course southward in the direction of Phœnicia and Egypt. Most of the cities submitted to him without a struggle : but the siege and the conquest of Tyre cost him a great effort and many lives ; and, what was still more vexatious, it retarded him for months in his career of blood.

Tyre having fallen, the conqueror next turned his steps towards Jerusalem. The Jews, unwilling to forfeit the friendship of the Persians, had refused to grant him supplies during the siege of Tyre ; and now he was intending to punish them for their disobedience. But God interposed in a most remarkable manner for their deliverance : in a vision of the night, he directed Jaddua the high priest not to fight with Alexander, but to go out to him in his pontifical robes, with the priests following him in their proper attire, and all the people in white garments. Accordingly, Jaddua prepared to do as he was directed. The next day, he went out of the city, attended by the priests and people in a long and sacred procession, and waited in the most solemn manner the coming of the king.

As soon as Alexander saw him, he was struck with a profound astonishment and awe. He leaped from his chariot, and, rushing forward, bowed down before the high priest, and did him reverence, to the great surprise of his generals and of all who attended

him. And, when he was inquired of as to the reason of what he had done, he said that he did not so much honor the priest as that Divine Being whose priest he was: "For," says he, "when I was at Dio, in Macedonia, and was there deliberating with myself how I should carry on this war against the Persians, and was much in doubt as to the issue of the undertaking, this very person, and in this very habit, appeared to me in a dream, and encouraged me to lay aside all distrust about the matter, and pass boldly over into Asia, promising me that God would be my guide in the expedition, and give me the empire of the Persians. Wherefore, seeing this sacred personage, and knowing him to be the same that appeared to me in my own country, I feel assured that this present war is under the direction of the Almighty, and that he will conduct it to a happy issue." Having thus said, Alexander kindly embraced the high priest, went with him into Jerusalem, and offered sacrifices in the temple.* It was on this occasion that Jaddua read to him those portions of the Book of Daniel in which it was predicted that the Persian Empire should be overthrown by a Grecian king. By these, Alexander was still further assured that he should succeed in his conflict with Persia; and, at his departure, he encouraged the Jews to ask any favor of him which they desired. Whereupon they requested that they might enjoy the freedom of their country, their laws and religion, and be exempted every seventh year from paying tribute; because in that year, according to their law, they neither sowed nor reaped. This request Alexander very readily granted, and treated them ever afterwards with distinguished favor.

The Samaritans, seeing how kindly the Jews had been treated, immediately preferred a request to the king that he would honor their city and temple with his presence, and exempt them also from paying tribute every seventh year. Alexander did not absolutely deny them, but deferred the consideration of their case until his return from Egypt. At this the Samaritans were much incensed; and, to show their resentment, they rose against one of the friends of the king whom he had made governor of Syria and Palestine, set fire to his house, and burned him to death. When Alexander returned, he took exemplary vengeance upon these murderers, and upon the Samaritans generally. Some he put to death; some he exiled into Egypt; and the remainder he drove from Samaria to Shechem, where they builded a city, and where their descendants

* Josephus, Antiq., book ii. chap. 8.

still reside. Their former city he settled with Macedonians: their territory he gave to the Jews.

Alexander's mission into Egypt was one of mingled glory and shame. He had no difficulty in the subjugation of Egypt; indeed, it could hardly be called a subjugation: so tired were the Egyptians of Persian rule, that they submitted to him of their own accord, and even ran to him as a deliverer. In establishing his authority over Egypt, he hardly needed to strike a blow.

But Alexander was not satisfied with the possession of Egypt. In the pride of his heart, he thought to be deified and worshipped there: so he projected a journey from Memphis to the Temple of Ammon, situated in the desert two hundred and fifty miles off, and bribed the priests to declare him a son of the god. This notion of being a sort of demi-god like Bacchus and Hercules seems to have possessed him ever after, and was, in fact, the occasion of his ruin. It was this which led him, like Hercules, foolishly to invade India, and more foolishly to drink himself to death in imitation of Bacchus.

On his way to the Temple of Ammon, Alexander observed a place over against the Island of Pharos, on the seacoast, which he thought a favorable situation for a new city; and there he caused to be built Alexandria. He named it for himself, and made it the future capital of Egypt. For long ages, Alexandria was not only the grand *dépôt* of European commerce, but the principal seat of learning in the world. At present it is a poor place, remarkable chiefly for the ruins of its former greatness.

When Alexander had settled the government of Egypt, and disposed of all things according to his will, he set out for the East in pursuit of Darius. The two armies, with their leaders, came together beyond the Tigris, not far from the site of ancient Nineveh. The Persians numbered not less than a million, while the whole force of Alexander did not exceed fifty thousand; yet he had no hesitation in hazarding battle, and that, too, on an open plain, which gave great advantage to the Persians. The fortune of the day was soon decided. Darius was routed and defeated; and the whole Persian Empire, to the utmost extent in which it was possessed by Cyrus or by any of his successors, fell into the hands of Alexander. And herein was accomplished what had long before been predicted by Daniel: "A he-goat came from the west, on the face of the whole earth, and he touched not the ground; and the goat had a notable horn between his eyes. And he came

to the ram which had two horns, which I had seen standing before the river, and ran unto him in the fury of his power, and smote the ram, and brake his two horns. And there was no power in the ram to stand before him; but he cast him down to the ground, and stamped upon him: and there was none that could deliver the ram out of his hand" (Dan. viii. 5-7).

Having lost the battle, Darius fled into Media, and afterwards into Bactria, endeavoring in vain to raise another army; but his own followers, becoming weary at length of his fallen fortunes, took his life. Alexander shed many tears over his dead body: he wrapped it in his own cloak, and sent it to Shushan to be buried among the kings of Persia. The expenses of the funeral he bore himself; nor did he cease to pursue the traitors who murdered Darius, until they were destroyed.

I have no occasion to speak further of the rapid marches and flying conquests of Alexander in the East. He soon made himself master of all those wild and mountainous regions lying north and east of Persia, penetrated far into India, and returned by a circuitous route to Babylon. He seemed rather to fly than to march; and, wherever he came, the terrified nations bowed down before him, and owned him as their lord: so remarkably did he answer in this respect to Daniel's prophetic symbols of him,—a he-goat coming from the west, and *not touching the ground*; a leopard, having on its back the wings of a fowl with which to *fly* and take the prey (Dan. vii. 6; viii. 5).

While Alexander lay at Babylon, he was constantly projecting great designs for the future. One of his plans was to prepare a fleet with which to circumnavigate the African continent, and return into Greece by the Pillars of Hercules; another was to rebuild the ruined Tower of Belus and the city of Babylon, and restore both to more than their ancient splendor. At the same time, he was intent upon his pleasures, which he carried to the most ruinous excess. He often spent whole days and nights in drunkenness and debauchery, drinking quarts and (if the accounts are to be credited) gallons at a sitting. By such means, he brought on a fever which in a few days put an end to his life. He feared not to meet the East in arms; but its vices and luxuries destroyed him. His death occurred in the year before Christ 323, when he had reigned only twelve years and a half.

His success in war during this period was beyond all example. He was often extravagant in his plans, and rash, almost to madness,

in their execution; and yet none of them failed. He seems to have been raised up by Providence to chastise and destroy the guilty nations; and most remarkably did he fulfil his destiny: he subjected all to his sway, from the Adriatic to the Ganges, and from the unknown regions of the North to the Indian Ocean.

After the death of Alexander, there was great confusion among his followers about the succession. At length, the government was settled upon his idiot brother and his infant son; but these reigned only in name, and for a little while: the government (what of government there was) was really in the hands of Alexander's great military leaders; and these were constantly quarrelling and fighting among themselves.

During these commotions, which lasted more than twenty years, the Jews were variously and often painfully affected. In the fourth year after the death of Alexander, Jaddua, their high priest, died, and was succeeded in office by Onias, his son. The same year, Jerusalem was besieged by Ptolemy Soter, who had been constituted governor of Egypt. The place was strongly fortified, and might have held out for a long time; but Ptolemy, knowing the strictness with which the Jews observed their sabbath, made choice of that day in which to attack them and storm their city. Having got possession of Jerusalem, he was at first inclined to treat the inhabitants with rigor. He broke down their walls, and removed not less than a hundred thousand of them to the new city of Alexandria in Egypt: hence the multitude of Jews which are known to have dwelt in Alexandria from these times down to the age of the apostles. In a little time, the heart of Ptolemy began to relent: he came to think better of the Jews, restored to them their privileges, and treated them with much favor. He was not permitted, however, to retain permanent possession of their country. It fell, for a time, under the power of Antigonus, another of Alexander's generals; on which occasion, many of the Jews voluntarily left the land of their fathers, and went into Egypt. At length, Ptolemy succeeded in recovering the provinces of Syria and Palestine, and in attaching them to his dominions.

After a long period of confusion and bloodshed, the empire of Alexander was finally divided into four parts; and four of his more distinguished followers assumed the title of kings, and reigned over them. Ptolemy had Egypt, Arabia, and Palestine; Cassander had Macedon and Greece; Lysimachus had Thrace, Bythinia, and some other provinces in North-western Asia; and Seleucus had all

the rest. And herein was fulfilled several of Daniel's most remarkable predictions. When "the he-goat had waxed very great, and was strong, the notable horn between his eyes was broken; and for it came up *four notable horns* towards the four winds of heaven." This rough goat, we are expressly told, "denotes the king of Grecia; and the great horn between his eyes, the first king. Now, that being broken, *four kingdoms* shall stand up out of the nation, but not in his power" (Dan. viii. 8, 21). We have the same events more literally predicted in another place: "A mighty king shall stand up, that shall rule with great dominion, and do according to his will; and, when he shall stand up, his kingdom shall be broken, and shall be divided towards the four winds of heaven, but *not to his posterity*, nor according to the dominion with which he ruled" (Dan. xi. 3, 4). It is remarkable that not one of those who divided among themselves the empire of Alexander was of his posterity or kindred: they were all of them of other blood. So remarkably have these predictions of Daniel been fulfilled.

It was just at this time that Onias, the high priest of the Jews, died, and was succeeded in office by his son Simon, who, on account of his excellent character and his eminent abilities and holiness, was called *Simon the Just*. His praises are devoutly sung by the son of Sirach. He is said to have fortified Jerusalem and the temple, and to have discharged all the duties of his high office in the most acceptable manner.* There are some parts of the Old Testament — some *fragments* at least — which could not have been inserted by Ezra: they relate to events which occurred after his death. The genealogies of Zerubbabel and of Joshua are carried down to the time of Alexander the Great (see 1 Chron. iii. 19–24; Neh. xii. 10, 22). The Jews have a tradition (which is very probable) that these names were inserted by Simon the Just: if so, to him belongs the honor of putting the last finishing touch to the canon of the Old Testament. He continued in office only nine years, when he died, and was succeeded by his brother Eleazer.

Of the territories assigned to the four kings above mentioned, those of Seleucus were much the largest, extending from India to the Mediterranean Sea. He built many cities, the principal of which were Antioch, situated on the Orontes in Upper Syria, about twenty miles from the Mediterranean; and Seleucia, on the Tigris, near the site of the modern Bagdad. Antioch soon became and long continued the most distinguished city of Western Asia. It

* See Eccus. chap. 1.

was here that the Syrian kings had their seat of empire ; here the Roman governors afterwards resided ; here the followers of Jesus were first called Christians ; and here, for many centuries, was the see of the chief patriarch of the Asian churches.

Upon the building of Seleucia, ancient Babylon became almost entirely deserted. The inhabitants flocked to the new city, which was sometimes called New Babylon : indeed, from this time, whenever Babylon is spoken of as an inhabited city, whether in sacred or secular history, New Babylon, and not the Old, is intended.

Seleucus was a firm friend and patron of the Jews. He admitted them into all his cities, and granted them equal privileges with the Greeks and Macedonians. It was through his influence that so many of the Jews settled in Antioch and in the other cities of Western Asia.

From the time of the captivity, the Jews had always been numerous in the East. Notwithstanding all the encouragement given them by the Persian kings, not half of them ever returned into Palestine. They were of great service to Seleucus in his wars ; and he bestowed upon them all the privileges which they could reasonably desire.

The Jews of Palestine were now under the government of Ptolemy, king of Egypt ; and he was equally favorable to them in his dominions as Seleucus was in his. They had special privileges granted to them at Alexandria, and constituted an important part of the population of that great city.

In the year 283 before Christ, Ptolemy Soter died, at the advanced age of eighty-four ; having governed Egypt from the death of Alexander,—forty years. He was the wisest and best of all the Ptolemies, and left an example of prudence, justice, and clemency, which none of his successors cared to follow. Before his death, he had admitted his son, Ptolemy Philadelphus, to be the partner of his throne, and thereby established the succession.

The famous Alexandrian Library was commenced by Ptolemy Soter. It was greatly increased by Philadelphus and his successors, until it numbered at length seven hundred thousand volumes. A part of this vast library was destroyed in the time of Julius Cæsar : the remainder was burned by the command of the caliph Omar, A.D. 642. His reply to his general, who inquired of him what should be done with the books, was as follows : “If their contents agree with the Koran, we have no need of them ; if they disagree, we cannot suffer them : therefore let them be burned.”

So these inestimable treasures of ancient learning and wisdom were distributed for fuel to the public baths, and sufficed to heat all the baths of the city for the space of six months.

It was during the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus that the Greek version of the Old Testament, commonly called the Septuagint, was commenced at Alexandria. The ancient Jewish legends respecting this version, — such as, that Ptolemy sent to Jerusalem for a copy of the sacred writings, and for six learned scribes from each of the twelve tribes of Israel (making seventy-two in all) to translate them ; that these were secluded in distinct cells, on the Isle of Pharos, till each had prepared a separate version ; that, on comparing these versions, they were found to agree word for word with each other, — these and other like stories, which were copied from the Jews by the early Christian fathers, and on account of which the version has ever since been called *the Septuagint*, are deservedly rejected by the learned of the present day. This version, evidently, was not all made at once. The Pentateuch may have been translated for the use of the synagogues as early as the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus. It was then much needed, because the Hebrew language was no longer understood in Egypt, at least by the common people. The rest of the Old Testament seems not to have been translated until the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, when the Jews were forbidden to read the law in their synagogues, and commenced reading the other Scriptures.

It is, moreover, certain that this translation was not all made by the same hand. The differences in the style and character of the translations ; the accuracy with which some of the books are translated, and the carelessness and inaccuracy which appear in others, — are full proof of this.

On the whole, there can be no reasonable doubt that a translation of the Old Testament into Greek was commenced at Alexandria as early as the days of Ptolemy Philadelphus, and that in a course of years it was completed. There can be no doubt that this version was used in the synagogues of Alexandria, where, as I said, it was now needed ; and that a copy of it was deposited in the king's great library. There can be no doubt that this version came into general use among the Jews wherever the Greek language was spoken ; that it was much used in Palestine in the days of our Saviour, and was frequently quoted by him and the apostles.

As to the origin of this celebrated version, it was probably made

by learned Alexandrian Jews in Egypt, and from some authorized copy which was there. Why should the king send to Jerusalem for a copy, when there were doubtless fifty copies in Alexandria? or why should he send to Jerusalem for translators, when the scribes at Alexandria were much better qualified for the work than any he could get from the Holy Land? The Greek language was vernacular at Alexandria; whereas it had scarcely begun to be spoken at this time in Jerusalem.

There were other translations of the Old Testament into Greek, — as those of Aquila, of Theodotion, and Symmachus; but these were made at a later period, and were never regarded as of equal authority and sacredness with the Septuagint.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

THE JEWS UNDER THE KINGS OF SYRIA AND EGYPT.

IN the preceding chapter, I spoke of the vast empire of Alexander as divided among four of his great generals, who governed the different parts of it as kings. The last of these which survived was Seleucus. He reigned over all the East, and was intent on extending his empire into the West. While on his way to invade Macedonia; he was treacherously murdered by one of his followers. He was succeeded in the government by his son Antiochus, commonly called Antiochus Soter.

Ptolemy Philadelphus still reigned over Egypt and Palestine. In the year 274 before Christ, he sent an embassy to the Romans; and the Romans the next year sent ambassadors to him. This is the first mention we have of the Romans as concerning themselves with the affairs of the East.

Ptolemy, that he might advance the riches of his kingdom, contrived to direct the trade of the East from its accustomed channels through Tyre and Antioch, and bring nearly the whole of it to Alexandria. For this purpose he established a port, and built a city, on the western shore of the Red Sea, from which he constructed a road across the desert to the Nile. He built houses of entertainment on the way, and furnished them with water by a channel from the river. In this way, the commerce of the East, which in all previous ages had gone through Syria and Palestine, was now brought directly to the Nile, down which it floated to the great city of Alexandria; and in this channel the trade between Asia and Europe continued to flow for the next seventeen hundred years, — until a better route was discovered by the Cape of Good Hope.

We have now arrived at the age of the Mishnical doctors (so called from their love of tradition) among the Jews. The first of these was Antigonus Socho, who was president of the Sanhedrim,

and teacher of the law at Jerusalem. Among his pupils was a Jew named Sadoc. Having heard his master often insist that the God of Israel should not be served from mere selfish motives, — such as the love of reward, and fear of punishment, — Sadoc came at last to believe that there *are* no rewards or punishments beyond the grave; or, in other words, that *there is no future life*. He had many followers, particularly among the higher classes, who, taking their name from him, were called *Sadducees*. They differed from the other Jews, not only in respect to the doctrine of immortality, but in discarding all tradition, and receiving only the books of Moses. I have here given what seems to me the most probable account of the name and origin of the Sadducees. I hardly need say that this sect of liberalists continued and flourished till the time of our Saviour.

In the year 261 before Christ, Antiochus Soter died, and was succeeded by his son Antiochus Theos. To this king, Berosus, the famous Chaldean historian, dedicates his history. He was a priest of Belus, and lived at Babylon in the days of Alexander. He afterwards resided at Cos and at Athens, where he wrote his history in the Greek language. The entire work is not extant; but we have fragments of it in Josephus and in Eusebius, which shed light on many passages of the Old Testament. At the same time, also, lived Manetho, the historian of Egypt. He, too, had been a priest in his own country. His history, of which only some extracts remain, was written in Greek, and dedicated to Ptolemy Philadelphus.

Between Antiochus Theos and Ptolemy Philadelphus there were long and bloody wars. While the former was engaged in contending with the latter, his eastern provinces — nearly all beyond the Tigris — revolted from him, and set up an independent government. As he was not able to reduce them, a commencement was made of what was afterwards the Parthian Empire.

Antiochus and Ptolemy died the same year. The former was succeeded by his son Seleucus Callinicus; and the latter, by his son Ptolemy Euergetes. These two princes, like their fathers, were almost constantly engaged in war, in which Ptolemy had greatly the advantage of his rival. He carried the war far into the East; and might have entirely overthrown the empire of Seleucus, had he not been summoned home to suppress a revolt in Egypt. On his return from this expedition, he brought back a vast amount of treasure; and with it no less than two thousand five hundred idols,

which in former times had been carried away. All these he restored to the temples of Egypt; on which account he received from the priests the cognomen *Euergetes, the Benefactor*. It is said, also, that on his return he visited Jerusalem, and offered sacrifices to the God of Israel in token of his gratitude for the victories he had gained over the king of Syria.

Seleucus Callinicus was one of the most unfortunate of the Syrian kings. He was constantly at war, and almost as constantly defeated. The very elements seemed often to conspire against him. While his empire was gradually diminishing in the West, the new Parthian kingdom was becoming strong in the East, — too strong to be subverted either by him or his successors. In his wars with the Parthians he was at length taken prisoner, and died among them.

Meanwhile Ptolemy Euergetes was enjoying peace and prosperity in Egypt. Like his father and grandfather, he was the patron and promoter of learning. He gathered around him learned men, and made large additions to the royal library of Alexandria.

In the twenty-first year of his reign he had a quarrel with the high priest at Jerusalem, growing out of the failure of the latter to pay the customary tribute. The priest now in office was Onias II., a son of Simon the Just; but he seems to have been the very opposite of his father in those good qualities which his office required. He was of a sluggish temperament, and of a mean, sordid, avaricious spirit. As he advanced in years, his covetousness increased upon him, till at length he withheld the twenty talents which was required to be paid annually to the king of Egypt. Upon this, Ptolemy sent an officer to Jerusalem to demand the money; threatening, in case of refusal, to invade Judæa with an army, and dispossess the Jews of their country. In this emergency they were delivered through the prudence, the energy and perseverance, of a young kinsman of the high priest, whose name was Joseph. He collected the tribute which had been kept back, hastened with it into Egypt, made a satisfactory apology to the king, and was received into favor with him, as he deserved.

I have before stated that the unfortunate Seleucus Callinicus died a prisoner among the Parthians. He was succeeded by his eldest son Seleucus, who took the name of *Ceraunus, the Thunderer*; but never was such a title less deserved. He was a very weak prince, both in mind, body, and estate; and accomplished nothing worthy of notice. Indeed, he reigned only two years, when two

of his generals conspired against him, and cut him off. He was succeeded by his younger brother, known in history as Antiochus the Great.

The following year (before Christ 221), Ptolemy Euergetes died, after a prosperous reign of twenty-five years. He was succeeded by his profligate and wicked son Ptolemy Philopator. He murdered his mother and brother, and afterwards his wife and sister. His reign was characterized throughout by acts of barbarity, brutality, and wickedness. There were long wars between him and Antiochus, in which the territory of the Jews, lying as it did between the two, suffered repeatedly and severely. In the year 218 before Christ, Palestine fell into the hands of Antiochus; but the next year, Antiochus having been defeated at the battle of Raphia, the country reverted to the dominion of Egypt. It was at this time that Ptolemy Philopator came to Jerusalem. He took a view of the temple, gave gifts to the priests, and offered sacrifices to the God of Israel. After this, he insisted upon going into the temple, — even into the holy of holies, where no one could lawfully enter except the high priest, and he only once a year. The high priest at this time was Simon, son of Onias II., and grandson of Simon the Just. He did what he could to dissuade the king; but, the more he was opposed, the more obstinate he became, until he had pressed into the inner court of the temple; but, on his attempting to proceed farther, he was suddenly smitten with such a tremor, with such terror and confusion of mind, that he fainted, and was carried out of the place in a state of insensibility. Upon this he hasted away from Jerusalem, filled with wrath, and uttering the most terrible threats against the whole nation of the Jews.

On his return to Alexandria, he immediately commenced putting his threats into execution. He first degraded the Jews of Alexandria, and deprived them (or such of them as would not renounce their religion) of the privileges, which, from the first founding of the city, they had enjoyed. He next commanded that all the Jews of Egypt should be brought together at Alexandria, and shut up in the hippodrome, intending there to expose them, for his own amusement and that of his court, to be destroyed by elephants; but when the elephants were brought out, — having been maddened for two days to prepare them for the fray, — instead of falling upon the defenceless Jews, they turned their rage upon the spectators, and destroyed many of them. The king now was thor-

oughly frightened: he dared not carry out his threats any further, He revoked his decrees against the Jews, restored to them their privileges, and bestowed upon them peculiar favors.*

Three years after this, the people of Alexandria, being tired of their oppressions, and disgusted with the abominable government under which they lived, rose in arms against it. In this rebellion, the Jews of the city took a part; and Eusebius tells us that no less than forty thousand of them were slain.

Ptolemy Philopator reigned in all seventeen years. He had naturally a robust constitution, which was thoroughly worn out by his intemperance and debaucheries; and he died at the early age of thirty-seven: so true is it that "the wicked are driven away in their wickedness," and that "bloody and deceitful men do not live out half their days."

His successor was Ptolemy Epiphanes, a little son only five years old. But, before speaking of the events of his reign, it is necessary that we turn back, and give some account of Antiochus the Great. He found the Syrian Empire in a state of great weakness and confusion, curtailed on every side, and apparently tottering to its fall; but by the energy of his government, and the success of his arms, he was enabled to restore it almost to its former strength. He first established his authority in the East, and (with the exception of Parthia, Bactria, and some of the provinces of India) recovered all that had been held by his predecessors. He then passed into Western Asia, and reduced most of the revolted provinces there. He was unfortunate in his first attempt upon Palestine and Egypt; but these did not belong properly to the empire of his fathers.

In the year 195 before Christ, the great Carthaginian general, Hannibal (having been beaten in the Second Punic War, and being under the necessity of leaving Carthage), threw himself upon the hospitality, and implored the protection and friendship, of Antiochus. It was through his influence, chiefly, that Antiochus was induced to attempt the conquest of Greece, and to engage in war with the Romans. This war, though undertaken by the advice of Hannibal, was not prosecuted according to his wise suggestions. It proved most disastrous to Antiochus. In his encounters with the Romans, whether by sea or land, he was always beaten. They drove him out of Europe, took from him most of the provinces of Lesser Asia, and obliged him, on settling a treaty, to bear all the expenses of the war. He lived but a little

* See 3 Macc. chaps. ii.-v.

while after this. In endeavoring to raise money with which to fulfil his treaty with the Romans, he became so sacrilegious and oppressive, that his subjects rose against him, and slew him. He is represented as possessing, according to the standard of the age in which he lived, an amiable character. He was mild, humane, beneficent, just; and, until his last unhappy war, was almost uniformly prospered in his undertakings. He died in the year 187 before Christ, and left his throne to Selencus Philopator, his eldest son.

We return now to the affairs of Egypt. I have said that Ptolemy Epiphanes was left heir to the throne when only five years of age. As he had neither father nor mother, and his dominions were menaced on every side, the court of Egypt sent an embassy to the Romans, praying them to accept the guardianship of their king, and a regency of the empire, during his minority. The Romans readily consented to the proposal, and took on them the charge of the young king. Antiochus had before this marched an army into Palestine, and taken possession of it the second time; but now an army of Greeks was sent there to recover the lost province to Egypt. The next year, Antiochus took possession of it again: so that, in the space of a very few years, Jerusalem changed masters no less than four times. In these revolutions, the city and country suffered severely; for, with every change, there must be a repetition of carnage and plunder.

At this time, the Jews seem to have become tired of the yoke of Egypt. They preferred the rule of the monarch of Syria: he had been less oppressive in his government over them; and then he had treated their brethren in the East with distinguished favor. Influenced by such motives, when Antiochus came to take possession of their country the third time, the Jews went out in long procession to meet him, and received him with gladness into the city. From this time, the land of Israel continued in the hands of Antiochus until the marriage of his daughter to Ptolemy Epiphanes, when it was voluntarily given back to Egypt as a part of the dowry of the young princess. This transfer took place in the twelfth year of the reign of Ptolemy, and in the year before Christ 193.

It was in the eighteenth year of Ptolemy that Antiochus died. He was succeeded, as I said, by Seleucus Philopator, his eldest son. He was obliged, by the treaty which his father had concluded with the Romans, to pay them a thousand talents a year

for twelve years. This obligation embarrassed him, and led him to deal more hardly by his people than he would otherwise have done. He is fitly characterized in the predictions of Daniel as "a raiser of taxes" (Dan. xi. 20). In the early part of his reign, he succeeded (but by what means is not known) in getting possession of Palestine, which his father had given, with his sister, to Egypt. Under his government, the Jews were treated, for the most part, with equity and kindness. It is recorded to his honor, by the writer of the Second Book of the Maccabees, that "the holy city was inhabited with all peace, and the laws were kept very well, because of the godliness of the high priest, Onias III., and his hatred of wickedness;" while "Seleucus himself, out of his own revenues, bare all the cost belonging to the service of the sacrifices" (chap. iii. 1-3). But there was at this time one Simon, governor of the temple at Jerusalem, who had a quarrel with good Onias, and who, to injure him, made report to the king that there was an immense treasure laid up within its walls. Seleucus being poor, and the Roman tribute pressing heavily upon him, could not resist the temptation of seizing this wealth; and he despatched his general-in-chief, Heliodorus, to carry it away. He came to Jerusalem, introduced his unwelcome message, and, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the high priest, insisted on plundering the temple; but in the midst of his sacrilege he was met, repulsed, and stunned by a most terrific apparition. He was carried stupefied and senseless from the temple, and was recovered only through the intercessions of the high priest (see 2 Macc. iii. 24-36). Not long after this, Seleucus was murdered by this same Heliodorus, when he had reigned only twelve years. He was succeeded by his brother, Antiochus Epiphanes, in the year before Christ 175.

Ptolemy Epiphanes reigned over Egypt twenty-four years. So long as he was under tutors and governors, the affairs of the kingdom were managed with discretion; but, when he had come to an age to take the government upon himself, he plunged into all the evil and disgraceful courses of his father. He seems to have been a greater tyrant than his father, — so much so, that his subjects twice rose upon him, and in the second instance put an end to his life. He died at the age of twenty-nine, leaving his wife (Cleopatra, the daughter of Antiochus the Great), and a son and successor (Ptolemy Philometor) only six years old.

Antiochus Epiphanes was one of the vilest characters and most

cruel persecutors that ever sat upon a throne. He was no sooner established in the kingdom than he deposed the good high priest Onias, and sold the office (for three hundred and sixty talents) to his unprincipled brother Jason. Nor did this satisfy him long; for, only two years after, he sold the same office to Menelaus, a younger and still more wicked brother, for three hundred talents more. In order to pay the debt thus contracted, Menelaus was under the necessity of plundering the temple; and this caused a tumult at Jerusalem, which could not be quieted without blood.

A quarrel commenced early between Antiochus and his nephew, the young king of Egypt, respecting Palestine. This properly belonged to Ptolemy, though it was now in possession of Antiochus. Foreseeing that the Egyptians were intending to claim it, Antiochus commenced a war upon Ptolemy, in which he gained several battles, and made himself master of nearly all Egypt except Alexandria. Indeed, either by force or by flattery, he obtained possession of the young king's person, and had him with him at his table in his camp.

While these things were transacting in Egypt, a report came to Jerusalem that Antiochus was dead; which caused great rejoicing among the Jews. At the same time, Jason, the deposed high priest, came to Jerusalem with an army, that he might crush Menelaus, and regain his office. Antiochus, hearing of these things in Egypt, and being greatly offended that the rumor of his death should have caused so much exultation among the Jews, resolved to wreak his vengeance upon them. His victorious army was soon before Jerusalem. The city was taken, and was given up to pillage and slaughter. Within three days, forty thousand of its inhabitants were slain, and as many more were sold into slavery. Not content with this, Antiochus (under the guidance of the traitorous high priest Menelaus) forced himself into the recesses of the temple, polluting with his presence even the holy of holies; and that he might offer the grossest insult, not only to the people, but to the God of Israel, he sacrificed a sow on the altar of burnt-offering, and, making broth of a portion of its flesh, sprinkled with it the holy place. He next proceeded to plunder the temple of its golden vessels to the value of eighteen hundred talents, and made off with his booty and his army to Antioch.

The Alexandrians, finding that Ptolemy Philometor was not likely to protect them against the intrusions of Antiochus, took a

younger brother of his (known in history as Ptolemy Physcon), and placed him on the throne. When Antiochus heard of this, he resolved upon a second expedition into Egypt, — professedly to restore Philometor, but really to subject the whole kingdom to himself. When the Egyptians knew of his intentions, they sent at once an embassy to the Romans, praying them to interpose to stay the ravages of Antiochus, and restore peace to their distracted country. The Romans gladly availed themselves of the opportunity to extend their influence and power; and their ambassadors (at the head of whom was Caius Popilius) arrived in Egypt just as Antiochus was commencing for the last time to lay siege to Alexandria. Seeing Popilius coming, Antiochus (who had known him at Rome) put forth his hand to embrace him as an old acquaintance and friend; but Popilius withdrew his hand, telling him that public interests must take the precedence of private friendships. He immediately handed him the decree of the senate, requiring him to stay all further proceedings against Egypt, and withdraw his army from the country. Antiochus hesitated, and asked time for consideration. But Popilius replied, that the decision must be made upon the spot; and then, drawing around him a circle in the sand, forbade him to step out of it until he had settled the question one way or the other. The proud spirit of Antiochus was compelled to yield. He dared not risk a quarrel with the Romans. He promised to raise the siege of Alexandria, and to withdraw his forces out of Egypt.

But he went away in great wrath; and, because he could not punish the Egyptians, he determined to vent his spite upon Jerusalem. Accordingly, as he passed on with his army through Palestine to Antioch, he sent Apollonius, one of his generals, to invest, capture, and destroy that devoted city.

It was just two years after the taking of the city by Antiochus that Apollonius arrived before it with his army. He concealed his purpose until the Jewish sabbath; when, falling upon the unsuspecting and defenceless people, he slew all the men he could find, and took the women and children to sell them into slavery. After this he plundered the city, set fire to it in several places; demolished the houses, and broke down the walls; and with the ruins which had accumulated he built a strong tower, high enough to overlook and command the temple. Here he placed a garrison, and furnished it with abundant provisions, that the soldiers might

guard the temple, and cut off all who came there to worship. From this time the temple was entirely deserted; the daily sacrifices were omitted; and none went into it to pay their devotions for the space of three years and a half.

Nor was this all the evil which now befell the miserable Jews. Upon his return to his capital, Antiochus published what may be called in modern phrase *an act of uniformity*. He commanded all people throughout his dominions to renounce their former rites and usages, and conform to the religion of the State; and, that his decree might be faithfully executed, he sent deputies into all the towns and villages of the empire to see to the observance of it, and to instruct the people in the new religion to which they were required to conform. This decree, to be sure, was couched in universal terms; but then it was known to be designed more especially for the Jews. The king's intention was, either to convert them to his religion, or to cut them all off.

The deputy who was sent for this purpose into Judæa was resolved to execute his commission thoroughly. He suppressed all Jewish festivals and observances, forbade the practice of circumcision, searched out and destroyed the books of the law, shut up the synagogues, and, having defiled the temple in every part, consecrated it to Jupiter Olympus. He set up an image of Jupiter in the inner court of the temple, and built an altar before it, on which heathen sacrifices were offered.

A portion of the Jews, and nearly all the Samaritans, at this time, apostatized from their religion: for it was the custom of the Samaritans, when the Jews were in prosperity, to claim connection and favor with them; but, when the Jews were persecuted, they would disclaim all such connection, hoping in this way to escape. There were those among the Jews, however, and they were not few,—in the deserts and mountains, in dens and caves of the earth,—who would not bow the knee to Baal. Such were two pious mothers at Jerusalem, who, having lately circumcised each of them her infant, were condemned to be thrown from the top of the wall, with their murdered children hanging about their necks; such was Salamona, a noble Jewish mother, who, with her seven sons, underwent a most terrible death rather than forsake the God of Israel (see 2 Macc. vi. 7).

It was just at this awful crisis, when the people of God and the true religion seemed likely to be swallowed up together, that

the standard of revolt was raised by Matthias and his valiant sons, and the hour of Judah's deliverance came.

“The mount of danger is the place
Where we shall see surprising grace.”

But this brings me to the history of the Maccabees, of which I shall treat in the next chapter.

CHAPTER XXXV.

THE MACCABEES.

IN the preceding chapter, we traced the history of the Jews to the time of their deepest depression and persecution under Antiochus Epiphanes, when their city was deserted, their temple profaned, the holy rites of their religion prohibited, and many of the pious in Israel had been put to death. As the deputies of Antiochus "passed through all quarters," searching out the scattered people, and compelling them to do sacrifice to their gods, they found at Modin* a venerable priest named Matthias, a descendant of Asmonæus, from whom the family are sometimes called Asmonæans. Matthias had seven sons, all valiant men, who, like him, were zealous for the law of their God. The deputy at Modin undertook, first of all, to persuade Matthias to lay aside his scruples, and conform to the religion of the king; urging the influence of his example upon others. But Matthias declared with a loud voice, that no consideration whatever should induce him, or any of his family, to act contrary to the law of their God; and seeing at that instant a recreant Jew presenting himself before the heathen altar, and preparing to offer sacrifice upon it, he ran upon him, and, in the heat of his indignation, slew him. He next fell upon the king's deputy, and, by the help of his sons, slew him and all who attended him.

The sword of revolt was now fairly drawn, and the scabbard thrown away. Matthias and his sons retired into the mountains, where they were soon followed by many others. Observing that their enemies had generally taken advantage of their sabbath to attack and destroy them, this noble band of fugitives agreed among themselves, that while they would endeavor always to keep the

* A town north-west of Jerusalem, in the tribe of Dan, near the sea.

sabbath, according to the commandment, they would have no scruple, if assaulted, in defending themselves on that holy day.

Having got together enough followers to constitute a little army, Matthias and his sons came out of their fastnesses, and went round the cities of Judah, pulling down heathen altars, demolishing images, circumcising the children, and destroying apostates and persecutors wherever they could be found; and, having obtained copies of the law, they set up the worship of the synagogues as it was before. But Matthias, being an old man, and unable to endure this kind of life, expired before the end of the year. As he lay dying, he called his sons around him; and having appointed Judas to be their captain, and Simon their chief counsellor, he adjured them to stand up valiantly for the law of their God, and to fight his battles against their persecutors. Thus saying, he gave up the ghost, and was buried in the sepulchre of his fathers amid the lamentations of the faithful in Israel.

As soon as the funeral-rites were over, Judas, with his little army, took the field. Upon his standard was written this inspiring motto, *Mi Camoka Baalim Jehovah*, — “Who is like unto thee among the gods, Jehovah?” (Exod. xv. 11.) The first letters of these four Hebrew words, *Mem, Kaph, Beth, Yod*, being conjoined into one word, make *Macabi*: hence those who fought under this sacred standard were called *Maccabees*; and Judas, their captain, was called, by way of eminence, *Judas Maccabæus*.

Antiochus was at this time celebrating games at Antioch, after the manner of the Greeks and Romans; but Judas was playing another sort of game in Palestine. He was marching from place to place, encouraging and delivering the faithful people of God, cutting off idolaters and apostates, and destroying so far as possible every vestige of the new religion; and not only so, he was fortifying the towns, establishing garrisons, and making himself strong and powerful in the land. Apollonius, the king's lieutenant, hearing of his successes, marched against him with a great army; but Judas met him, vanquished him in battle, and took much spoil. He took, among other things, the sword of Apollonius, which he himself carried ever afterwards. Another of Antiochus' generals then took the field against Judas, followed by a still more numerous army; but they met the same fate as the first. Judas fell upon them, slew great multitudes, and scattered the remnant to the winds.

When Antiochus heard of these disasters in Palestine, he was

excited to the intensest indignation. He immediately set about collecting a vast army with which to destroy the whole nation of the Jews, and blot out the remembrance of them from the earth ; but, in the language of the prophet, “ tidings from the north and from the east troubled him.” In the north, the king of Armenia had revolted : and in the east his tribute could not be collected ; so that funds for the support of his army were wanting. In this emergency, the king concluded to divide his great army into two parts. With the one part, he would go in person into Armenia and Persia ; while the other part, under Lysias, his chief captain, was to defeat and exterminate the Jews.

Lysias was not slow in entering upon his bloody commission. Urged on by the king’s commandment, he set forward an army of forty thousand foot and seven thousand horse, under the direction of Nicanor, one of his lieutenants ; intending himself soon to follow, should it be found necessary. These all encamped at Emmaus, near Jerusalem, attended by thousands of Syrian and Phœnician merchants, who had come together for the purchase of captives, which they supposed would of course be taken in the war.

Judas, although he could not muster more than six thousand men, was resolved to take the field, and fight till he died in the service of God and his country. But, first of all, he assembled his forces at Mizpeh, and kept a day of solemn fasting and prayer, imploring direction and strength from Heaven. Then he made proclamation, according to the law, that all those who that year had built houses, or betrothed wives, or planted vineyards, or were dismayed and fearful, might depart. In consequence of this, his army of six thousand was reduced to three thousand. Still this noble-hearted man was not discouraged : he divided his little company into four parts, under the direction of his brothers and himself, and solemnly waited the movements of the enemy and the providential direction and interposition of God. In these circumstances, he learned that a detachment of the enemy, under Gorgias, had left their camp in the night, and were marching round secretly to attack him in his rear : whereupon he made immediately for the deserted camp, took it, plundered it, and set it on fire. The rest of the Syrian army, under Nicanor, seeing the camp of Gorgias on fire, and supposing that his forces had been captured and destroyed, fled at once in great terror, leaving their tents also to be taken by the Jews. By this time, Gorgias, having sought in vain for Judas, was marching back to his own place ; but finding

his camp destroyed, and the rest of the Syrian army fled, he fled also in great amazement, declaring that it was vain to fight against the God of Israel. The result of the expedition was, that Judas and his company took the whole Syrian camp, with a vast amount of spoil and treasure, slew nine thousand of the enemy on the field, dispersed the rest, and sent most of the merchants into captivity to the Jews, who had come there thinking to make captives of them. The following sabbath was kept by the Jews with great rejoicing; giving praise and thanksgiving to God for their wonderful deliverance.

Greatly strengthened by this victory, and resolved to make the most of it in his power, Judas immediately led his forces across the Jordan to attack another of Antiochus' generals who was stationed there. Here he gained another battle, and left twenty thousand of the enemy dead upon the field.

By this time, Lysias, who had not yet tried his fortune in Judæa, was thoroughly aroused. As speedily as possible, he mustered an army of sixty thousand foot and five thousand horse, and, putting himself at the head of it, marched into the land of Israel. He pitched his camp at Bethsura, a fortified town lying south of Jerusalem, near the borders of Idumæa. Here Judas met him with only ten thousand men, vanquished him in battle, slew five thousand of his soldiers, and put the rest to flight.

Being now fairly master of the country, Judas proposed to his followers that they should go up to Jerusalem, purify the temple, and consecrate it anew to the service of the Lord. On coming to the holy city, they found every thing, as they expected, in a most lamentable condition. The walls were thrown down, the sanctuary desolate, the altar profaned, the gates of the temple consumed, the priests' chambers demolished, and the courts about the temple grown over with weeds and shrubs. But Judas and his company, though they could not refrain their tears, were not men to be discouraged. They immediately set about repairing the desolations, and cleansing the sanctuary. They pulled down the heathen altars, removed and destroyed the idols, replaced the sacred vessels which Antiochus had carried away, rebuilt the altar of the Lord, and hung up a new veil between the holy and most holy place. And, when every thing had been set in order, they appointed a day on which the temple and its furniture should be consecrated anew. The dedication took place on the twenty-fifth day of the ninth Jewish month, Cisleu, about the time of the win-

ter solstice, — just three years and a half after the city and temple had been profaned and desolated by Apollonius. The solemnity continued for eight successive days; and an annual festival in commemoration of it was long observed among the Jews. This Feast of the *Dedication* our Saviour once honored with his presence (John x. 22). It was the only one of the great annual festivals which occurred in the winter.

When the Jews had recovered and purified the temple, and instituted anew the public worship of God, there was but another thing which they had reason to desire; and this was the destruction of the tower which Apollonius had built, and garrisoned with soldiers, to prevent the people from going up to the temple to worship. This was still in the hands of the enemy; nor was Judas able, either by siege or assault, to bring them to surrender: wherefore he built walls and towers round about the temple, and placed soldiers in them, that they might defend the holy places, and protect the priests and pious worshippers.

During all this time, Antiochus was in the East, endeavoring to collect his tribute, and to enrich himself from the plunder of temples and the oppression of his people. When he heard of the exploits of Judas, and of the defeat of his armies in Palestine, he was terribly enraged. The furnace of his wrath was kindled sevenfold hotter than ever before. He set out with the utmost speed on his return; threatening, as he hurried on, that he would make Jerusalem a sepulchre for the whole Jewish nation, and destroy them to a man. But, while thus “breathing out threatenings and slaughter,” the judgments of insulted Heaven overtook him. He was suddenly smitten with an incurable disease of the bowels, and with the most tormenting anguish, which no remedies could remove or abate. Still he would not stop in his career, but commanded his charioteer to drive on, that he might the sooner be in a situation to wreak his vengeance on the Jews. In a little time his chariot was upset; and he was so sorely injured, and so terribly diseased, that he was constrained to stop. And here he became, both to himself and to all around him, a monument of the avenging judgment of God. His sufferings, both of body and mind, were beyond expression. His lower extremities became putrid and rotten, filled with loathsome vermin, emitting a stench unendurable, not only to others, but to himself. At the same time, his imagination was haunted with horrid spectres and apparitions, which were continually reproaching him, and stirring up his con-

science to the keenest remorse. He was brought, at length, to confess that the hand of an offended God was upon him for what he had done against his holy temple at Jerusalem, and against the lives of his faithful servants. He deeply lamented his cruel persecutions, and promised, should his life be spared, to do what he could to make reparation ; but his repentance came too late. God would not hear him ; and so, after languishing for a time in these unutterable torments, he went to his account in the other world, having reigned over the Syrian Empire eleven years.

Our history from the death of Alexander the Great has been chiefly confined to Syria and Egypt ; and that for two reasons : first, the other two kingdoms into which Alexander's empire was divided became early, to a great extent, merged in these ; and, secondly, with these were connected, more or less, the destinies and interests of God's covenant people. The Jews during all this period, though considerably dispersed over the ancient world, had their residence chiefly in three or four places, — such as Babylonia and Antioch, subject to the kings of Syria ; Alexandria, which was in Egypt ; and Palestine, which lay between the two, and was subject alternately to the one or the other.

The kings of Syria and Egypt, being thus intimately connected with the Church of God, we might expect would be noticed in the language of prophecy ; and so, by universal consent, we find them. There is not a more remarkable prediction in all the Bible — so remarkable, that infidels have often alleged that it must have been written subsequent to the events referred to — than that relating to the kings of the north and the south, or (which is the same) of Syria and Egypt, recorded in the eleventh chapter of Daniel. Before proceeding further with our history, let us pause a moment, and compare these predictions with the facts as they have been detailed.

The vision of which the eleventh chapter of Daniel forms a part was seen in the third year of Cyrus, king of Persia, — some four hundred years previous to the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes. The revealing angel commences with saying, “ There shall yet stand up three kings in Persia ; and the fourth shall be richer than they all, and by his strength he shall stir up all against the realm of Grecia ” (ver. 2). The three Persian kings here predicted were Cambyses, Smerdis, and Darius Hystaspis. The fourth, who was to be richer than they all, and who was to stir up all against the realm of Grecia, was Xerxes the Great, — a memorable prediction, this, of his most unfortunate expedition into Greece.

The mighty king who was to stand up after him, as predicted in the third verse, and who should rule with great dominion, was Alexander the Great. The breaking-up and dividing of his kingdom unto the four winds, but not to his posterity (ver. 4), denotes, as I have before remarked, the sudden death of Alexander, and the division of his empire to his four great generals, — Seleucus, Ptolemy, Lysimachus, and Cassander.

The king of the south, who shall be strong (ver. 5), is Ptolemy Soter, the first of the name who reigned in Egypt. The one of his (Alexander's) princes who shall be "strong above him, and have a great dominion," is Seleucus Nicator, the first of a long succession of Syrian kings, whose dominions far exceeded those of Ptolemy. The kings of the north and the south, through the remainder of the chapter, denote the successive kings of Syria and Egypt; the former lying north of Palestine, the latter south of it.

"And in the end of years" (i.e., in process of time, not immediately), "they," the kings of the north and the south, "shall join themselves together; for the king's daughter of the south shall come to the king of the north to make an agreement" (ver. 6). After long wars between Syria and Egypt, Ptolemy Philadelphus gave his daughter Berenice in marriage to Antiochus Theos, in hope of putting an end to the contests between the two countries. "But she shall not retain the power of the arm; neither shall *he* stand, or his arm: but she shall be given up, and they that brought her, and he that begat her, and he that strengthened her in these times" (ver. 6). When Ptolemy Philadelphus was dead (and he died very soon), Antiochus put away Berenice, and took again his former wife Laodice, who poisoned her husband, and caused Berenice and her child to be put to death. Here, then, is the death of Philadelphus, who brought her, begat her, and strengthened her; the death of her husband who received her; her own death; and the death of her son, who was the intended heir of the crown of Syria.

"But out of the branch of her roots," or from the same root with her, "shall one stand up in his estate" (ver. 7). The reference here is to Ptolemy Euergetes, brother of Berenice, and who, of course, sprang from the same root with her. He succeeded his and her father Philadelphus, or "stood up in his estate." To avenge the death of his sister, he "came with an army, and entered into the fortress of the king of the north," and prevailed against

him. On his return into Egypt, he carried with him, in the very words of the prophecy, "their gods, their princes, and their precious vessels of silver and gold" (ver. 8). Jerome says that Euergetes brought with him out of Syria and the East forty thousand talents of silver, and twenty-five hundred statues of the gods, many of which were Egyptian idols which had before been carried into Syria. "And he," says Daniel, "shall continue more years than the king of the north." Euergetes outlived Seleucus Callinicus by several years.

"But his sons shall be stirred up, and shall assemble a multitude of great forces" (ver. 10). These were the sons of Seleucus Callinicus; viz., Seleucus Ceraunus and Antiochus the Great. "And *one* shall certainly come, and overflow, and pass through: then shall he return, and be stirred up, even to his fortress" (ver. 10). The *one* here spoken of is Antiochus the Great; for Ceraunus accomplished very little. Antiochus raised a mighty army for the invasion of Egypt, and penetrated as far as Pelusium. Here Ptolemy Philopator made a truce with him for a few months. At the end of the truce, Antiochus returned, and penetrated to Raphia, the fortress of the king of the south. "And the king of the south shall be moved with choler, and shall come forth and fight with him: and he," the king of the north, "shall set forth a great multitude; but the multitude shall be given into his hand;" i.e., into the hand of the king of the south. "And, when he hath taken away the multitude, . . . he shall not be strengthened by it" (ver. 11, 12). All this was literally fulfilled. Ptolemy defeated Antiochus at Raphia, and took and destroyed a multitude of people. Still he was not strengthened by the victory, as might have been expected. He made peace with Antiochus on easy terms, and relapsed into his former debauched and listless course of life.

The next seven verses of the prophecy relate to the further proceedings and destiny of Antiochus the Great. "After certain years, the king of the north shall return with a great army and with much riches" (ver. 13). Some fourteen years subsequent to his former invasion, after he had gained a series of victories in the East, Antiochus did return for the conquest of Palestine and Egypt with a greater army than before, and with much wealth. "And in those times many shall stand up against the king of the south" (ver. 14). Owing to the feeble and wicked government now exercised in Egypt, many did rise up against it. The provinces

revolted; there were insurrections in Egypt itself: the king of Macedon entered into a league with Antiochus to divide the empire of Ptolemy between them. "Also the robbers of thy people," or among thy people, "shall exalt themselves to establish the vision" (ver. 14). The prevailing faction among the Jews broke away at this time from the dominion of Egypt, and placed themselves under the rule of Antiochus. "But," says the prophet, "they shall fall" (ver. 14). And so they did; for no sooner had Antiochus left Palestine, than a hired army of Greeks, under Scopas, was sent by Ptolemy to recover the country and Jerusalem to Egypt.

"But the king of the north shall come, and cast up a mount, and take the most fenced cities; and the arms of the south shall not withstand; but he that cometh against him shall do according to his will, and none shall stand before him" (ver. 15, 16). On hearing of the success of Scopas, Antiochus very soon returned, recaptured Palestine, besieged Scopas in Sidon, and took him; and none was able to stand before him. "He also shall set his face to enter" Egypt "with the strength of his whole kingdom" (ver. 17). Antiochus now meditates the entire subjugation of Egypt. But for some reason he changes his plan, and enters into a pacification; for this is the proper rendering of the next two paragraphs. Instead of trying to conquer Egypt by force, he plans to get possession of it by treaty; and the main article of the treaty is next indicated: "He shall give him the daughter of women, corrupting her" (ver. 17). Antiochus proposed to give his daughter Cleopatra to the young king of Egypt in marriage, promising to bestow upon her the province of Palestine as her dowry; but all this he did with a corrupt design, expecting through his daughter's influence to make himself master of Egypt. But in this he was disappointed: "She shall not stand on his side, neither before him" (ver. 17). After her marriage, Cleopatra preferred her husband's interests to those of her father, and refused to carry out the plan which he had devised for her.

"After this shall he turn his face unto the isles, and shall take many; but a prince, for his own behalf, shall cause the reproach offered by him to cease" (ver. 18). After Antiochus had given up his designs upon Egypt, he turned his arms against the Grecian isles, and took several of them. This brought him into conflict with the Romans; and the Roman generals soon caused the reproaches which he had uttered against them to cease. They beat

him at every point, drove him out of Europe, took from him the provinces of Lesser Asia, and obliged him to bear all the expenses of the war. "Then shall he turn his face towards the fort of his own land; but he shall stumble and fall, and not be found" (ver. 19). After his disgraceful treaty with the Romans, Antiochus went into his own country; and, while engaged in plundering a temple, he was killed by the enraged populace.

"Then shall stand up in his estate a raiser of taxes," &c. (ver. 20.) Antiochus was succeeded by his eldest son, Seleucus Philopator, a weak prince, who did little else but "raise taxes" and collect tribute to pay the enormous debt which his father had contracted to the Romans.

The remainder of this chapter, or at least the greater part of it, is taken up in predicting the character, the exploits, the persecutions, and the end of Antiochus Epiphanes. "And in his estate shall stand up a vile person," &c. (ver. 21.) Antiochus was a younger brother of Seleucus Philopator, and succeeded him. He was, indeed, "a vile person." He took the name of Epiphanes, *Illustrious*; but his subjects often called him *Epimanes the Madman*. "He shall come in peaceably, and obtain the kingdom by flatteries" (ver. 21). There were several aspirants to the throne, among whom was the lawful heir, Demetrius, son of the former king; but by flattering the court, the people, and some of the neighboring princes, Antiochus succeeded in obtaining peaceful possession of it.

The next six verses (from the twenty-second to the twenty-seventh) contain predictions of Antiochus' two first successful expeditions against Egypt, in which he carried the war to the very gates of Alexandria: "He shall stir up his power and his courage against the king of the south with a great army; and the king of the south shall be stirred up to battle with a mighty army; but he shall not stand" (ver. 25). "With the arms of a flood shall they be overflowed from before him, and shall be broken" (ver. 22).

After this, Antiochus entered into some sort of covenant or agreement with the young king of Egypt, but *hypocritically, deceitfully*; hoping in this way to get possession of his kingdom. Hence it is said in these verses, that, "after the league made with him, he shall work deceitfully" (ver. 23). He brought over to his interests some of the household of the king of Egypt; in accordance with which it is said in the prediction, "They that feed upon a portion

of his meat shall destroy him" (ver. 26). Antiochus even got possession, in some way, of the *person* of the king of Egypt, and had him with him, as I remarked before, in his camp and at his table. This circumstance is also noted in the prediction: "They shall speak lies at one table; but it shall not prosper" (ver. 27).

To account for the success with which Antiochus practised his flatteries and falsehoods, it must be borne in mind that Ptolemy Philometor, the young king of Egypt, was his nephew, his own sister's son. After having tried in vain to extirpate him utterly, Antiochus undertook to cajole and flatter him, and, from a pretended concern for his welfare, to get possession of him and his kingdom.

When his plans had been fully concerted, Antiochus returned, in the very words of the prophet, "with great riches to his own land" (ver. 28). And what does he do on his way thither? "His heart shall be against the holy covenant, and he shall do exploits" (ver. 28). On his march from Egypt to Antioch, the king came to Jerusalem, as before stated, and took it. He slew thousands of the Israelites, forced himself into the recesses of the temple, sacrificed a sow on the altar of burnt-offering, and otherwise defiled the holy place.

"At the time appointed," says Daniel, "he shall return, and come toward the south; but it shall not be as the former or as the latter" (ver. 29). This relates to his last invasion of Egypt, which was very different in its results from either of his former expeditions. "For the ships of Chittim shall come against him: therefore shall he be grieved, and return" (ver. 30). These ships of Chittim are those which brought Popilius, and the other Roman ambassadors, who compelled Antiochus, much to his grief and disappointment, to raise the siege of Alexandria, and return into his own land.

We have before seen, that, on his way to Antioch at this time, Antiochus despatched Apollonius to Jerusalem, again to vent his rage against that devoted city. All this is very distinctly noted by the prophet: "He shall have indignation against the holy covenant," and "shall have intelligence with them that forsake the holy covenant;" i.e., with the renegade, apostate Jews. "And arms shall stand on his part, and they shall pollute the sanctuary of strength, and shall take away the daily sacrifice, and they shall place the abomination that maketh desolate; and such as do wickedly against the covenant shall he corrupt by flatteries" (ver. 30—

32). All this was literally fulfilled in the sacking of Jerusalem and the temple by Apollonius, as before stated.

It was just at this point, as we have seen, that the Maccabees raised the standard of revolt, and the Jews were temporarily delivered. To this deliverance there is a reference in the following verses: "The people that know their God shall be strong, and shall *do exploits*; and they that understand among the people shall instruct many" (ver. 32, 33). The Maccabees "were strong, and did exploits" such as almost no other military leaders ever did.

The remainder of this eleventh chapter, owing to our imperfect history of the times, is not of so obvious interpretation; yet there are passages which were strikingly fulfilled upon Antiochus. Thus, while he was meditating a more terrible infliction upon the Jews than any they had before suffered, we are told that "tidings out of the east and out of the north shall trouble him: therefore he shall go forth with great fury to destroy, and utterly to make away many; yet he shall come to his end, and none shall help him" (ver. 44, 45). These tidings related to the revolts in Armenia and Persia, which defeated his plan of going at once and in person against the Jews. While prosecuting his designs in the East, he heard of the successes of the Maccabees in Palestine, and set out in great wrath and fury to return. But now the vengeance of insulted Heaven overtakes him: he comes to his end, and there is none to help him.

I have thus detailed, so far as we have the means of doing it, the fulfilment of this remarkable prediction. It is *so* remarkable, that I felt justified in pausing in the progress of our history for the purpose. We know, as well as we can know any thing on the testimony of the ancients, that the prophecy of Daniel was written at least four hundred years before the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, and long before any part of what we have here referred to was accomplished; and yet with what wonderful, circumstantial exactness it was fulfilled! And I have no doubt that the fulfilment would appear still more exact if we had the history as accurately as we have the prophecy; but, as it is, this prediction alone is enough to confound the infidel, and to vindicate the claim of the book containing it to its place among the oracles of God.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

THE MACCABEES TO THE DEATH OF JOHN HYRCANUS.

IN our last chapter, we pursued the history of the Jews to the death of Antiochus Epiphanes. I spoke of the rise of the Maccabees and of their astonishing successes, and showed how remarkably one of the last predictions of Daniel was fulfilled in the kings of Syria and Egypt.

Antiochus Epiphanes was succeeded by his son Antiochus Eupator, a child only nine years of age. By his will, the father had intrusted the young king to the guardianship of Philip, one of his most faithful servants, who hastened to Antioch to assume the charge: but, when he arrived, he found that Lysias had already undertaken that office; and Philip, being too weak to contest the point with him, fled into Egypt.

Meanwhile the Maccabees were busy in Palestine defending themselves against their heathen neighbors the Edomites, Ammonites, and Gileadites, who had conspired together for their destruction. Of the Edomites, in two expeditions, Judas slew not less than forty thousand men. The Ammonites, under Timotheus their governor, invaded Judæa with a very great army, intending nothing less than the utter destruction of the Jews; but Judas, having commended his cause to God, went forth to meet them, and left thirty thousand of their number, horse and foot, dead upon the field. The Gileadites next resolved to try their fortune in this war, and commenced by destroying such of the Jews as dwelt within their own borders; but Judas hastened to the relief of his brethren, dispersed their enemies, and slew of them eight thousand men. At the same time, his brother Simon was sent with an army into Galilee to chastise the oppressors of God's people there.

Lysias, hearing at Antioch of these successes of the Jews, thought it time for him to interpose. Wherefore, getting together an army of eighty thousand men, besides horsemen and elephants, he

pressed into Judæa, threatening, as others had done before him, utterly to exterminate the Jews, and make Jerusalem a habitation for the Gentiles. He encamped, as he had done on a former expedition, at Bethsura, a strong fortress between Jerusalem and Idumæa; but Judas, nothing daunted, went forth to meet him, slew eleven thousand foot and sixteen hundred horse, and put the rest of his great army to flight. Thus humbled, Lysias was willing to give peace to the Jews. By the terms of the treaty, the decree of Epiphane's, requiring the Jews to conform to the religion of the Greeks, was wholly rescinded, and they were permitted to live according to their own laws.

But the peace thus established was soon interrupted by the treachery of the surrounding tribes. The men of Joppa rose upon the Jews in that city, and threw two hundred of them into the sea. To chastise them for this, Judas fell upon them by night, burned their shipping and their fortifications, and slew all the men of the city that could be found.

He was next drawn quite to the other side of Palestine to the help of his distressed brethren in Gilead. Here he encountered Timotheus a second time, who had now collected an army of a hundred and twenty thousand foot and twenty-five hundred horse to oppose him. Judas met this great multitude at a place called Raphon, on the River Jabbok, and slew of them thirty thousand men. In another engagement with the remnant of the same army, he slew twenty-five thousand more. On his return to Jerusalem, he was obliged to pass through the city of Ephron, where Lysias had a garrison of soldiers. He desired and requested that he might be permitted to go on his way peaceably; but, as his request was not granted, he carried the place by assault, slew twenty-five thousand of the inhabitants, and took their spoil. Arrived at Jerusalem from this most hazardous but triumphant expedition, Judas and all his company went up to the temple and rendered thanksgiving and praise to the God of Israel for his most merciful interpositions in their behalf.

Judas now undertook, for the second time, to reduce the fortress of Acra at Jerusalem, — the same which Apollonius had built years before to overlook and command the temple; but, before this could be accomplished, Lysias was again upon him with an army of a hundred and twenty thousand horse and foot and thirty-two elephants, attended and encouraged by the presence of the young king. This unwieldy host encamped as before at Bethsura, where

Judas fell upon them by night, and slew four thousand of them before they had light enough to see where to oppose him. The next day the two armies came to an open engagement, in which Eleazer, one of the brothers of Judas, was slain, and he was himself obliged for the first time to retreat. He fell back upon Jerusalem, and fortified himself within the precincts of the temple. Lysias followed and besieged him; but, before the fortresses of the temple could be reduced, he was summoned to Antioch to quell a formidable insurrection there. When about to withdraw his army from Jerusalem, he renewed his former treaty with the Jews.

The ex-high-priest Menelaus, who bought the office of Antiochus Epiphanes, and who had been the cause of most of the miseries which the Jews had suffered, was present with the Syrians at this time, hoping by some means to be re-instated; but Lysias, who knew his character, and was heartily sick of the conflict which he was constantly striving to foment, seized him on his return to Antioch, and smothered him in ashes, — a kind of death which was inflicted only on the most atrocious criminals, and which Menelaus richly deserved. The pontifical office was now conferred upon Alcimus, a man scarcely less wicked than Menelaus himself.

But the end of Lysias, and of the young king whom he had in charge, was now come; for Demetrius, the son of Seleucus Philopator, whom Antiochus Epiphanes had defrauded of his right to the throne, having escaped from Rome, where he had long been kept as a hostage, suddenly made his appearance in Syria. He pretended that he had been sent by the Roman Senate to take possession of the kingdom: upon which the court, the soldiers, and the people, all came at once into his interest; and Lysias and the young king were slain.

Demetrius, who took the name of Soter, was early incited by Alcimus, the wicked high priest, to renew the war against the Jews. For this purpose, Bacchides was sent into Judæa, and after him Nicanor, an old adversary whom Judas had once defeated. He besieged Jerusalem and the temple, and uttered blasphemous words against it, threatening to pull it down, and build a temple to Bacchus in its place; but, coming to a battle with Judas, Nicanor was slain, and his whole army routed. So entire was this destruction, that the writer of the First Book of the Maccabees says, "There was not a man of the army left to carry the news of their defeat to Antioch."

Shortly after this victory, Judas sent an embassy to Rome, pray-

ing that the Jews might be acknowledged as friends and allies of the Romans, and that a league of mutual defence might be established between them. The ambassadors were favorably received, and the request granted; but, before tidings to this effect could reach Jerusalem or Antioch, Judas Maccabæus was no more. Bacchides having been sent a second time into Judæa with a great army to avenge the defeat and death of Nicanor, Judas encountered him with only eight hundred men. It was in this most unequal and desperate conflict that he lost his life. His body was recovered by his brothers Jonathan and Simon, and honorably buried in the sepulchre of his fathers.

Of the character of Judas Maccabæus, his public acts are, perhaps, the best expositors. That he was wise in council, and powerful in action, brave, courageous, and all but invincible, his unparalleled achievements and successes declare; but he possessed, we think, something better than all this. He had a steady faith and trust in God; a zeal like that of Phinehas, his great progenitor; a feeling all the while that he was doing the Lord's work, and that the God of Israel was with him. It was this which nerved his arm for the deadly conflict, and led him on from victory to victory. It will be said, perhaps, that he was a man of blood; and so he was: but then his wars were all of them strictly defensive. He was placed in circumstances where he *must* fight, or die; and, if he died, to all human appearance the cause which he supported must die with him. His battles were all begun with prayer, and ended with thanksgiving: the glory of his achievements he felt and acknowledged were due only to the Lord. In the religious aspects of his character,—in his humble prayer, his dauntless fortitude, his overcoming faith, and his devout ascriptions of thanksgiving and praise; in the manner in which he was drawn, or rather driven, into the field of conflict, and in which he acquitted himself there,—Judas more resembled the Puritan Cromwell than any other general of modern times. In the success of his battles, in the number of his victories against overwhelming odds, he was never exceeded by any warrior. His history belongs not merely to the Jews, but, like that of Moses and Joshua and David and Nehemiah, is the property of the whole Church of God.

The death of Judas was followed with great distress and discouragement to his followers. The execrable high priest Alcimus triumphed everywhere, and many of the Maccabæans were put to death. In this extremity, those of them which remained gathered

around Jonathan and Simon, the surviving brothers of Judas, and placed them at the head of their affairs. In the first year of Jonathan, which was 160 before Christ, Alcimus, the great troubler of Israel, died; and the pontificate remained vacant several years. Demetrius also (influenced, undoubtedly, by letters from Rome) withdrew his forces from the country; and the land had a season of rest and peace.

But, as in times of old, the peace and prosperity of Israel their heathen neighbors could not endure. Filled with envy, they ceased not to tease and urge the king, until Bacchides was sent with another army into Judæa. The plan was, to surprise Jonathan and his followers, and cut them all off in a single night: but Jonathan had timely warning of the plot; and, falling upon the conspirators, he slew the most of them. He then retired to one of his strong fortresses in the wilderness, where he so wearied and harassed Bacchides, that he was glad to make peace with him on favorable terms. Bacchides now left the country, heartily sick of this kind of warfare, and declaring that he would never more contend against the Jews,— a promise which he faithfully kept. Shortly after this, Jonathan established himself at Michmash, a little way from Jerusalem, where he judged Israel according to the law, and corrected, so far as he was able, whatever was amiss in Church or State.

In the eighth year of Jonathan, an impostor calling himself Alexander Balas, and pretending to be a son of Antiochus Epiphanes, made an attempt upon the throne of Syria; and so strongly was he supported, and so unpopular had Demetrius made himself with his subjects, that for a time he was successful. Alexander prevailed, and Demetrius was slain. While the question between them was pending, both kings appealed to Jonathan, and made to him the most flattering offers, each hoping to gain him over to his own party; but Jonathan, having suffered so much and so often from Demetrius, and withal having no confidence in his promises, concluded to cast in his lot with Alexander. Nor was the new king, though a usurper, false to the engagements which he had made. He constituted Jonathan high priest of the Jews; which office continued in the Asmonæan family till the time of Herod. He also clothed him with purple, and caused him to be enrolled among the chief of his friends, and as one of the first princes of the empire.

In giving a history of the Jews in these times, we must not

forget the large body of them who dwelt in Egypt. At the death of Antiochus Epiphanes, two brothers, Ptolemy Philometor and Ptolemy Physcon, were contending for the crown. Philometor, the eldest, was a mild and amiable but unfortunate prince; while Physcon was luxurious, selfish, debauched, cruel, and altogether one of the most odious characters in all antiquity. The dispute between them was referred to the Roman Senate, who concluded to divide the kingdom, giving a part to each. Philometor reigned at Alexandria and in all Lower Egypt, — the part which was most thickly settled by the Jews. Among his chief counsellors was a Jew named Onias, — the son of that Onias who was ejected from the pontifical office to make room for Jason, and afterwards for Mene-laüs. He had interest enough with the king to obtain his consent for the building of a Jewish temple in Egypt very like to the temple at Jerusalem. This was situated in the prefecture of Heliopolis, about twenty miles from Memphis, where a heathen temple had formerly stood. The whole province was thickly inhabited by Jews; and in it Onias built a city, calling it *Onion*, from his own name. In this Egyptian temple, divine service was celebrated in the same order and manner as in the temple at Jerusalem for more than two hundred years. The structure was finally demolished by the command of the Roman emperor Vespasian.

Alexander Balas had scarcely become settled in the government of Syria, when, giving himself up to luxury and pleasure, and neglecting almost entirely the affairs of his kingdom, his subjects grew uneasy, and were again wishing for a change: whereupon Demetrius, son of the late Demetrius Soter, who had been brought up in Greece, thought it a favorable opportunity to assert his claims. Accompanied by a band of Cretans, he landed in Cilicia, and soon drew around him a great army. Jonathan thought it his duty to stand by Alexander, with whom he was in treaty, and from whom he had received distinguished favors; but not even his powerful support could save him. Demetrius prevailed, and Alexander was vanquished and slain. In consequence of his victory over the usurper, this Demetrius received the name of *Nicator, the Conqueror*.

The year of Alexander Balas' death (B.C. 145) is one of considerable note in history. This year died Ptolemy Philometor, king of Lower Egypt; this year, Carthage was destroyed at the close of the Third Punic War; this year, ancient Corinth was destroyed by Lucius Mummius, the Roman consul. This, too,

was the year in which Polybius closed his celebrated history in forty books, only five of which remain. This history commences with the beginning of the Second Punic War, and extends to the close of the Third.

From this time, the affairs of Syria become exceedingly perplexed. Demetrius Nicator proves himself to be a cruel tyrant, neglects his duties, violates his engagements, and alienates the affections of his subjects: whereupon a conspiracy is formed by one Tryphon, who takes Antiochus Eutheus, a son of Alexander Balas, and sets him up for king in place of Demetrius.

This plot succeeds for a while; when Tryphon finds it convenient to destroy Eutheus, and put the crown upon his own head. Still Demetrius is not vanquished. He continues the war against Tryphon for a season, and then marches into the East to resist the Parthians, and to quell disturbances there: he falls at this time into the hands of the Parthians, and remains a captive among them for several years.

But the captive monarch leaves a brother behind him,—a younger son of Demetrius Soter,—who is now summoned out of Greece to resist Tryphon, and take possession of the throne of his ancestors. He listens to the call, comes into Syria with an army of mercenaries, drives Tryphon into exile, and reigns nine years. He is known in history as Antiochus *Sidetes*, or the *Hunter*.

Such is a brief statement—the briefest possible—of the changes which took place in the government of Syria in the course of eight or ten years. The Jews of Palestine were variously affected during these changes; but, on the whole, their strength increased. The most painful event of the times to *them* was the death of their noble and faithful chieftain, Jonathan. By false promises and flatteries, the wretch Tryphon got him into his hands, and took his life. He was buried at Modin by the side of his father and his brother Judas; and Simon, the only surviving brother, erected a noble monument over them, which was standing uninjured in the days of Eusebius, after a space of five hundred years.

On the death of Jonathan, Simon was constituted high priest, and was acknowledged as the ruler and judge of Israel. He renewed the league already existing between the Jews and Romans, and was constituted by Demetrius, before his captivity, a sovereign prince; he demolished that heathen fortress which had so long been a terror and a trouble to the Jews at Jerusalem,

— not only razing it to its foundations, but levelling down the hill on which it stood, so that no similar structure could ever again be built there ; he established garrisons throughout the country, and fortified the port of Joppa, that he might secure to his people the benefits of commerce. Having no brother to succeed him, and finding his son, John Hyrcanus, to be a true and valiant man, he appointed him general-in-chief of all the forces of Judæa.

Antiochus Sidetes had hardly become seated on his throne when he set himself to recover Judæa to his empire, and for this purpose engaged in a war with Simon. But John Hyrcanus and Judas, two of the sons of Simon, vanquished him in battle, destroyed his towers and fortresses, and slew two thousand of his men.

Three years after this, as Simon, with two of his sons, was making a tour through the cities of Judah to see that justice was duly administered, they came to Jericho, and were invited by the governor to a festival which he had prepared for them. But, while they were eating and drinking in his house, a band of assassins, who were had in readiness, fell upon them and slew them ; and thus ended the family of good old Matthias, and the first generation of Asmonæan princes and warriors.

Happily, John Hyrcanus was not with his father and brothers at this time, but was at the fortress of Gazara, in the western part of Palestine. The treacherous governor of Jericho immediately despatched messengers to surprise and destroy him, intending to deliver the whole country into the hands of Antiochus ; but John had timely warning of his danger, and no sooner did the messengers appear than they were seized and put to death. He then hastened to Jerusalem to secure the city and the fortresses of the temple ; and was unanimously elected to the place of his father, — as high priest, and sovereign ruler of the Jews.

But Antiochus, who had concerted the death of Simon, was still intent upon recovering Judæa to his empire. He therefore raised an army and ravaged the country, and shut up Hyrcanus in Jerusalem. But when he had pressed the siege to the last extremity, and the distressed Jews were almost ready to yield, the Lord put it into his heart (in opposition to most of his advisers) to listen to proposals, and to make peace with them. To be sure, a tribute was exacted of them ; but the deliverance was a great one, and was owing entirely, under God, to the unexpected clemency of the king.

Some years after this, Antiochus led a great army into the East,

professedly to release his captive brother Demetrius, but really to increase his dominions by the subjection of the revolted Eastern provinces. At the first, he was successful, and recovered Media and Babylonia. John Hyrcanus accompanied him in this expedition, participated in his triumphs, and returned with glory at the end of the year. But the Syrians determined to winter in the East; and, while scattered about in different places, the Parthians fell upon them, and cut them all off. Antiochus himself was slain; and scarcely a man returned to tell the story of the disaster.

Meanwhile the captive monarch, Demetrius, made his escape, and came back to take possession of his kingdom. Hyrcanus also, taking advantage of these disturbances, enlarged his dominions, freed himself from all subjection to the Syrian yoke, and became an independent prince. He took Shechem, the principal seat of the Samaritans, and destroyed their temple which Sanballat had built on Mount Gerizim. He conquered the Idumæans, who had long dwelt in the southerly part of what was anciently Judæa; and compelled them either to embrace the Jewish religion, or to leave the country. They chose the former alternative, were circumcised, and became, as to their religion, Jews. From this period we hear no more of the Idumæans, or Edomites, as a distinct people. Hyrcanus also sent an embassy to the Romans to inform them of his position and prospects, and to seek the continuance of their friendship. His ambassadors were graciously received; the independence of Judæa was acknowledged; and it was decreed that the Syrians should no more be permitted to invade the Jewish territories, or to march their armies through them.

I have before said that Demetrius, after having been so long a captive among the Parthians, escaped on the death of his brother Antiochus, and recovered his kingdom. He projected an expedition against Egypt, and marched an army to Pelusium to commence the war: but he was obliged to return to quell disturbances in his own kingdom; soon after which he was dethroned and slain.

The kingdom of Syria was now divided between Cleopatra, the widow of the late king, and a usurper by the name of Zebina, who claimed to be a son of Alexander Balas; but neither of them lived more than a year. Zebina was slain in a tumult at Antioch; and Cleopatra, who was a very wicked woman, was compelled by her son to drink a cup of poison which she had prepared for him.

The Syrian Empire, after some severe struggles, was again rent

into two parts. Two sons of Cleopatra, the one by Demetrius, and the other by Antiochus, divided it between themselves. Antiochus Cyzicenus reigned at Damascus over Cælo-Syria and Phœnicia, and Antiochus Grypnus reigned at Antioch over all the rest. While these brothers were contending one with the other, Hyrcanus was profiting by their dissensions, and growing continually in riches and in power. In the year 110 before Christ, he besieged and took Samaria, which had been inhabited by Greeks from the time of Alexander the Great. He not only demolished its walls and houses; but, by means of trenches, he laid the whole site of the city under water. From this time, he became master of all Judæa, Samaria, and Galilee, and was regarded as one of the most considerable princes of the age in which he lived.

We turn now for a moment from Syria and Palestine to contemplate the affairs of Egypt. On the death of Philometor, Ptolemy Physcon married his widow, and became sole monarch of the country. He was, as I have said, one of the most odious and brutal characters in all antiquity. He was deformed in body as well as mind. He was ugly in features, short in stature, and of such monstrous lateral dimensions, that no one man could encompass him with both his arms. Yet, notwithstanding his deformities and his wickedness, he reigned over Egypt fifty-two years, — twenty-three in connection with Philometor, and twenty-nine alone. His ancestors had distinguished themselves as friends of learning, and had gathered around them learned men from all parts of the world; but Physcon by his cruelty drove these men from him, and scattered them abroad wherever they could find a place. Indeed, he drove out or destroyed most of the ancient families of Alexandria, and peopled the city chiefly with foreigners.

In the thirty-eighth year of his reign, Jesus, the son of Sirach, came from Jerusalem into Egypt, and translated from the original Hebrew into Greek the book which in our Apocryphal Scriptures is called Ecclesiasticus. It was written by Jesus, the father of Sirach,* about the time of Seleucus Philopator, while Onias II. was high priest at Jerusalem. It consists chiefly of short, pithy sentences, or proverbs, after the manner of Solomon; many of which are weighty, and valuable for the conduct of life.

Ptolemy Physcon was succeeded in the government of Egypt by his two sons, Lathyrus and Alexander.

Hyrcanus continued in the government of Palestine, after the

* The grandfather of the translator.

death of his father Simon, twenty-nine years. He was the founder of the Castle Baris, near the temple in Jerusalem, which was the palace of the Asmonæan princes as long as they reigned there. Herod afterwards converted it into the Castle Antonia, which was standing in the age of the apostles (Acts xxi. 37).

In the latter part of his life, Hyrcanus had a quarrel with the Pharisees, which caused him and his successors no little trouble. Up to this time he had rather favored the Pharisees, and was regarded as one of their number; but being charged by one of them falsely with being the son of a captive woman, and therefore incapable, according to the law, of sustaining the high priest's office, and the rest of the Pharisees not consenting that the slanderer should be punished as Hyrcanus felt that he deserved, he regarded them as in some way concerned in the libel, and responsible for it. He separated, therefore, from the Pharisees; and sympathized rather with the Sadducees than with them.

Hyrcanus died in the year before Christ 106,—the same in which Pompey and Cicero were born. He was succeeded in both the royal and pontifical office by his eldest son, Aristobulus.

As I have said something here of the Pharisees, it may not be improper to close the chapter with a short account of this troublesome sect. Of the origin of the Sadducees I have before spoken. They were the followers of Sadoc, a religious teacher at Jerusalem who flourished in the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus. They adhered strictly to the law, rejecting the traditions, and rejecting also the doctrine of future rewards and punishments. These men were the *liberalists* of their times. They were never numerous, but embraced many of the higher and wealthier families among the Jews.

The Pharisees, on the contrary, were a *popular* sect. They carried with them, not only the scribes, and men learned in the law, but the great mass of the common people. They received as of divine authority, not only the books of the law, but all the other books of the Old Testament; and not only so, they received the traditions of the elders, ascribing to them the same authority as to the written Word. They held to the doctrine of the resurrection, and to a state of rewards and punishments beyond the grave. In practice they were strict formalists, who tithed their mint, anise, and cumin; talked much about religion; and made pretensions to extraordinary sanctity. They are supposed to have derived their name from the Hebrew word *Pharos*, which signifies

to *separate*; because they separated themselves from others who did not receive their doctrines and come up to their standard of life. They probably originated near the time of the Mishnical doctors, not long after the days of Simon the Just. They were sometimes called *Chasidim*, or Chasidæans; i.e., *pious men*. Many of them enlisted in the Maccabæan armies, and fought valiantly for the God of Israel. We do not hear of them under the name of *Pharisees* until about the age of Hyrcanus. They continued down to the time of the Saviour.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

THE MACCABEES TO THE REIGN OF HEROD.

AT the close of the last chapter, two kings were reigning in Syria, — Antiochus Cyzicenus and Antiochus Grypus. Two kings were also reigning in Egypt, — Lathyrus and Alexander, both sons of Ptolemy Physcon. Aristobulus, the son of Hyrcanus, was high priest and ruler of the Jews.

From this point, it will no longer be necessary to give a detailed account of the affairs of Syria and Egypt. Both nations were enervated by vice, and torn and weakened by perpetual dissensions; and the way was fast preparing for them to be swallowed up in the wide-spreading, engulfing power of Rome. Antiochus Grypus was slain in the twenty-ninth year of his reign, — the year 96 before Christ; and, three years later, Cyzicenus was slain by Seleucus, the eldest son of Grypus. Shortly after this, Seleucus was slain by Antiochus Eusebes, a son of Cyzicenus. Antiochus, the second son of Grypus, then attacked Eusebes, and was overcome and killed; and his army was cut to pieces. The contest was now carried on, with various success, between Eusebes and the three surviving sons of Grypus, — viz., Philip, Demetrius, and Dionysius, — until the Syrians, wearied out with the contentions of these troublesome princes, offered the crown of Syria to Tigranes, king of Armenia. This took place in the year 83 before Christ.

Meanwhile the affairs of Egypt were scarcely less disturbed than those of Syria. Although there were nominally, as I said, two kings of Egypt, yet Cleopatra, the mother of both, was virtually the sovereign ruler. Because Lathyrus, her eldest son, displeased her, she took from him his wife, drove him out of Egypt, and left him only the government of Cyprus. Upon this, Alexander, her other son, fled from her in disgust, and was with difficulty persuaded to return. Some years after this, Cleopatra undertook to destroy Alexander, that she might reign alone; but he discovered her de-

sign, and put her to death. For the murder of his mother, Alexander was driven from the country, defeated, and slain; and Lathyrus became the sole monarch of Egypt. In the year 80 before Christ, Lathyrus died; and the crown descended to a son of his deceased brother, who was named for his father, Alexander.

With these brief notices of Syria and Egypt, let us now turn back to the history of the Jews. The first generation of Maccabæan princes were noble men: some of them were truly pious men. Our knowledge of the second generation is limited almost entirely to John Hyrcanus, the son of Simon. And though his character was less virtuous and honorable than that of his immediate predecessors, yet he was, on the whole, a brave, true-hearted, and faithful ruler. Certainly the Jews owed to him a debt of gratitude which some of them were little inclined to pay.

Hyrcanus left five sons: but these had not been trained and disciplined like their fathers; and they exhibited very different traits of character, as we shall see. Aristobulus, the eldest (who took upon him the title of king), commenced his reign by casting his mother into prison, where she perished with hunger. He also imprisoned his three younger brothers. For Antigonus, who was next to himself in age, he had more regard, and trusted to him, in part, the administration of affairs. The two brothers conquered the Ituræans, who dwelt in the north-easterly part of Palestine, and proselyted them to the Jewish religion. After his return from this expedition, Aristobulus became jealous of Antigonus, and caused him to be waylaid in one of the secret passages leading to and from the temple; and there he was put to death.

But from this time the ruthless monarch enjoyed not one moment's peace. He was sick in body, but more diseased and distressed in mind. His guilt in destroying his mother, and then murdering his faithful brother, tortured his conscience, and contributed with other causes to hasten his end. He reigned only one year.

Upon his death, his three brothers were released from prison; and Alexander Janneus, the eldest of them, succeeded to the mitre and the throne. The next older brother attempted to depose Alexander, and was executed; but the youngest, Absalom, being contented to live in a humble, quiet way, was tolerated by the king.

Alexander was a restless, ambitious prince, who experienced almost every variety of fortune, but left his dominions wider than he found them. This was partly owing to his own bravery and skill,

but more to the dissensions of the neighboring States. His borders were first invaded by Lathyrus, king of Egypt, who defeated and might have ruined him, had not Cleopatra, who was hostile to Lathyrus, come to his relief. Next he was drawn into a snare by Cleopatra, and would have been slain by her but for the intercession of one of her chief counsellors, who was an Alexandrian Jew. After the departure of Cleopatra, Alexander made some important conquests. He took the fortresses of Gadara and Amathus, on the other side of the Jordan; and then, directing his march southward, he got possession of Raphia and Gaza and Anthedon. He subdued the Moabites and Gileadites; but in an expedition against Gaulonitis he fell into an ambush, lost his army, and came very near losing his life.

In the year 91 before Christ, a civil war broke out in Judæa, which wasted the country for the space of six years, and cost the lives of not less than fifty thousand Jews. It grew out of the old quarrel of Hyrcanus with the Pharisees, and their consequent hatred of him and his house. While Alexander was offering sacrifices in the temple, they commenced pelting him with citrons, and calling him by the most opprobrious names; which enraged him to such a degree, that he fell upon them, and slew six thousand men. Still the Pharisees were not humbled or subdued; but, persisting in their opposition, the king asked them what they would have, promising to satisfy them if it was in his power. To this they replied, that but one thing would satisfy them; and that was for him to cut his throat. On no other terms would they be at peace with him; and he might think himself happy if they suffered him to rest even in his grave.

Seeing them actuated by such a spirit, Alexander prepared in earnest for war; and his enemies called in the aid of the Syrian kings to oppose him. In this contest Alexander was beaten, and would have been ruined, had not his enemies become alarmed at their own successes, and volunteered, some of them, for his relief. They preferred *his* rule to that of the Syrians. From this time Alexander pursued the rebels with great energy, and drove the most of them into the fortress of Bethsura, where they were besieged and captured. To be revenged on them for their obstinacy, he took eight hundred of the leaders to Jerusalem, and crucified them together; and as though this were not enough, while they hung dying on the cross, he butchered their wives and children before their eyes. This was an act of barbarity and cruelty such as

the world has seldom witnessed, and for which he could have no excuse; and yet it was not without an effect upon those of the rebels who survived. Horror-stricken at such an example, they fled the country; and Alexander had no more trouble from them to the day of his death.

Being thus relieved from civil war, Alexander undertook still farther to extend his dominions. He took Dios and Pella, and the strong fortress of Gerasa, where he obtained a large amount of treasure.

Two years later, he pushed his conquests still farther beyond the Jordan. He subdued Golan, Seleucia, the vale of Antiochus, and the fortress of Gamala.

Returned from these conquests, Alexander became more quiet and luxurious; in consequence of which he contracted a quartan fever, from which he never recovered. He died in his camp at the siege of Rayaba, a fortress beyond the Jordan, in the country of the Geraseans, having governed Israel twenty-seven years.

He left a widow, Alexandra, who was to succeed him in the government; and two sons, Hyrcanus and Aristobulus. Fearing the rage of the Pharisees, who were still very numerous among the Jews, he enjoined upon his wife, before his death, to make her peace with them, and to be guided in her administration by their counsels. She followed his directions, and succeeded in obtaining for him an honorable burial, and for herself and her sons a quiet establishment in the government.

It may appear to those who hear only of the wars and cruelties of these times that there were no pious people left in Israel; that the true Church of God had become extinct: but this would be an unwarrantable conclusion. As, in the days of Ahab, God reserved to himself seven thousand men who had not bowed the knee to Baal; so, in these times, there was undoubtedly a remnant. Down in the humbler walks of life, away from the tumult and the strife of kings, we may hope there were many who loved the God of Israel, and served him in sincerity and truth. It was in these times, or near them, that good Zechariah and Elisabeth were born, — the father and mother of John the Baptist. In these times, also, were born Simeon and Anna, who were present in the temple when the infant Saviour was brought there by his parents “to do for him after the custom of the law” (Luke ii. 25–38).

In the year 89 before Christ commenced the war of the Romans against Mithridates, king of Pontus. This, next to the Cartha-

ginian wars, was the most terrible contest in which the Romans ever engaged; and Mithridates, next to Hannibal, was the most fearful enemy which they were ever called to encounter. This war was begun by Lucius Cassius, Roman prefect of Pergamos; was carried on chiefly by Lucullus and Sylla; and was finished by Pompey in the year before Christ 62. It continued, with little cessation, for twenty-seven years. It brought the Romans into contact with nearly all those parts of Asia which had constituted the old Grecian and Syrian empires, and in its issue subjected all to their power. But it is not my purpose to speak of these conquests any further than they affected directly or indirectly the concerns of the Jews.

I have before said that the Syrians, tired of the dissensions of the Antiochian princes, had placed the government of their country in the hands of Tigranes, king of Armenia. In the progress of the Mithridatic war, in which Tigranes was deeply involved, Antiochus Asiaticus, a son of Antiochus Eusebes, seized the government of Syria, and reigned over it several years. He was the last, however, of this race of kings; for when Pompey came into Syria, in the year 64 before Christ, he took from him the sceptre, and put a final end to the empire of the Seleucidæ, after it had continued two hundred and fifty-eight years. From this time, Syria, of which we have had occasion to speak so frequently, became a Roman province.

Egypt was at this time too much enfeebled to exert much influence upon the surrounding nations. It claims notice here chiefly from the fact that it contained a Jewish temple and altar, and a large body of the descendants of Israel. I have before remarked, that, upon the death of Lathyrus, Alexander, a son of his deceased brother, came to the throne. He reigned, by the sufferance of the Romans, fifteen years; when the people rose against him, and drove him out of the kingdom. He died shortly afterwards at Tyre. His successor was an illegitimate son of Lathyrus, called Ptolemy *Auletes*, or *the Piper*. He is said to have exceeded all the Ptolemies in effeminacy, as much as his grandfather, Ptolemy Physcon, did in brutality and wickedness. Still he was suffered to rule over Egypt fourteen years. Dying, he left the throne to his eldest son and daughter, Ptolemy and Cleopatra. This is that Cleopatra who afterwards became so famous, or rather infamous, for her amours with Julius Cæsar, Mark Antony, and other distinguished Romans. After the fall of Antony, she caused herself to

be bitten by an asp, which she carried with her for the purpose ; and so died in the thirtieth year before the birth of Christ. And in her ended the dynasty of the Ptolemies in Egypt, after it had continued, from the death of Alexander the Great, two hundred and ninety-four years. From this time Egypt became a Roman province, and was governed by a prefect sent from Rome.

We now come back to the history of the Jews. Alexander Jannæus left his government, as I have said, to his queen Alexandra, to be held by her in reserve for her two sons, Hyrcanus and Aristobulus. Hyrcanus, who was a quiet man, she advanced to the high priesthood ; while to Aristobulus, who had more capacity and ambition, she intrusted the command of the army. As, in obedience to her dying husband, Alexandra had made her peace with the Pharisees, and consented to rule according to their wishes, they undertook the direction of her affairs. They re-established the authority of the *traditions* which Hyrcanus had rejected ; they opened the prisons, and set those at liberty who were confined on the charge of rebellion against the late government ; they recalled those from exile who had fled or been banished from the same cause ; they instigated the queen to put some of the principal supporters of the late king to death, on the ground of their participation in the cruelties he had perpetrated ; and they would have destroyed more of this number, but that the queen, in order to save them, dispersed them in the garrisons and frontier-towns of her dominions. Alexandra died in the year 69 before Christ, after a peaceful and prosperous reign of nine years.

She designated no one to succeed her ; but the Pharisees immediately placed Hyrcanus, her eldest son, upon the throne. Aristobulus, however, was intent upon being king ; and being popular with the army, and having most of the garrisons under his control, he had every facility for carrying his purpose into effect. The question was ere long decided in battle, in which Hyrcanus was vanquished, and Aristobulus mounted the throne. Hyrcanus retired into private life ; and there, could he have been left to his own preference, he would have remained. But there was about him one Antipater, the father of Herod, who professed the warmest attachment to him, and who persuaded him that he must either recover his crown, or die by the hand of Aristobulus. This Antipater was an Idumæan by birth, who had embraced the Jews' religion at the time when his people were proselyted by John Hyrcanus. At his instigation, the conquered king fled to Aretas, an

Arabian prince, who came with an army of fifty thousand men with a view to replace him on his throne. Unable to withstand so great a force, Aristobulus retreated, and shut himself up in Jerusalem. He was here closely besieged, and might have been taken, but that the Roman prefect at Damascus interposed, and compelled Aretas to return to his own country. Hyrcanus, therefore, was again an exile; and Aristobulus kept possession of the throne.

Not long after this, Pompey arrived at Damascus, where he was met by ambassadors, and loaded with rich presents from all the surrounding nations. Among the rest, Hyrcanus and Aristobulus appeared before him to obtain a settlement of their disputes. Pompey listened to their respective statements, but deferred deciding the question between them until his return from an expedition into Arabia. Meanwhile Aristobulus was strengthening his garrisons, and making all possible preparation for war, which was an injury to his cause in the eyes of the Romans.

On the return of Pompey, the courage of Aristobulus forsook him. He offered to surrender all his fortified places, and to give a large sum of money, on condition that the war might cease. Pompey agreed to the proposal, and sent Gabinius with a division of the army to Jerusalem to receive the stipulated sum; but, when he arrived there, he found the gates shut against him, and no money was to be had. Pompey now invested the city, and, by the help of Hyrcanus' party, soon gained admission within the walls. Aristobulus and his followers retreated to the temple, where they hoped to be able to hold out for a long time. But Pompey brought up his military engines, and pressed the siege with great vigor. He had an advantage over the Jews, on account of their unwillingness to do any thing to oppose or hinder him on the sabbath day. At the end of three months, a breach was made in the wall, and the temple was taken. The Romans rushed in, and put twelve thousand of the Jews to the sword. Among these were many of the priests, who, being then engaged in the sacrifices, would not move from the altars, nor interrupt their sacred rites, to escape the attack of their enemies. They were accordingly slain, and their blood was literally mingled with their sacrifices.

The temple was taken in midsummer of the year 63 before Christ, during the consulship of M. T. Cicero, — on the very day which was observed, with fasting and lamentation, in remembrance of the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar.

Pompey, attended by his generals, went into the temple, — even

into the holy of holies; but he left untouched all the sacred utensils, and even the treasures of the temple, amounting to two thousand talents of gold. He gave orders that the holy places should be purified, and divine service continued as before. He appointed Hyrcanus to be high priest, and prince of the country, but forbade that he should wear a crown, or call himself king, or extend his territories beyond their ancient boundaries.

Soon after this, Pompey returned to Rome laden with the spoils of conquered countries, and attended by hundreds of noble prisoners to grace his triumph. Among these were Aristobulus, with his two daughters, and two sons, Antigonus and Alexander. Before they arrived at Rome, however, Alexander contrived to make his escape, and, returning into Judæa, soon gathered around him a little army. So long as he was opposed by Hyrcanus alone, he carried every thing before him; but, when the Romans came to the assistance of the high priest, Alexander was constrained to retreat, and take refuge in a fortified castle. Here he was closely besieged, and in the end was obliged to submit; after which, for a time, Hyrcanus was permitted to enjoy his honors unmolested.

These, however, were more nominal than real; for Gabinius, the Roman general, proceeded to new-model the Jewish government, making it rather an aristocracy than a monarchy. He deprived the Sanhedrim of all authority; and, setting up five independent tribunals in different parts of the country, he committed to them the power of administering justice, each in its respective district. This necessarily threw the power of the government into the hands of the nobles who presided in these courts, leaving to Hyrcanus little more than a name; and so things continued for the next ten years, when Julius Cæsar restored them to their ancient order.

It was not long after this that Aristobulus and his son Antigonus escaped from Rome, returned into Judæa, and made another attempt to recover their lost power: but it ended, as Alexander's had done, in their defeat and capture; though their condition was so much bettered by it, that all the family, except Aristobulus, succeeding in obtaining their liberty.

In the year 54 before Christ, Gabinius was removed from the government of Syria; and M. L. Crassus came into his place. But the province was not at all benefited by the change. Crassus was even more faithless and grasping than his predecessor. Soon after his arrival in the country, he came to Jerusalem with his soldiers

that he might plunder the temple. Eleazer, who had charge of the treasures, promised him a bar of gold, weighing three hundred minæ,* which was concealed in a beam at the entrance of the holy of holies, on condition that he would leave the remaining treasures untouched. This condition Crassus solemnly swore to observe; but, as soon as he had got possession of the golden bar, he proceeded to rob the temple of ten thousand talents more, — a sum exceeding two millions of pounds sterling, or ten millions of our money. But his ill-gotten treasure did him no good: he expended it in fitting out an expedition against the Parthians, in which he was drawn into an ambush, and put to death. So true is the declaration of Solomon, that “the robbery of the wicked shall destroy them” (Prov. xxi. 7).

In the wars which now commenced between Cæsar and Pompey, Aristobulus and his sons espoused the cause of Cæsar, and were sent by him into Syria that they might oppose the interests of Pompey there. But Aristobulus was poisoned while on the journey; and his son Alexander was seized and beheaded in Judæa. There remained, therefore, only Antigonus. Nor was Cæsar, after the defeat of Pompey, at all inclined to show him favor. He continued Hyrcanus in the priesthood; abolished the courts which Gabinius had established; restored the government to its ancient form; and, passing over entirely the claims of Antigonus, appointed two sons of Antipater, Phasael and Herod, — the one to the government of Judæa, and the other to that of Galilee. This is the first that we hear of Herod in Jewish history.

Julius Cæsar had received much assistance from the Jews, especially during his campaign in Egypt; and he showed himself their constant friend. Before leaving Egypt, he confirmed all the privileges of the Egyptian Jews, and commemorated their important services by an inscription on a brazen pillar which he caused to be erected at Alexandria; and in Judæa the people are said to have enjoyed greater prosperity during his brief administration than they had done at any time since the Babylonish captivity. The walls of Jerusalem were rebuilt, which Pompey had broken down; the tribute due to Rome was relinquished every sabbatical year; while the affairs of the government were wisely administered (Hyrcanus being high priest) by Antipater and his two sons. It was at this time that Hyrcanus sent to the Roman Senate a shield of gold of very great value; on which occasion the Jews, by

* Forty-three thousand dollars of our money.

a decree of the senate, were publicly acknowledged as the allies of the Romans.

Herod, the youngest son of Antipater, was now governor of Galilee; and he gave early proof of a bold and enterprising spirit. He attacked the robbers of Galilee, who were very numerous, and put all to death who fell in his power. By this means he secured the confidence of the people and of the prefect of Syria. But the Sanhedrim at Jerusalem, thinking that he had made too free with human life, summoned him before them. He obeyed the summons; but, instead of appearing as a criminal, he presented himself armed, in purple, and surrounded with his body-guard. The members of the Sanhedrim were terrified, and dare not proceed against him: whereupon one old man, Sameas, reprovèd them for their cowardice, and told them that the time would come when Herod would not pardon them as readily as they were now disposed to pardon him,—a prediction which was literally fulfilled.

The year 43 before Christ was a very long one. It was made to consist of four hundred and forty-five days to compensate for the errors of the ancient calendar. The next year was the commencement of the new calendar,—*the Julian year*, consisting of three hundred and sixty-five days and six hours. Two years after this, Cæsar gave permission to the Jews to fortify Jerusalem. He also restored to them all that they had formerly possessed, and confirmed them in the enjoyment of all their privileges. The same year (41 before Christ), while preparing to leave Rome on an expedition against the Parthians, this great man was treacherously murdered by Brutus, Cassius, and some others, in the senate-house, after he had governed the Roman Empire three years and six months.

The death of Cæsar was followed with much confusion, not only at Rome, but in all the provinces. Brutus and his party were obliged to flee from the city, leaving the direction of affairs chiefly in the hands of Mark Antony and Octavius Cæsar. This Octavius Cæsar (afterwards the great Augustus) was a nephew of Julius Cæsar, and claimed to be his adopted son and heir. After much contention between these two rivals for power, Lepidus was associated with them; and thus was constituted a *triumvirate* who thought to govern Rome. It was during their bloody administration that Cicero was put to death.

Meanwhile the East was in open rebellion against the triumvirate. Brutus and his party controlled all the country from the

Euphrates to Macedon. The fate of Brutus was decided in the battle of Philippi (in the year 39 before Christ), where he was defeated, and, in despair, put an end to his life. The following year, the triumvirate divided the empire between themselves; Lepidus receiving Africa, Antony the East, and Octavius Cæsar the West. Italy they agreed to hold in common.

During these commotions, the Jews had no great reason to complain of the Romans, except that oppressive pecuniary exactions were sometimes made upon them; but they had frequent disturbances among themselves. Antipater was put to death by one Malichus, a Jew, through envy that an Idumæan should have so much power and influence at Jerusalem. Next Phasaël and Herod slew Malichus, that they might avenge the death of their father. Hyrcanus, the high priest, espoused at first the cause of Malichus; but, not being able to resist the two brothers, he was fain to make his peace with them by giving Mariamne, his beautiful grand-daughter, to Herod to wife.

The discontented among the Jews made repeated solicitations to Antony against Herod, but all without effect. They then recalled Antigonus, the surviving son of Aristobulus, into Palestine, intending to place him on his father's throne; but he was defeated by Herod, and compelled for a time to relinquish his purpose.

But Herod's turn at length came to experience reverses and defeat. While Antony was dallying with Cleopatra in Egypt, the Parthians, assisted by some discontented Romans, seized the opportunity to invade Western Asia, and were carrying all before them. Not daring to encounter them single-handed, Herod fled,—first to Arabia, and then to Egypt in pursuit of Antony; but, not finding him, he passed on to Rome. Meanwhile Antigonus, by the help of the Parthians,—which help he purchased for a thousand talents and five hundred female slaves,—took upon himself the government of Judæa. He seized his venerable uncle Hyrcanus, cut off his ears, and gave him into the hands of the Parthians. Phasaël, the brother of Herod, he meant to have crucified; but his victim anticipated him by putting an end to his own life. He now garrisoned Jerusalem, and provided it with ample stores, intending, if attacked, to hold out to the last extremity.

Nor were these precautions needless. Herod pleaded his cause so effectually at Rome, that he obtained a grant of the crown of Judæa for himself, and the assistance of a Roman army to put him in possession of it. Thus furnished, he was again in Palestine

sooner than could have been anticipated, to renew the war. After various reverses and delays, he at length drove Antigonus within the walls of Jerusalem, where he closely besieged him with an army of sixty thousand men. After a desperate resistance, which continued about a year, the city was again taken by storm, and suffered the extreme rigor of military execution.

Enraged at the obstinate defence which the Jews had made, the soldiers continued to massacre and pillage after all resistance had ceased; and, to prevent the total destruction of his capital, Herod was obliged to buy them off with a large sum of money. Twenty-seven years before this, and at about the same time of the year, Jerusalem had been taken and sacked by Pompey.*

The fate of Antigonus was such as he had reason to expect. Antony was inclined to spare him for the purpose of gracing his triumph at Rome; but, at the solicitation of Herod, he was condemned to death, and was executed, like a common malefactor, by the axe of the licitor.

And thus ended the Asmonæan dynasty, after it had subsisted a hundred and twenty-six years, — “a noble and illustrious house,” says Josephus, “distinguished by their descent, by the dignity of their pontificate, and by the great exploits of their ancestors for the house of Israel.”

In the year 37 before Christ, Herod came to the throne of Judæa, not as an independent king, but as subject and tributary to the Romans. Of the events of his reign I shall speak in the following chapter.

* At the same time of the year, Jerusalem was taken and destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar; viz., on the ninth day of the Jewish month Tammus, — about midsummer with us.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

HEROD TO THE BIRTH OF CHRIST.

IN the last chapter, we pursued the history of the Jewish state to the termination of the Syrian and Egyptian dynasties by which it had been successively ruled; also of the Asmonæan dynasty, under which it assumed for a time a degree of independence; and down the broad pathway of Roman dominion to the time of Herod. Under the triumvirate, which was still in power, Antony had the chief government of the East; and Herod was a tributary under him. Of the principal events of Herod's checkered and eventful administration I am now to speak.

Herod commenced his reign by murdering most of the Jewish nobles who had favored Antigonus and opposed himself. He condemned to death all the members of the Sanhedrim except two; viz., Shammai and Hillel, the founders of two separate schools of Jewish law. He exalted to the high priesthood Ananel, a common priest from Babylon, who had neither connections nor influence to render him dangerous. Hyrcanus, who had been so long high priest, and who was now living in exile among the Parthians, Herod invited back to Jerusalem; but it was only to insnare him, and accomplish his destruction. At the age of more than eighty years, he caused this venerable old man to be put to death.

At the earnest request of Mariamne his wife, who was a granddaughter of Hyrcanus, Herod deposed Ananel from the pontificate when he had held it only two years, and put her brother Aristobulus into his place; but this lasted but a little while. Herod soon grew jealous of him, and caused him also to be put to death.

But, by this act of cruelty, he endangered his own life to Antony: for Alexandra, the mother of the murdered young man, accused Herod to Cleopatra, and Cleopatra to Antony; and he was summoned to Laodiceæ to give an account of himself. But, by flatteries and bribes, he succeeded in satisfying his Roman master, and came off in safety.

Meanwhile the triumvirate, which for several years had governed Rome, was hastening to its dissolution. First, Octavius had a quarrel with Lepidus, defeated him, and obliged him to retire into private life. The empire was now in the hands of Octavius and Antony. But Antony, instead of exerting himself as a wise man should, was wasting his time, and forfeiting his character and influence, in the arms of Cleopatra. He was either with her at Alexandria, or she must be with him wherever the affairs of the public required his presence. At one time, he had proceeded as far as Antioch on an expedition against the Parthians, when Cleopatra sent after him that she was sick of love, and should certainly die if he did not return: so he gave up all thoughts of the Parthian war, and hastened back to the embrace of his mistress.

This insnaring and wicked connection at length proved the ruin of Antony; for, in addition to the neglect and consequent confusion of public affairs, it brought him into direct conflict with Octavius Cæsar. Antony had a wife all this while at Rome, and she was the sister of Octavius; and it could not be expected that Octavius would look coldly on and see the honor of his sister sacrificed to the influence of a harlot.

Octavius declared war against Antony in the spring of the year 30 before Christ. Two years afterwards, the question between them was decided in a sea-fight at Actium, where Antony was beaten. His land-forces now forsook him; and very soon his affairs became desperate. Even Cleopatra turned against him at the last, hoping thereby to ingratiate herself with his rival; but in this she was disappointed. She had insnared Julius Cæsar and Antony, but could make no impression upon the heart of Octavius. Both Antony and Cleopatra fell by their own hands in the year 27 before Christ.

From this time Octavius (or, as he was called afterwards, Augustus) became the virtual emperor of Rome; though he declined using the title, and kept up for a time the ancient republican forms of government. From Egypt, he returned through Asia Minor and Greece to Rome, where he arrived in the month Sextilis of the following year, which is still called *August*, after his name; as the previous month is called *July*, from the name of Julius Cæsar.

Herod had warmly espoused the cause of Antony, and continued to support him as long as there was any hope; but, when Antony fell, he was resolved, if possible, to make his peace with Augustus. He was aware that this was a doubtful undertaking;

and, before entering upon it, he placed his favorite wife Mariamne and her mother in the castle of Alexandria, with strict orders to the commandant to put both of them to death whenever it should be certainly known that he had been slain. Having completed his preparations, Herod set forward to meet Augustus, and found him refreshing himself at Rhodes. Being admitted into his presence, he took off his crown, and laid it at his feet. He frankly acknowledged all that he had done for Antony, and what a faithful friend he had been to him so long as his good offices were accepted. "And now," says he, addressing himself to Augustus, "I propose to be the same to you. I am in your power, and at your disposal: will you accept of such a friend?" Augustus, who had at the first exerted himself to procure the crown of Judæa for Herod, was pleased with his frankness, accepted his proposals, and confirmed him in his kingdom.

Herod returned to Judæa much elated with his success, and found the state of affairs such as he could wish, except that his beloved wife Mariamne, who had learned his murderous orders respecting her, was in great trouble, her affections being entirely alienated from her husband. She repelled with disdain all his attempts to please her and to promote a reconciliation with her. She reproached him with the murder of her family, — her father, her brother, her uncle Antigonus, her grandfather Hyrcanus. She reproached his mother and sister on account of the meanness of their birth; and they, in turn, spared no pains to excite the hatred of Herod against her. These domestic troubles continued and increased till they could be endured no longer. Herod added another to the list of his murders. He caused Mariamne to be put to death on the false charge of adultery.

But this new cruelty, instead of relieving, served only to aggravate, his distress. Such was his remorse for his crimes, and his anguish in remembrance of his murdered wife, that he withdrew from all society, and shut himself up in Samaria, where he was attacked with a dangerous disease. He at length recovered; but his afflictions were not sanctified to him. So far from softening, they tended only to harden his heart. He became more ferocious and tyrannical than ever, and, on the slightest suspicions, would order his best friends to be put to death.

When the Asmonæan family had been all removed, and there were no longer any aspirants to the throne, Herod began openly to introduce innovations upon the Jewish customs. He built a theatre

at Jerusalem, and also an amphitheatre, in which games were celebrated every fifth year in honor of Augustus. These were a source of great dissatisfaction to the Jews; and a band of them conspired together to assassinate Herod as he was going into the theatre. The conspirators were discovered and executed; and many others were executed with them as being implicated in the plot.

Finding that he could no longer trust his subjects, Herod proceeded to erect fortresses for his own security, and to garrison them with foreign soldiers hired for the purpose. He fortified Samaria, which had been destroyed by John Hyrcanus, and rebuilt, but not fortified, by the prefect Gabinius. He fortified Strabo's Tower, a strong castle in the Plain of Esdraelon, and called it Cæsarea. He also built Gaba in Galilee, and Heshbon in Peræa.

Still Herod was not indifferent to the good opinion of his subjects: he valued it highly, and often made great sacrifices in order to obtain it. In the year 22 before Christ, there was a distressing drought in Palestine, followed by famine, and its usual concomitant, pestilence. Herod exhausted his treasury, and even sold the plate from his table, for the purpose of procuring provisions from Egypt. At this time, most of the sheep in the country were slaughtered, both on account of the scarcity of provisions, and because the drought had destroyed their pasturage. Herod, at his own expense, procured great quantities of wool in order to supply the people with clothing. By kindnesses such as these, he did something to abate the hatred of his subjects; but soon again his government would become so tyrannical, that all remembrance of past favors would be obliterated.

When Palestine had recovered in some degree from the effects of famine, Herod commenced building him a splendid palace, after the Grecian style of architecture, on Mount Zion. He also built a castle called Herodium, which was afterwards his tomb. He was exceedingly fond of architecture, and erected many splendid edifices in different parts of his kingdom, hoping thereby to immortalize his fame. About this time, Herod sent the two sons which his murdered Mariamne had borne to him to Rome to be educated. Augustus received them with great favor, and, in token of confidence, still farther enlarged the dominions of Herod.

But his increase of power gave him no additional favor with the Jews: they distrusted him; they hated him; and were constantly watching an opportunity to rise against him. This led him to

institute a stricter espionage and a more rigorous government over them. He forbade all assemblages of the people under the severest penalties. He employed a great number of spies, and spared no pains or expense to make them diligent and faithful. He frequently disguised himself, and went out secretly among the people, that he might learn their real sentiments respecting him. Many of the discontented and refractory were by these means discovered, and put out of the way. He at length required the whole body of his people (with the exception of a few who deemed all oaths unlawful) to bind themselves to him by an oath of allegiance.

In the year 16 before Christ, Herod formed the design of erecting a new temple at Jerusalem on a larger scale, and in a style of greater magnificence, than the old one. He laid his project before the people at one of the great festivals, when many were brought together at Jerusalem; and, when he found that they distrusted his intentions, he promised not to disturb the old temple till the materials for the new one should be all in readiness. Two years were spent in collecting materials; and then the old temple was taken down piecemeal, as its parts could be replaced by those of the new building. In this way, the Jews were never without a temple; and the new building seemed but an improved continuation of the old one. Thus the temple which was standing in the time of Christ is sometimes spoken of as the *second* temple, though with more propriety it may be called the *third*; and the prophecy of Haggai, that the glory of the *latter house* should exceed that of the former, in that it should receive "the desire of all nations," was fulfilled (Hag. ii. 7-9).

The main body of the new temple was completed in nine years and a half; but the whole structure, including the courts and cloisters, was not finished till long after the death of Herod, nor till years after the death of Christ. Hence the Jews said to our Saviour (changing our translation a little), "Forty and six years *has this temple been in building*; and wilt thou rear it up in three days?" (John ii. 20.) Just forty-six years before this declaration was made, Herod began to rebuild the temple. The work was continued, and artificers were employed in it, during the whole period that our Saviour was on earth: hence the propriety of what his disciples said to him when "they came to *show him the buildings of the temple*:" "Master, see what manner of stones and what buildings are here" (Matt. xxiv. 1). The expression implies that

the work of the temple was still in progress. This great work was finally completed under the administration of Gessius Florus, only a few years before the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans.

The year after he had commenced building the temple, Herod made a journey to Rome, where he was received with much favor by Augustus. On his return, he took his two sons with him, who had before been sent to Rome to be educated, — the one of them to be married to a daughter of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia; and the other to a daughter of his sister Salome.

The following year, Agrippa, the son-in-law of Augustus, and governor under him of all the East, made a visit to Jerusalem. He was received with the greatest honor, not only by Herod, but by all the people, and nothing was omitted which could contribute to his gratification. Nor was Agrippa insensible to the honors conferred upon him. He brought a hecatomb of offerings to the temple, and made a feast to all the people. Soon after this, at the intercession of Herod, Agrippa confirmed to the Jews in Ionia, Asia — Minor, and in other places, their religious freedom; exempted them from military service; and conferred upon them other important privileges.

I have just stated that Herod, on his return from Rome, took with him his two sons. These had not been long at Jerusalem before the other members of his family began to envy them, and to excite the suspicions of their father against them. The young princes were not always as prudent as they should have been; and every incautious word they dropped, or deed they performed, was seized upon, and magnified, to fan the flame of Herod's jealousy, and involve them in new troubles. This difficulty continued, with some intervals of quiet, but on the whole waxing worse and worse, till, in the third year before the birth of our Saviour, these innocent young men were condemned and executed. And then — when the deed was done, and could not be recalled — the eyes of the wretched father were opened. He had full proof furnished him, not only of the innocence of his murdered children, but that those members of his family — in particular, his brother Pheroras, and his eldest son Antipater — who had been their chief accusers were really guilty of a conspiracy against his life. They had resolved to take him off by poison, and would have accomplished their purpose but that Pheroras was taken sick and died. The whole plot was discovered soon after his death; and Antipater was publicly executed.

But the end of Herod's bloody career was now come. He was seized with his last sickness. He had a violent internal fever; his intestines were ulcerated; his feet were swollen; his breath was fetid; and, like Antiochus Epiphanes, he was literally eaten of worms. He now gave up all hope of recovery, and made preparations for leaving the world. He appointed his son Archelaus to be his successor in the kingdom of Judah; made Herod Antipas, another son, tetrarch of Galilee; and Philip, a younger son, tetrarch of Gaulonitis, Trachonitis, and other provinces in the north-east part of Palestine. He gave rich presents to the Emperor Augustus, to his wife Julia, and to other relatives and friends; and died, in the utmost distress both of body and mind, in the seventieth year of his age, and the thirty-seventh of his reign.

Well knowing how much the Jews hated him, he called together some of the principal men of the nation just before his death, confined them in the hippodrome, and gave strict orders to his attendants to massacre them as soon as he had breathed his last, that so there might be a mourning when he was gone. But this cruel order was not executed. His corpse was carried with great pomp to Herodium, near Jericho, and there laid in a sepulchre which he had himself prepared.

The character of Herod may be given in few words. He was ambitious of power, and altogether unscrupulous as to the means of securing it; he was suspicious, jealous, fond of magnificence and display, blood-thirsty and cruel to the last degree. The murders which he committed in his own family — to say nothing of the thousands whom he sacrificed out of it — are full proof of this. So harshly did he treat his own children, that it passed into a proverb, "Bettér be Herod's hog than his son." And yet he may be said, in the common acceptation of the terms, to have been a lucky man. In repeated instances, he seemed to be on the very brink of ruin; and then he escaped, and rose to power, when he had the least reason to expect it. Nor was he without some redeeming qualities. He knew how to show kindness to his people, and he often did it when he could do it with safety and advantage to himself; and he managed to hold the Jewish state together, and to maintain its honor and its power, until *Shiloh* came, and the promises of the Messiah were fulfilled.

But this brings us to an event which took place a little previous to the death of Herod, and which was of more importance than

any that had ever transpired, — *the birth of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Saviour of the world.*

Of the events immediately connected with the birth of Christ we have no mention in secular history; nor could this have been reasonably expected. The wise men who came to the court of Herod from the East were probably Magians from northern Arabia or Persia. The star which guided them was a meteor, providentially (perhaps miraculously) prepared and sent. The murder of the children at Bethlehem accords well with the suspicious, cruel temper of Herod, and must have been among the last acts of his life.

According to Josephus, Herod had nine wives and many children. Three of his sons, as before related, he put to death. Archelaus succeeded him on the throne of Judæa. He was a cruel king; and, through fear of him, Joseph and Mary, on their return from Egypt, declined settling in Judæa, but “turned aside into the parts of Galilee” (Matt. ii. 22). Archelaus reigned ten years, when, for his great wickedness, he was deposed by Augustus, and banished into Gaul.

Herod Antipas was tetrarch of Galilee. He divorced the wife of his youth, and married Herodias, his brother Philip’s wife. Being reproved for this by John the Baptist, he seized his reprover, shut him up in prison, and then (to gratify his adulterous wife and her wicked daughter) put him to death (Matt. xiv. 1, 2). This is the Herod who was at Jerusalem, and who became reconciled to Pilate at the time of our Saviour’s crucifixion. He, with his wife Herodias, was afterwards banished to Lyons, in Gaul.

Of Philip, the tetrarch of Ituræa, Trachonitis, and Gaulonitis, little is known, except that his brother took away his wife, and that he died early.

Of the grandchildren of Herod the Great (as he is sometimes called), the most distinguished was Herod Agrippa, who “killed James, the brother of John, with the sword,” and intended “to take Peter also,” but was miraculously prevented (Acts xii. 1, 2). After passing through many changes in the early part of his life, Caligula made him king of what had been the tetrarchy of his uncle Philip. Upon the death of Caligula, Claudius gave him the entire kingdom of his grandfather Herod. He reigned over Judæa about three years, and died in the wretched manner described in the Acts of the Apostles: “The angel of the Lord smote him because he gave not God the glory; and he was eaten of worms,

and gave up the ghost." The Herodias who instigated the murder of John the Baptist was his sister. These were the children of Aristobulus, one of the sons of Herod by Mariamne.

The Herod Agrippa of whom we have spoken left a son Agrippa, who became a king, and reigned over several provinces in the northern part of Palestine. Drusilla, the wife of Felix, was his sister. He had another sister, Berenice, whom he kept constantly with him, and with whom he is said to have lived in incest. They were the great-grandchildren of Herod the Great and Mariamne. This is that King Agrippa before whom Paul pleaded his cause at Cæsarea (Acts xxvi.). No wonder he was not entirely persuaded to be a Christian.

It will be remembered that Herod and his descendants were Idumæans by birth, though they professed the Jews' religion. The Idumæans were all proselyted to the Jewish religion by John Hyrcanus more than a hundred years before the birth of Christ. Still the Herods were none of them heartily Jews. Their principal endeavor was to please the Romans; and their whole influence went to break down the spirit and corrupt the religion of the Jewish people.

The ground over which we have passed *thus far* should teach us *God's love and faithfulness to his Church*. God has had a Church on the earth from the beginning to the present time; but its continued existence is to be ascribed, not to any inherent virtue in man, but entirely to his own love and faithfulness. Why was it not drowned in the Deluge? Why was it not crushed and consumed in Egypt? Why did it survive the captivity at Babylon? Why was it not utterly destroyed (as the tyrant often threatened) under Antiochus Epiphanes? How was the holy fire kept alive through those long centuries of darkness, when there was no voice of prophecy, no open vision, and nothing to cheer the desponding people of God but the promise of a Shiloh to come? The answer to all these questions is the same: God loves his Church; he kindly and constantly watches over it; he is inviolably faithful to preserve it. In faithfulness he corrects it, but has never abandoned it, and never will.

Another lesson taught us in this history is, that Christ made his appearance in our world *at the right time*. He is said to have come "in the *fulness* of time;" which may mean *the right time, the best time*. God had been preparing the way for his coming through four thousand long years. He had been using means and trying

experiments for the benefit of our lost race ; all which had successively failed, and left our prospects more and more dark, until in our greatest extremity, and as the last effort which could be made on our behalf, *he sent into the world his Son* ; he sent him “ to seek and to save that which *was lost*. He directed that his name should be called *Jesus, Saviour*, because he would “ save his people from their sins.”

In this view, we have reason to be thankful that Christ came just *when* he did, — no sooner, no later. He came when the way had been fully prepared for him ; he came when the world had come to feel in some measure its need of him ; he came, as Paul well expresses it, “ in the *fulness* of time.”

Let us, then, receive him, love him, consecrate and devote ourselves to him, and do what we can to make the world acquainted with his salvation.

PART II.

HISTORY OF GOD'S CHURCH FROM THE COMING OF CHRIST
TO THE PRESENT TIME.



JOHN WILKINSON

PART II.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.

THE history of what may properly be termed the Christian Church commences with the gospel dispensation, and continues down through the intervening ages to the present time. It is a history of the changes through which this great spiritual organization has passed ; of the causes which have operated to produce these changes ; and of the influence which it has exerted upon individuals, upon society, and the world.

Church history is commonly divided into the *external* and the *internal*. The former includes all those outward occurrences, whether prosperous or adverse, — the result of causes *foreign to itself*, — which have come upon this sacred institution. The internal treats of the changes through which the Church has passed, springing up *within itself*, and relating to its own appropriate concerns. This department includes an account of its teachers and other officers ; of its forms of government ; of its rites and ceremonies ; of revivals and declensions ; of its doctrines, ordinances, and laws ; also of the false teachers and heresies with which, from time to time, it has been infested. The external and internal history of the Church is so closely connected, and so often intermingled, that the difference between them cannot, indeed, be very sharply defined. Still the distinction is a valid one, and worthy to be regarded.

The benefits of Church history, when accurately written and faithfully studied, are very great. In the first place, it is, like all other history, *instructive*. It enlarges the circle of our ideas, and makes us acquainted with the facts of God's providence and grace.

It shows us what God has been doing in the world, and doing in reference to his own spiritual and eternal kingdom. It shows us, also, the method of his operations, the means he employs, and the laws by which the general course of things is regulated. As, without geographical knowledge, our ideas are necessarily confined, shut up within the narrow circle of our own personal observation; so, without history, the past is all a blank to us, and we can only know what is passing before our eyes.

In the history of God's Church we have striking illustrations of the *truths* of his Word. The depravity, the guilt, the ingratitude of man; the goodness, the patience, the long-suffering of God, his faithfulness to his promises, his displeasure at sin, his love for his people, his watchful care and providence over them,—these are among the lessons which the word of God inculcates; and they are all of them illustrated a thousand times over in the history of his Church. We thus have history teaching by example, and impressing upon us by a united testimony the truths and precepts of the Bible.

The history of God's Church as a means of *illustrating his truth and will* is of great importance to all men, but more especially to the ministers of Christ. In addressing their fellow-men on gospel themes, how often do ministers need appropriate illustrations! And the most fertile source of them, next to the Bible, is the history of the Church. For example: The power of Christian faith and love under the most trying circumstances is beautifully illustrated in the case of Polycarp, who, when urged by his persecutor to swear, and reproach Christ, said, "Eighty and six years have I served him, and he hath never wronged me: how, then, can I blaspheme my King and my Saviour?" And the good effects of a decidedly Christian maternal influence are nowhere more strikingly illustrated than in the case of Augustine, whose mother followed him with her counsels, prayers, and tears through more than thirty years of discouragement and darkness, and never gave over till she found him in the embrace of Christ.

The study of ecclesiastical history is calculated to confirm our faith in the *divine origin* of the Gospel and the Church: for here is a bush which has been always burning, and yet never consumed; here is a cause, an interest, a religion, a kingdom, which has been subjected through long ages to the most adverse influences, and been brought often, apparently, to the verge of ruin; and yet it lives. It has been sustained, recovered, strengthened, builded up,

and is expecting ere long to triumph and fill the earth. Is not, then, this kingdom from Heaven? Is it not the cause of truth and of God? Who but God could have preserved it through all its perils, and brought it along thus far triumphant and glorious?

But this leads to another remark. The history of God's Church is full of *encouragement* and *comfort* to his people. They are here encouraged to cling to their covenant God and Saviour, and to confide in him even in the darkest times. The God who saved Noah and his family in the ark, and Lot from the flames of Sodom, and the congregation of Israel in the midst of the sea, will never leave or forsake his people. He who has done so much for his Church in other ages, under both the old dispensations and the new, will not desert it in time to come. The most tender mother may forget her sucking child, that she should not have compassion on the son of her womb; yet saith the God of Israel, "I will not forsake thee. Behold, I have graven thee upon the palms of my hands: thy walls are continually before me." Let the people of God, then, as they ponder the history of his Church, take courage from it, and rejoice.

And the lessons of church history should encourage us, not only to put our trust in God, but to *labor* perseveringly for the advancement of his kingdom. Our Lord has a service for us to perform; and, all along down the track of time, we see how faithfully holy men have served him, and how much they have done for the advancement of his cause. Now, the example of such men, standing out upon the page of history, should not be lost upon us. It should shame us out of our negligence and sloth, and stimulate us to increased exertion. This world is the field of labor for the Christian: his rest is in heaven; and it is only after the toils of this weary life that the rest of heaven will be sweet.

Among the important lessons of ecclesiastical history are those of *caution* and of *warning*. We learn not only what we are to do, but what to shun. We see the snares in which others have been taken, and learn to avoid them. We see the rocks on which thousands before us have been wrecked; and, if we dash upon them, the fault will be our own. Sailing as we now do on the dark ocean of life, we need a compass and a chart. Let us be thankful that we have them, not only in the sacred Word, but (in a lower degree) in the history of God's Church; and let us study them with all diligence, that so we may escape the ills which beset us, and make our calling and election sure.

But I need not enlarge on the benefits of the study to which attention is here called. History, in general, is full of interest and importance; but church history has advantages peculiar to itself. It relates to higher subjects, it dwells on nobler themes, than those pertaining merely to the present life: it treats of a kingdom which is to survive all other kingdoms; which is to fill the earth, and exist forever. It is proof of the benefits of this study, and also an honor to it, that so much of the Bible is church history; that so large a part of what the Holy Spirit has indited comes to us in this form, by the diligent study and practice of which "the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto every good word and work."

Before entering directly on the history of the Church of Christ, it may be necessary to say something as to the state of the world at the time of his appearing. The vast Roman Empire was then in the zenith of its power. Augustus Cæsar, having vanquished his rival Antony, reigned supreme and alone from India to the Atlantic Ocean, from the African deserts and the Indian Ocean to the unknown regions of the North. This was the celebrated *Augustan age*, pre-eminent in power and splendor, in literature and the arts. The grouping of the nations together under one vast government had some advantages for the spread of the gospel. It gradually civilized the barbarous nations, and gave free access to them. It was a protection, in many instances, to the first missionaries; more especially to those of them who, like Paul, were Roman citizens. It also furnished a well-nigh universal language; the Greek being spoken almost everywhere in the times of the apostles and their immediate successors.

At the time of our Saviour's birth, the Roman Empire had a respite from its long intestine and foreign wars, and was enjoying a season of comparative peace. Some have supposed that it was a time of perfect peace, and that the gates of the Temple of Janus were closed. It is admitted by all to have been a time of *general* peace,—fit opportunity for the advent of Him who is appropriately denominated the Prince of Peace.

The religions of the nations at this period—with the single exception of the Jews—were idolatrous. Their gods and goddesses were numerous and various; and a vast temple was built at Rome during the reign of Augustus, called the Pantheon, which contained all their shrines, and was appropriately dedicated to them all. The greater part of these divinities were no other than

ancient heroes and heroines famous for their achievements and illustrious deeds, whom a grateful posterity had deified.* To these were added some of the more splendid and useful objects in the natural world; such as the sun, moon, and stars, the earth, the ocean, the winds, the rivers, &c. The worshippers of these different gods were not accustomed to quarrel about their religions; for the most of them were mere local divinities presiding over different objects, or portions of the earth: and the common impression was, "Your gods may be good for you as mine are for me: conduct your worship as you please, and leave me at liberty to do the same."

The moral influence of these pagan superstitions, the world over, was corrupting. They tended, not to make men better, but everywhere and always to make them worse. The characters of the gods themselves were stained by the most degrading vices. Though called holy and just, they were involved in perpetual jealousies and quarrels; full of envy and wrath, hatred and lust; ever provoking each other to lying and cruelty, perjury and wickedness. No people can be expected to be much better than their gods; and, if the ancient heathen were not better than theirs, certainly they must have been degraded and vicious.

The heathen priests, too, were monsters of wickedness, who neither by precept nor example encouraged the people in the practice of virtue. To be sure, they inculcated a future life, a future state of rewards and punishments; but then these were dubious and uncertain, and of a nature to excite, not fear and respect, but rather ridicule and contempt. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that a universal corruption of morals prevailed, and that crimes which cannot at this day be named with decency were practised without restraint.

We have seen what were the *religions* of the heathen nations at the time of our Saviour's advent: their systems of philosophy were little, if at all, better. The Oriental or Gnostic philosophy, which had long prevailed in the East, had been gradually extending itself into the West. Pythagoras had introduced it into Greece; and the religion of the Alexandrian Jews had been corrupted by it previous to the coming of the Saviour. It traced

* Most of the Grecian gods and goddesses, as Saturn, Jupiter, Titan, Pluto, Minerva, Juno, Venus, &c., are said to have been princes among the Gomerites (descendants of Gomer, a grandson of Noah), from whom descended the Germans and Celts. They are supposed to have lived about the time of Abraham, and were afterwards deified and worshipped by the Greeks.—See *Universal Hist.*, vol. vi. pp. 34, 175, 203.

all the evils which afflict mankind to the corrupting influence of matter; and inculcated either the most rigid asceticism, with a view to mortify the body, or a wanton degrading of it by the unrestrained indulgence of fleshly lusts.

The different sects of Grecian philosophy, such as the Epicurean and Stoic, the Platonic and Aristotelian, had their schools at Athens and Alexandria, to which the nobility of Rome and of other nations continually repaired; but, while some of these were directly injurious in their moral influence, the best of them had no power to stem the torrent of corruption which was pouring in upon the world.

The state of the Jews at this eventful period was little better than that of the surrounding nations. For more than thirty years, they had been under the iron rule of Herod, an Idumæan by birth, but a Jew by profession, who had been set over them by the Romans, to whom he was tributary. He was unprincipled, ambitious, tyrannical, and cruel, whose chief concern was to please the Romans and to gratify himself. He drew on himself universal hatred, and exhausted the wealth of the unhappy nation, by his extravagance and his wars. Under his administration, Roman luxury and licentiousness everywhere prevailed.

The Jews were indeed permitted to retain most of their national laws, and to practise the religion which had been established by Moses. Their religious affairs were still conducted by a high priest, with priests and Levites under him, and by their national senate, or Sanhedrim; but the amount of evil which they suffered from the cruelty and avarice of their governors, and from the frauds and rapacity of the publicans, is almost incalculable.

Two religions now flourished in Palestine, — the *Jewish* and the *Samaritan*, — between the followers of which a deadly hatred had for a long time prevailed. Both looked for a deliverer, — not a holy, spiritual Saviour, such as the prophets had foretold, but a temporal sovereign, an invincible warrior, a vindicator of their national liberties. Both placed the sum of religion in the observance of external rites and ceremonies which had been enjoined by Moses, and excluded the rest of mankind from the hope of salvation.

The principal sects among the Jews were the Pharisees, Sadducees, Herodians, and Essenes. The Pharisees were the most numerous and powerful. They received the entire Old Testament as a revelation from God, and believed in a future state of rewards

and punishments. They were strict religionists, but self-righteous and ostentatious; stickling not only for the letter of the Jewish law, but for the traditions of the elders. The Sadducees were a more liberal class, embracing many of the rich and the noble, who wished the show of a religion without its restraints. They rejected the traditions, and received only the books of Moses. They had no faith in angel or spirit, or in the doctrine of a future life. The Herodians were rather a political party than a religious sect: they stood up for the rights of the Roman government and for the claims of Herod. Of the Essenes, we hear nothing directly in the New Testament: they were a sect of recluses, residing in the deserts of Palestine and Egypt, and mingling little with the other Jews. They had received their monastic ideas and habits from the heathen, and most probably from the Gnostic philosophy.

Such being the state of things among the Jews at the time of our Lord's appearance in the flesh, it cannot be doubted that piety was at a very low ebb. There were some truly religious people, as Simeon and Anna, Zechariah and Elisabeth, Joseph and Mary, and probably others whose names have not reached us, though they are written in the book of life. But the state of religion among the common people was exceedingly low. They were sunk in deplorable ignorance and darkness, and knew no way of rendering themselves acceptable to God but by ablutions and sacrifices, and other ceremonies of the Jewish law. Hence our Saviour describes them as sheep having no shepherd, and their teachers as blind leaders of the blind. Both Jews and Gentiles were groping together in error and in sin, feeling after God, but unable to find him; and seemed looking, waiting, and silently exploring, for a deliverer from heaven.

God had long been preparing the way for the coming of Christ; and he made his appearance in the best, the appointed time. The world was now ready for him, and was expecting him. The Jews had become so corrupt, that their own historian has declared his belief that the doom of Sodom must have come upon Jerusalem if it had not been captured by the Romans. Greece had long passed its culminating point, and fallen under the dominion of all-conquering Rome. Its light-hearted religion had lost whatever of power it had before possessed, and lived only to minister to a depraving sensuality. Its better systems of philosophy had done all they could — and this was very little — towards reform-

ing the minds and morals of men ; while Epicureanism and Scepticism and Stoicism had loosened the bonds of moral obligation, and imparted barely light enough to make the darkness visible. Over all minds there brooded an ever-increasing darkness and doubt in regard to the deepest matters of human thought and feeling. Men found it much easier to refute the views of others than to reach the truth themselves. The immortality of the soul was a question of curious discussion ; but, whatever the conclusions of the disputants, not one of them had such a settled conviction as could afford comfort in affliction, or throw a relieving gleam of hope over the hour of death. The elder Pliny condenses into a few sentences what we may suppose to have been the general feeling on this momentous subject : “ The vanity of man, and his insatiate longing after existence, have led him to dream of a life after death. A being full of contradictions, he is the most wretched of creatures. Other creatures have no wants which transcend the boundary of their natures ; but man is full of desires and wants which reach to infinity, and can never be satisfied. His very nature is a lie, uniting the greatest poverty with the greatest pride. Among these so great evils, the best thing that God has bestowed upon man is the power to take his own life.”

The state of society throughout the Roman Empire was at this time such as must have forced upon the minds of men the most desponding thoughts. Every portion of this vast domain was barely breathing from its wasting wars, and groaning under its heavy burthens ; and yet in all that sages had taught, and poets sung, and priests disclosed, and oracles muttered, there was no relief. Foreign religions had been tried in vain ; magicians and astrologers had been multiplied : and still the darkness and misery increased. It was just in this crisis of the world's history, when all experiments had been tried and failed, and hope was giving place to black despair, that the Light of the world commenced its shining : “ the Desire of all nations ” came.

CHAPTER II.

LIFE OF CHRIST.

A HISTORY of the Church of Christ commences, properly, with the life of its Founder. Without such an introduction, the originating facts of the history would be left out of the account, and the whole fabric would be baseless and imperfect. Then it is meet, certainly, that every follower of Christ should be familiarly acquainted with the life of Christ. On such a subject, no Christian can consent to be in ignorance or doubt.

In what follows, I shall not undertake to present any new facts concerning our Saviour. All that we know of him, or shall ever know in this world, is spread out before us in the Gospels. My object will rather be to exhibit the facts of his life in their proper connections, in an harmonious and consistent order, that we may look at them in a single view. Nor will this be a vain or profitless labor. We shall find that it gives additional interest to particular events in the life of Christ, and helps to a right understanding of his discourses and parables, to know where in his history they come in; to know in what places, and under what circumstances, his acts were performed, and his discourses delivered.

The year of our Saviour's birth is not certainly known. According to the common reckoning, which was fixed by Dionysius Exiguus and one of the popes in the sixth century, he was born in the year of the world 4004; but I have assigned reasons in a previous chapter* for supposing that his birth was several years earlier than this. He was certainly born before the death of Herod; and Herod died in the year of the world 4001. Also Jesus was about thirty years of age in the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Cæsar (Luke iii. 1); and this would fix his birth to the four thousandth year of the world. And the same conclusion is reached by another fact mentioned in Scripture. The enrolment or taxing

* Part I., Chap. V.

spoken of by Luke (ii. 1-5) was made when Cyrenius was first governor of Syria; at which time our Saviour was born: but this, it is pretty well ascertained, was the four thousandth year of the world. Ten years later, Cyrenius was again governor of Syria, when there was another taxing, and an insurrection in consequence (see Acts v. 37).

The probability therefore is, that our Saviour was born in the year of the world 4000: and this agrees with an old tradition of the Jews, that the world was to stand seven thousand years, — two thousand of which were to be before the law, two thousand under the law, and two thousand under the Messiah; after which was to follow the sabbatical millennium, or the thousand years of rest.

Respecting the month and day of Christ's birth, we are left almost wholly to conjecture. The disagreement of the early fathers is evidence that the day was not celebrated in apostolic times.

Of the remarkable events which preceded and immediately followed the birth of Christ, — such as the appearance of the angel Gabriel to Zechariah to announce the coming of his forerunner; the appearance of the same angel to Mary to inform her of her miraculous conception by the Holy Ghost; the visit of Mary to Elisabeth; the revelation to satisfy the mind of Joseph; the birth of our Saviour in a stable at Bethlehem; the song of the angels, and the visit of the astonished shepherds to the infant Saviour, — of these and other remarkable events occurring in the same connection, I have no occasion now to speak. They were all designed and calculated to do honor to the Saviour, to herald his coming, and direct to him the eyes of a careless, thoughtless world.

On the eighth day after his birth, our Lord was circumcised, and received his name, — the same that before had been given him by the angel. Thirty-three days subsequent to this, when his mother's purification was accomplished according to the law of Moses (Lev. xii. 3), he was taken by his parents to Jerusalem, and presented in the temple before the Lord. A sacrifice was offered for him, — “a pair of turtle-doves, or two young pigeons;” which was all that the straitened circumstances of his parents enabled them to bring. It was at this time that good old Simeon took him into his arms, and blessed God on his account. Pious Anna was also present to give thanks because of him, and to speak of him to all those that looked for redemption in Jerusalem.

When the parents of Jesus had performed all these things according to the law of the Lord, they returned to Bethlehem, where

they were visited by the wise men of the East. These were probably Magians from Northern Arabia or Persia. The star which guided them was a meteor providentially, perhaps miraculously, prepared and sent. Their visit to the holy family was opportune every way. It was not only an honor to the Saviour, and a testimony to his Messianic character, but it furnished the means of his sustenance; at least, for a time. Without the rich presents which they brought, his parents might not have been able to carry him into Egypt and support him there, and thus elude the bloodthirsty Herod.*

How long Joseph and Mary remained in Egypt, we are not informed; certainly till they heard of the death of Herod, which occurred, probably, the following year. When admonished to return into the land of Israel, their first thought was to go and reside at Bethlehem; perhaps because it was the city of David, and they deemed it appropriate that He whom they could but regard as the great Son of David should be trained up there. But when they found that Archelaus, who inherited all the cruelty of his father Herod, reigned in Judæa, they were afraid to go there, and concluded to return to their old home at Nazareth. And here they dwelt, probably, as long as Joseph lived, — until near the commencement of our Saviour's public ministry.

The next that we hear of Jesus is at Jerusalem, when he was about twelve years of age. The males in Israel were required to go up to Jerusalem to the great festivals three times in a year. The more devout women, though exempt by law from regular attendance, usually accompanied their husbands or other relatives on these occasions. Doubtless the parents of Jesus had been often

* The apocryphal writers of the New Testament have much to say respecting the journey into Egypt. The following are some of their foolish and incredible stories: "As they journey, they seek repose in a cave. Many dragons suddenly appear; but Jesus leaps down from his mother's bosom, and they worship him. Lions and other wild beasts go before them to point out the way. Being hungry and thirsty, Jesus commands a palm-tree to bend down its boughs laden with fruit, and a fountain to spring forth at its root. As they enter Egypt, all the idols fall down in the temples; and Jesus heals the son of a priest possessed with devils. Almost every day, he performs some miracle, — now healing the sick and leprous; now freeing the enchanted, and frightening robbers; now causing water to spring from the ground with which to wash his clothes, and changing drops of sweat into balsam."

"After the return from Egypt, Jesus is taken to Bethlehem, where his mother heals sick children, and cures lepers, by sprinkling them with water in which he had been washed. A portion of one of his garments made into a tunic preserves a boy from drowning, and also from being burned. One child is healed by lying in his bed. He makes sparrows of clay, which come to life and fly away. Garments are instantly dyed of any color which the owner wishes. Joseph's poor carpenter-work is miraculously perfected. A single kernel of wheat produces enough flour for all the poor of the town." But enough of these silly marvels. How strongly do they contrast with the sober and reliable narratives in the Gospels!

to Jerusalem during his younger years: but at the age of twelve they took him with them; for such was the custom of the feast. In the Jewish Church, children were not allowed to go to the Passover earlier than this: but, at the age of twelve, they were brought to the temple, where a sacrifice was offered, and some other initiatory rites were performed; after which they were allowed to eat of the Passover, and to participate in the other festivals of the Church.*

To this custom of the Jews our Saviour and his parents conformed. But when the feast was ended, and Joseph and Mary commenced their journey homeward, Jesus was not with them: he tarried behind at Jerusalem. And, when they returned for him, to their astonishment they found him among the doctors in the temple, both hearing them, and asking them questions; and all that heard him were astonished at his understanding and his answers.

From Jerusalem, Jesus returned with his parents to Nazareth, and was subject unto them, and doubtless labored with them to procure a subsistence. He was not only the son of a carpenter, but in one instance is called a carpenter (Mark vi. 3); which implies that he pursued the same occupation as his reputed father.

Of his character and conduct for the next eighteen years, we can only speak in the most general terms. Without doubt, it was blameless, dutiful, holy, perfect. Luke tells that "he was strong in spirit, filled with wisdom; and that the grace of God was upon him." He increased not only in stature, but in wisdom, and in favor with God and with men (Luke ii. 40, 52).

While Jesus was growing up to manhood at Nazareth, his fore-runner, John, was leading a solitary, contemplative life in the deserts of Judæa. Zechariah and Elisabeth, who were old at his birth, in all probability were now dead. When John had arrived at the age of thirty, the time appointed for entering upon the more public services of religion (Num. iv.), he commenced preaching and baptizing, — first in the deserts of Judæa, but afterwards in the

* The following account is from a Jewish magazine entitled "Once a Week:" "Until the Jew attains his thirteenth year, he is entirely under the control of his parents, who are supposed to be accountable for all the sins he may commit up to that period; but their responsibility ceases on the sabbath succeeding his thirteenth birthday, when a ceremony akin to that of confirmation takes place. The boy is called up to the reading-desk in the synagogue, and is required to read a portion of the law. If he cannot read, the minister does it for him; after which the father lays his hands on the head of his son, and solemnly renounces his responsibility for his future actions."

neighborhood of the Jordan. His preaching produced a great sensation; and multitudes of all classes and ages flocked to hear him, and to receive his baptism. Among those who came to him for this purpose was Jesus of Nazareth. He had now arrived at the age of thirty; being only six months younger than John (Luke i. 36). He was about to enter upon his public labors; and though he had no need of baptism in token of repentance or of spiritual purification, yet, as Moses had enjoined a lustration for the priests before entering upon their public duties (Exod. xxix. 4), he chose to follow them in this, and so "fulfil all righteousness" (Matt. iii. 15).

These young men, John and Jesus, though relatives on their mother's side, seem not to have been previously acquainted with each other. They had rarely if ever met. John says of Jesus expressly, "I knew him not" (John i. 31). But, though John had no previous acquaintance with Jesus, his true character was soon revealed. When John saw the heavens opened at his baptism, and saw the Divine Spirit descending on him like a dove, and heard that memorable voice, "This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased," he could not doubt. He knew that he had seen and baptized the promised Messiah, — the Lamb of God.

The place of our Lord's baptism was Bethabara, on the east bank of the Jordan. It was a common fording-place near Jericho and Gilgal, about twenty miles east of Jerusalem. It must have been near the place, if not the very spot, where the Israelites passed over the Jordan when they entered Canaan.

Immediately after his baptism, Jesus retired into the desert west of the Jordan, where he remained fasting, praying, communing with God and with his own spirit, forty days. It was during this period that he had those sore and repeated temptations of which we have an account in the fourth chapter of Matthew; but, in every encounter with the wily Tempter, he came off victorious.

On leaving the desert, Jesus returned to John, who again bore testimony in the most solemn terms to his Messiahship. He here made the acquaintance of several persons whom he afterwards selected to be his apostles; such as Andrew and Peter, Philip and Nathanael, and probably John.

After this second visit to John, Jesus went into Galilee and met his mother. His reputed father, it is likely, was no longer living. In company with his mother, he attended a wedding at Cana in Galilee, where he turned water into wine. This is spoken of by the apostle John as the first of his miracles (John ii. 11). After

this, he went with his mother to Capernaum ; but soon left there, and went up to Jerusalem to the Passover.

Our Saviour's ministry embraced four Passovers, and continued between three and four years. The one at which we have now arrived was the first : besides this, he attended the second and the fourth, but not the third. In what follows, we shall attempt to sketch very briefly his course of life from one Passover to another.

While our Lord was at Jerusalem at this his first Passover after entering upon his public ministry, he undertook and accomplished the difficult work of purging the temple : he did the same again, as we shall see, near the close of his public ministry. He drove out those from the courts of the temple who sold oxen, sheep, and doves for sacrifice ; he poured out the changers' money, overthrew their tables, and told them not to make his Father's house a house of merchandise ; and, when the Jews demanded of him a sign in proof of his authority to do these things, he said, " Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up." Understanding him to speak of the literal temple, the Jews replied, " Forty and six years has this temple been in building ; and wilt thou rear it up in three days ?" The temple here spoken of was Herod's temple, which he commenced sixteen years before the birth of Christ, and which at this time had been in progress of erection just forty-six years. It was not finished till long after the Saviour's crucifixion, nor until a few years previous to its destruction and that of Jerusalem by Titus.

While Jesus was at Jerusalem, he wrought numerous miracles, which made him an object of much thought and conversation with the people. Among those who felt a deep interest in him was Nicodemus, a member of the Sanhedrim, and a ruler of the Jews. This man came to Jesus by night, and said unto him, " We know that thou art a teacher sent from God ; for no man can do these miracles that thou doest, except God be with him." Our Saviour, having so good an opportunity, entered into conversation with Nicodemus, and delivered to him a most important discourse. Perhaps he never gave utterance to so much solemn, gospel truth, in so few words, as on this occasion. Nor were his instructions lost upon the mind of the ruler : they made an impression never to be effaced ; for we find Nicodemus afterwards interposing his good offices in favor of Jesus ; and, when he had expired on the cross, Nicodemus assisted in taking down the body⁶, and brought a hun-

dred pounds' weight of myrrh and aloes for the purpose of embalming it.

From Jerusalem, our Saviour passed into the towns and villages of Judæa, where he preached, and his disciples baptized. These baptisms seem to have been of the same nature with those administered by John, — not a proper Christian ordinance, but an impressive rite, designed to prepare the way for the full introduction of the Messiah's kingdom.

John had now removed from Bethabara, and was baptizing at Enon, — a place on the west side of the Jordan, about twenty miles south of the Sea of Galilee. He here bore a new testimony to Jesus as being the Christ, and exhorted his followers to put their trust in him: "He must increase; but I must decrease. He that believeth on the Son hath everlasting life; but he that believeth not the Son shall not see life, but the wrath of God abideth on him."

John was now in the dominions of Herod Antipás, tetrarch of Peræa and Galilee. Herod, for a time, was deeply interested in him, went often to hear him, and was persuaded by him to attempt some reformation of life. But, when John had reproved him for his adultery and incest in cohabiting with his brother's wife, the king's pride was wounded, his anger was kindled, and he shut up the reformer in prison; and here John remained in the dungeons of Machærus unto the day of his death.

When Jesus heard of the imprisonment of John, he left Judæa, and retired into Galilee. On his way, he passed through the country of Samaria, and had that interesting conversation with the Samaritan woman, recorded in the fourth chapter of John.

While in Galilee, our Saviour visited Nazareth, where he had been brought up, and where he had spent the greater part of his life. He went into the synagogue, as his custom was, on the sabbath day, and there read and expounded the Scriptures. At first, the people heard him with admiration; but, as he proceeded to apply the truth more particularly to their case, their admiration was turned into wrath, and they madly sought to take his life. He made his escape, however, and came down to Capernaum, where he abode some considerable time.

While here, our Saviour was continually occupied in his appropriate work. He preached in the synagogues, healed the sick, procured the miraculous draught of fishes, and summoned Andrew and Peter, James and John, and Matthew the publican, to leave

their customary employments, and become his ministers. The fame of him was at this time so great, that multitudes continually thronged him, and sometimes hindered him in his work. To avoid them, he left Capernaum, and went into the country, preaching in the synagogues throughout all Galilee. It was during this preaching tour that our Saviour delivered that most remarkable of all divine or human productions,—*the Sermon on the Mount*. It is impossible to decide at this day on what particular mountain the sermon was delivered. We only know that it was in Galilee, on the west side of the lake, and at no great distance from Capernaum. In labors such as have been described,—teaching, preaching, performing miracles, going about doing good,—our Saviour had filled up the year. The time had come for another Passover when he went up to Jerusalem* (John v. 1).

Soon after his arrival at Jerusalem, our Lord visited the Pool of Bethesda, where he saw a poor man who had been bowed down with infirmity thirty-eight years. He was waiting with others for the moving of the waters; but had little prospect of relief, as he had none to help him, and some one would be sure to step into the agitated pool before him. Jesus had compassion on him, and said, “Rise, take up thy bed, and walk;” and immediately he was made whole, took up his bed, and went his way. As it was the sabbath when this was done, the Jews were greatly excited, and charged both the healed man and Jesus with violating the sabbath. This led to a long discourse from our Saviour, in which he asserts his divine authority, and vindicates himself from the charge which had been urged against him.

Grieved at the blindness and intolerance of the Pharisees, our Saviour tarried but a short time at Jerusalem. On his return towards Galilee, he had repeated discussions with the Jews, who continued to accuse him of violating the sabbath. Unable to meet him in argument, they took counsel together to destroy his life. But he withdrew himself from them; and soon we find him, where he had so often been before, by the Sea of Galilee.

In Galilee and the parts adjacent, sometimes on one side of the

* There has been much dispute on the question, whether the feast here spoken of was the Passover, or one of the other Jewish festivals. And this is really a very important question: for on the decision of it depends whether our Saviour's public ministry included four Passovers, or only two; whether it continued three years and a half, or only one and a half. I agree with the most approved commentators, that this feast was the Passover, and that his ministry included four Passovers. I find it impossible to harmonize all the events of his public life, and crowd them into the short space of a year and a half.

sea, and sometimes on the other, and sometimes sailing and even walking upon its surface, our Saviour filled up the next year of his public ministry. It was a busy and most important year. He was everywhere surrounded by wondering multitudes, whom he carefully instructed, whom he miraculously fed, and whose sick he healed. He raised the dead son of the widow of Nain; cast out many devils; uttered some of his most interesting parables, as that of the sower and of the tares in the field; and performed other preaching tours through the cities and villages of Galilee. It was during this year that he appointed his twelve apostles, and sent them forth with the glad news of salvation to the lost sheep of the house of Israel.

When our Saviour had come down from the mountain, — where he had spent the whole previous night in prayer, and where he had appointed the twelve apostles, — he found a vast multitude waiting for him; to whom he repeated, with some variations, a considerable part of the Sermon on the Mount (Luke vi. 20–40).

I am aware that some interpreters make this the *identical* Sermon on the Mount. They insist that it was never preached but once, and that this was the place and occasion of its delivery; but I cannot be of this opinion, and for the following reasons: 1. The sermon contained in Matthew (chaps. v.–vii.) was delivered on a mountain, but this on a plain (comp. Matt. v. 1 with Luke vi. 7). 2. The sermon as given by Matthew was delivered the year previous to the calling and commissioning of the apostles, but this in Luke immediately after their call. 3. The two discourses, though containing many similar passages, are very unlike. Matthew's is four times as long as that of Luke; and yet Luke has several expressions which do not occur in Matthew. The structure of the sentences, and the connections in which they stand, are also different. In short, the discourse in Luke is precisely what it purports to be, — a repetition in part, with occasional omissions and alterations, of the sermon as given by Matthew. And those who know the excellence of this sermon will not wonder or regret that our Saviour thought proper to repeat some parts of it. When ministers preach as well as this, we will consent that they repeat their old sermons as often as they please.

It was during this year's labor that the Pharisees ascribed the miracles of our Saviour to diabolical influence: "He casteth out devils by Beelzebub, the prince of the devils." Our Lord refuted the objection, and solemnly warned them against such language in

future. It constituted the sin against the Holy Ghost, — a sin for which there could be no forgiveness (Matt. xii. 24–32).

It was during this year, also, that John the Baptist, who was still in prison, sent two of his disciples to Jesus, saying, “Art thou he that should come? or do we look for another?” Without directly answering the question, our Saviour said to those who came, “Go and tell John what things ye have seen and heard, — how that the blind receive their sight, the lame walk, the lepers are cleansed, the deaf hear, the dead are raised up, and to the poor the gospel is preached. And blessed is he that shall not be offended,” i.e., stumbled, scandalized, “in me.” This led to a long discourse respecting John, in which our Saviour bore the highest testimony to the ability and fidelity of this holy man of God: “Among those that are born of women, there is not a greater prophet” or preacher “than John the Baptist: nevertheless, he that is least in the kingdom of heaven,” or in the new dispensation about to be ushered in, “is greater than he (Luke vii. 18–28).

But the sufferings of John were now about to end. He had been for months in close confinement in the Castle Machærus, east of the Jordan; but, to gratify his adulterous wife and her wicked daughter, Herod sent and beheaded him in prison. Still the conscience of the tyrant seems not to have been easy with what had been done; for, when he heard of the miracles of Jesus, he was alarmed under the apprehension that John had risen from the dead, and might stand up to avenge his previous injuries and wrongs.

We have now arrived at another Passover, — the third which occurred during our Saviour’s ministry.* He did not attend it, but abode still in Galilee. The reason assigned is, that his enemies in Judæa were intent on destroying him: “He would not walk in Jewry because the Jews sought to kill him” (John vii. 1).

* There must have been a Passover about this time (see John vi. 4). In all probability, it comes in here.

CHAPTER III.

LIFE OF CHRIST. — CONTINUED.

WE now enter upon the last year of our Saviour's ministry. As he did not think it prudent to adventure himself before his time among the Jews at the Passover, he took the opportunity to travel into the north country, and proceeded even to the borders of Tyre and Sidon. And here he found a Syro-Phœnician woman, whose daughter was possessed with a devil; and having conversed with the afflicted mother, and sufficiently tried and tested her faith, he healed her daughter. This is the only miracle of which we have any knowledge which our Saviour performed upon a Gentile.

From Syria our Lord returned to Galilee, where he was surrounded, as usual, by a great multitude, whom he miraculously fed a second time with a few loaves and fishes. He tarried here but a short time, when he took a journey to Cæsarea Philippi, situated in the north-easterly part of Palestine. Here he had a season of retirement with his disciples. He prayed with them, and entered into conversation with them, saying, "Whom do men say that I am?" They answered, "Some say that you are John the Baptist; some, that you are Elias; and some, that you are Jeremias, or one of the old prophets, risen from the dead." — "But whom say *ye* that I am?" Peter answered, "Thou art the Christ, the Messiah, the Son of the living God." For this noble confession, our Saviour blessed Peter, and said, "Thou art Peter; and upon this rock" — this foundation-truth which you have uttered — "I will build my Church; and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it."

Our Saviour next proceeded to instruct the disciples in regard to his approaching sufferings and death; when Peter discovered how little he understood as yet the nature of the gospel. He took his Master aside, and began to rebuke him, saying, "Be it far from thee, Lord: this suffering and death shall not be unto thee." Our Saviour now rebuked Peter with as much earnestness as before he

had blessed him: "Get thee behind me, Satan; thou art an offence unto me; thou receivest not with a relish the things that be of God, but only such as be of men."

It was during this retirement in the northern part of Galilee that our Saviour took Peter and James and John, and went up into a mountain with them for prayer; and, as he prayed, he was transfigured before them. The form of his countenance and of his whole appearance was suddenly and gloriously changed; and there appeared unto them Moses and Elias, talking with Jesus in regard to his approaching sufferings and death. They heard also a voice from heaven, saying, "This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased: hear ye him." This whole scene was calculated, and without doubt designed, to impress upon the disciples that great cardinal truth which they were so slow to learn, — that *Christ must suffer and die for the sins of men.*

When Jesus and his disciples had returned to Capernaum, the collectors of tribute came to Peter, and said, "Doth not your master pay tribute?" Peter answered that he did. When our Saviour met Peter, he showed him that the collectors had no right to exact tribute from him. "Nevertheless," said he, "that we may not offend them, go to the sea, and cast in thy hook: and in the mouth of the fish that first cometh up thou shalt find a piece of money called a *stater*; that take, and pay your tribute and mine." And Peter did as he was directed: he found the *stater* in the fish's mouth, with which he paid his own and his master's tribute.

During this visit to Capernaum, Jesus had much interesting conversation with his disciples. He reproved their ambition; inculcated humility, self-sacrifice, and self-denial; and gave directions as to the manner in which scandalous offenders in his church and kingdom should be treated. He insisted on the importance of a forgiving spirit, and illustrated it by the parable of the unfor-
giving servant (Matt. xviii.).

Intending soon to leave Galilee, our Lord appointed other seventy besides the twelve apostles, and sent them forth, two and two, into all the cities and villages where he expected soon to come. He gave them instructions very similar to those which he had before given to the twelve; and concluded by saying, "He that heareth you heareth me, and he that despiseth you despiseth me, and he that despiseth me despiseth Him that sent me" (Luke x. 1-16). It is not likely, however, that these seventy, like the

apostles, were intended to be a permanent body of missionaries. They were appointed for a particular purpose, which they soon accomplished; and we hear no more of them in the Scriptures.

The Jews' Feast of Tabernacles was now at hand; and, as Jesus had failed to go both to the Passover and Pentecost, his brethren urged him to go up to Jerusalem: "Why seclude thyself here in Galilee? If thou really doest these things, show thyself to the world." But Jesus declined going with them to the feast: nevertheless, after they and the rest of the people had gone, he went rather privately to Jerusalem; and, when he had arrived there, he went up into the temple and taught. But he soon came in conflict with the prejudices and the hostility of the Jews. They charged him with having a devil; and he charged them with plotting against his life. The Pharisees and chief priests sent officers to take him; but they returned without him, saying, "Never man spake like this man." There was much discussion among the people whether he was the Christ, or no; nor were the members of the Sanhedrim entirely agreed respecting him. Nicodemus in particular stood up for him, and spake boldly on his behalf.

It was during this visit to Jerusalem that the Jews brought before him an adulterous woman for judgment, thinking that, whether he cleared or condemned her, they should find occasion against him. But he managed to convict *them* rather than the woman; and they slunk away confounded from his presence (John viii. 11).

Our Saviour continued, therefore, to teach in the temple, holding up the light of truth, and having frequent altercation with those who rejected it. And this course of things continued, until the Jews became so much exasperated, that they took up stones to stone him; but he went out of the temple, and escaped their hands (John viii.).

It was while our Saviour lingered about Jerusalem, before his last return to Galilee, that the seventy disciples returned to him from their mission, which they seem to have accomplished very successfully. They reported to their Master their journeyings and miracles, saying, "Lord, even the devils are subject unto us through thy name." Our Saviour received them with words of comfort and instruction, telling them that they should not so much rejoice in the subjection of evil spirits as that their names were written in the Lamb's book of life.

It was at this time that our Lord made that visit to his friends at Bethany of which we have an account in Luke x. 38-42. Martha

“was cumbered about much serving;” but Mary sat at the feet of Jesus to hear his words. For this, Martha was reproved, and Mary commended: “Mary hath chosen that good part which shall not be taken from her.”

On his way from Bethany to Galilee, our Saviour had much interesting conversation with his disciples. He instructed and encouraged them in the duty of prayer, and repeated to them a new form of the Lord's Prayer (comp. Luke xi. 2 with Matt. vi. 9); he cautioned them against hypocrisy, and strengthened them against the fear of man by promise of the Holy Spirit; he repeated many of the cautions and arguments against a covetous, anxious spirit, which he had before given in the Sermon on the Mount; he finally exhorted them to continual watchfulness in expectation of his coming, and of the account which they must render at the last for all their privileges.

It was about this time that one came to Christ, and told him of the slaughter of the Galileans at Jerusalem, whose blood Pilate had mingled with their sacrifices. Perhaps this was said in hope that he would denounce either the cruelty of Pilate or the wickedness of the Galileans, in either of which cases they might bring him into trouble. But he made the fact which had been reported to him the occasion of a most solemn call to repentance: “Except ye repent, ye shall all likewise perish.” And, the more deeply to impress the necessity of repentance and reformation, he uttered the parable of the barren fig-tree which stood only to cumber the ground.

Our Saviour had now arrived in some part of Galilee, and was performing his last labor in its towns and villages. And, as he was teaching in one of the synagogues on the sabbath day, he saw there a poor woman, who had been bowed down with an infirmity eighteen years, and could not lift up herself; and he said unto her, “Woman, thou art loosed from thine infirmity.” And immediately she rose up, and glorified God. But the ruler of the synagogue was filled with indignation, and said, “There are six days in which men ought to work: in them, therefore, come and be healed, and not on the sabbath day.” To him our Saviour replied with unwonted severity, “Thou hypocrite! doth not each one of you on the sabbath day loose his ox or his ass from the stall, and lead him away to watering? and ought not this woman, being a daughter of Abraham, whom Satan hath bound these eighteen years, to be loosed from her bond on the sabbath day?” And all his adversaries were ashamed.

Then some of the Pharisees came to Jesus, and said, "Depart at once out of Galilee, or Herod will kill thee, as he lately killed John the Baptist." The probability is, that Herod sent this message to him with a view to terrify him, and drive him away. The purport of our Saviour's answer was, that he must preach and perform miracles in Galilee a few days longer, and only a few; that his work on earth would soon be done; and that then he should die, as many of the old prophets had died before him, at Jerusalem.

During this visit to Galilee, our Saviour was invited by one of the chief Pharisees to dine with him; and, while they sat at meat, one of the company said, "Blessed is he that shall eat bread in the kingdom of God." This led our Lord to utter the parable of the great supper, from which those who were first bidden excused themselves, but which was furnished with guests from the high-ways and hedges; purporting, as the Pharisees themselves must have understood it, the rejection of the gospel by leading Jews, and the ingathering of the Gentile nations.

As he came out of the Pharisee's house, our Saviour was quickly surrounded by a class of people who could not have been admitted there; viz., publicans, and those who were accounted notorious sinners. At this the Pharisees took offence; and, to justify himself, our Saviour uttered the parables of the lost sheep, the lost piece of money, and of the prodigal son (Luke xv.). He uttered also in this connection the parable of the unjust steward, and took occasion from it to reprove the Pharisees for their covetousness and hypocrisy (Luke xvi. 1-18). Still further to show the vanity of earthly riches in comparison with true piety, he narrated the story of the rich man and Lazarus* (Luke xvi. 19-31).

Our Saviour had now finished his work in Galilee, and was on his way to Jerusalem to attend the Feast of Dedication. And, desiring to go through Samaria, he sent messengers forward to prepare the way for him; but the Samaritans, finding that he was intent upon going to Jerusalem, refused to receive him. Whereupon the disciples James and John were highly indignant, and requested that they might call down fire from heaven to consume the inhospitable Samaritans, as Elijah did; but our Saviour rebuked them, saying, "Ye know not what manner of spirit ye are of."

* This is frequently, but improperly, called a parable. It is not a parable, has none of the requisites of a parable, and is never called one in the Scriptures. It is a simple narrative of occurrences, partly in this world, and partly in the next. Our Saviour was as competent to speak of occurrences in one world as the other.

As they went on their way, they came to a village inhabited by lepers, — a class of diseased persons who were obliged to live by themselves. And no less than ten lepers came out to meet them, standing afar off, and crying with a loud voice, “Jesus, Master, have mercy on us!” And Jesus said, “Go show yourselves to the priests.” And, as they went, they were all cleansed; and one of them, a Samaritan, when he saw that he was cleansed, turned back, and with a loud voice glorified God.

Our Saviour at length arrived at Jerusalem; and, as he was walking the street, he met a man who had been blind from his birth: and he spat upon the ground, made soft clay with the spittle, rubbed it on the eyes of the blind man, and told him to go and wash in the Pool of Siloam; and, when he had washed, he came back healed.

This miracle excited more attention among the Jews than any which Jesus had performed. They resolved to investigate the matter to the bottom, hoping to find some clew to the secret of these miraculous works; but they were obliged to give it up, and could only say to the restored man, “Give God the glory” (John ix.).

And, as Jesus walked in the temple in Solomon’s porch, the Jews gathered round him, and said, “How long dost thou make us to doubt? If thou be the Christ, tell us plainly.” Jesus went on to speak of the proofs of his Messiahship, and among other things said, “I and my Father are one.” Upon this the Jews accounted him guilty of blasphemy, and took up stones to stone him; but he left the place in safety, and retired for a time to Bethabara, beyond the Jordan, — the place where he had been baptized (John x.). And here great multitudes resorted unto him, to whom he preached the gospel and healed their sick.

While he tarried here, the Pharisees came to him with a subtle question about marriage and divorce. Our Saviour discussed the matter with them, and laid down what was to be the law of his kingdom; viz., that there was only *one cause* for which a man could be justified in putting away his wife, or the wife in putting away her husband: and, when Moses was appealed to as teaching a different doctrine, he replied, “Because of the hardness of your hearts, Moses *suffered* you to put away your wives; but from the beginning it was not so.”

While Jesus remained at Bethabara, many parents in the vicinity brought their little children to him that he might lay his hands on

them and bless them : but for some reason his disciples discountenanced the practice. Whereupon he said to his disciples, "Suffer the little children to come unto me, and forbid them not ; for of such is the kingdom of God."

During our Saviour's abode in this vicinity, another remarkable circumstance took place. A wealthy young ruler came running to him, and, kneeling down before him, said, "Good Master, what good thing shall I do that I may inherit eternal life?" To try him, our Saviour told him to keep the commandments. The young man insisted that he had kept all these from his youth. Our Saviour, beholding him with tender compassion, said, "One thing thou lackest. Go sell whatsoever thou hast, and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven ; and come, follow me." But the young man could not consent to such a proposition. He went away sorrowful ; for he had great possessions. Our Lord improved the occasion for the purpose of showing the danger of riches, and the necessity of being willing to forsake all for him.

While Jesus continued in the neighborhood of the Jordan, some fifteen or twenty miles east of Jerusalem, he heard that his friend Lazarus was sick at Bethany. On receiving the intelligence, our Saviour did not hasten at once to Bethany, but tarried two whole days in the place where he was. He then told his disciples that Lazarus was dead, and proposed that they should go at once to the afflicted family : but the disciples discouraged him, saying, "The Jews of late sought to stone thee ; and goest thou thither again?" He insisted, however, upon going ; and the disciples went with him.

When Jesus arrived at Bethany, he found Martha and Mary in great affliction ; for their brother had been dead four days. He repaired with them to the sepulchre ; commanded that the stone which closed it should be removed ; and, having offered up a short prayer, he cried with a loud voice, "Lazarus, come forth ! and he that was dead came forth, bound hand and foot with grave-clothes. And Jesus said unto them, Loose him, and let him go."

This miracle, as might have been expected, had a great effect in Judæa. Many, in consequence of it, were led to believe on Christ ; and this alarmed the Jewish rulers the more, who came at once to the conclusion that Jesus must be put to death. It was on this occasion that Caiaphas gave utterance to that oracular expression, "Ye know nothing at all, nor consider that it is expedient for us

that one man should die for the people, and that the whole nation perish not."

To avoid his enemies, who constantly sought his life, Jesus now retired to a little city called Ephraim, lying north of Jerusalem, at the distance of some ten or twelve miles. But the Passover was at hand, and he soon left his retreat to return to Jerusalem. On the way, he spoke further to his disciples of his approaching sufferings and death; but they could not understand him. Their minds were still intent upon a temporal kingdom; and they were even plotting among themselves, as they passed along, who should be the greatest in that kingdom.

On their way from Ephraim to Jerusalem, they took a circuitous route through Jericho. And as they went out of Jericho they passed two blind men, who sat by the wayside, begging. One of them, and the only one spoken of by Mark and Luke, was Bartimeus, who seems to have been more importunate, and to have attracted greater notice, than the other. He persisted in crying aloud, and would not be silenced, "Jesus, thou Son of David, have mercy on us!" And Jesus called them to him, and kindly inquired what they desired of him; and they said, "Lord, that we may receive our sight." And Jesus touched their eyes, and said, "Receive your sight;" and their eyes were opened, and they followed him in the way.

It was on this journey from Jericho to Jerusalem that our Lord met and converted Zaccheus the publican (Luke xix. 1). It was at this time also that he uttered the parable of the ten pounds, designed to set forth the reward of his faithful servants and the destruction that was about to overwhelm his enemies.

Arrived in the neighborhood of Jerusalem six days before the Passover, Jesus was entertained by his faithful friends, Martha and Mary, at Bethany; also by Simon, who had been a leper, but whom, in all probability, Jesus had healed. Here they made him a supper; and Martha served, while the raised Lazarus sat with him at the table. But Mary was otherwise employed: she was anointing her Lord's feet with spikenard exceedingly precious; which gave occasion to the spiteful remark of Judas Iscariot, "Why was not this ointment sold for more than three hundred pence, and given to the poor?" Our Saviour rebuked Judas, and vindicated Mary, saying, "She hath wrought a good work upon me; and, wheresoever this gospel shall be preached throughout the whole world, this also that this woman hath done shall be spoken of for a memorial of her."

The next day, in fulfilment of an ancient prophecy (Zech. ix. 9), Jesus rode into Jerusalem on an ass's colt, — the only instance recorded of his riding (except on the sea) during his whole public ministry. And now he rode in a sort of triumph; some of his friends spreading their garments in the way, and others strewing it with green boughs, and all crying together, "Hosanna to the Son of David! Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord! Hosanna in the highest!" They seem to have anticipated that the temporal kingdom so long desired was now about to be set up.

Arrived at Jerusalem, our Lord went into the temple, and saw with sorrow what was done there; and he undertook to accomplish — what he had done before, near the commencement of his public ministry — a *purgation of the temple*. He cast out them that sold and bought in the temple, and overthrew the tables of the money-changers and the seats of them that sold doves, and would not that any one should carry any vessel through the temple (Mark xi. 15, 16). The chief priests and scribes were not slow to demand of him, "By what authority doest thou these things?" But, instead of answering them directly, our Saviour put to *them* a question: "The baptism of John — was it from heaven, or of men?" This question they did not care to answer either way; and so our Lord declined answering their question.

From this time, our Saviour continued his discourses in the temple for several days, in a way to arouse and exasperate the chief priests, the Pharisees and scribes. He delivered the parable of the vineyard let out to unfaithful husbandmen, which they could not but interpret against themselves; also the parable of the marriage-feast, to which those who were first invited would not come. He confounded the Pharisees and Herodians, who came to him with an artful question about paying tribute to Cæsar. He met the Sadducees, and answered their foolish objection against the resurrection of the dead. He replied to one of the scribes respecting the first and greatest commandment of the law, and puzzled the Pharisees with a question from Ps. cx. 1: "The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit thou at my right hand until I make thine enemies thy footstool." David here calls the Messiah *his Lord*: how is he, then, his son? He reproved the scribes and Pharisees for their manifold hypocrisy, oppression, and wickedness, and denounced woe after woe upon them, till it seemed as though their measure of woe was full. Christ knew that he was deliver-

ing his last message to them ; and he meant that it should be one of searching plainness, of terror, and of power.

Our Saviour had now finished his discourses in the temple ; and, as he left it, the disciples came to show him the stones and buildings of the temple. This was Herod's temple, which he had commenced building several years before his death, and which was not as yet completed. Jesus said unto them, "See ye not these great buildings? The days are coming when there shall not be left one stone upon another that shall not be thrown down."

This prediction, which was astounding to the disciples, led to another question on their part: "Master, when shall these things be? and what shall be the sign of thy coming and of the end of the world?" In answer to these inquiries, our Saviour was led to speak very particularly of the approaching destruction of Jerusalem and the temple, and of the signs which should precede this terrible catastrophe. And then, passing over from the type to the antitype, and following out further the inquiry of the apostles, he was led to speak of the final judgment and the end of the world; interspersing with the prediction the parables of the ten virgins and of the talents, designed to impress upon his disciples the importance of constant watchfulness, and a diligent preparation for his coming and kingdom. This most impressive discourse was delivered by him while sitting with his disciples on the Mount of Olives over against the temple (Matt. xxiv., xxv.).

We have now come to the eve of our Saviour's fourth and last Passover ; and, as the journeyings of his public ministry are over, it may be well, in the briefest manner, to sum them up, that so we may get a connected view of them.

From early infancy until about the thirtieth year of his age, he spent his time chiefly at Nazareth, an obscure village of Galilee, subject to his reputed father, and laboring with him as a carpenter. In his thirtieth year he left Galilee, and came to John at Bethabara, where he was baptized. After his baptism, he retired into what was called "the wilderness of Judæa," where he tarried forty days, and was tempted of the Devil. Thence he returned to John, and soon after went into Galilee to meet his mother. From Galilee he went up to Jerusalem to his first Passover, and spent several months teaching and preaching in Judæa. After the imprisonment of John, he retired into Galilee, where he remained till the second Passover. He went up to the feast, but tarried in

Jerusalem but a short time. He returned to Galilee, and there continued through the year. He did not go to the third Passover, but took a journey into Syria, almost to the confines of Tyre and Sidon. Returned from this excursion, he took another into the north-easterly part of Galilee, going as far as Cæsarea Philippi. He came back to Capernaum, and soon set forward to Jerusalem to attend the Feast of Tabernacles. From Jerusalem, he returned to Galilee for the last time ; and, having finished his work there, he went again to Jerusalem to the Feast of the Dedication. Here the Jews sought his life ; and he retired for a season to Bethabara, — the place where he was baptized. From this place he was summoned to Bethany, near Jerusalem, by the sickness and death of Lazarus, whom he raised from the dead. When the Jews again sought to kill him, he retired to the little village of Ephraim, some ten or twelve miles north of Jerusalem. Here he remained until a short time before the Passover, when he returned by the way of Jericho to Jerusalem, where he ate the Passover, was betrayed and crucified.

From this it appears, that, in something more than three years, our Saviour made four journeys from Galilee into Judæa, and back again, in addition to the last, from which he did not return. This would carry him over the ground nine times, besides his excursions to the north of Galilee and in the vicinity of Jerusalem, and his long and repeated preaching tours in different parts of both countries. All these journeys he accomplished on foot, surrounded generally by thronging multitudes, whom he carefully instructed and repeatedly fed, and for whose benefit he performed the greatest miracles. Who will say that his public life was not a beneficent one and a weary one ? What Christian will complain of labor after this ?

CHAPTER IV.

LIFE OF CHRIST. — CONCLUDED.

IN the preceding chapter, we sketched the life of Christ to very near the time of his last Passover at Jerusalem.

Two days before the Passover, while the chief priests and scribes were in secret conclave, plotting how they might destroy Jesus, Judas Iscariot went to them privately, and said, "What will ye give me, and I will deliver him unto you? And they covenanted with him for thirty pieces of silver," — less than twenty dollars of our money.

On the fifth day of the Jewish week (answering to our Thursday), Jesus despatched Peter and John to the city to make ready the Passover; giving them particular directions where to go, and with whom to find the necessary accommodations. They went, and found all things as their Master had described.

Meanwhile the disciples had been having one of those strange disputes of which we hear so much; viz., which of them should be the greatest. So, to reprove them, after they had set down together to the paschal supper, Jesus rose from the table, laid aside his outward garments, girded himself with a towel, and began to wash his disciples' feet. This he did to set them an example of humility and condescension: "If I, your Lord and Master, have washed your feet, so ought ye to wash one another's feet. Instead of striving together as to which of you shall be the greatest, be ready at all times to perform for one another every needed act of condescension and love."

When our Saviour had washed his disciples' feet, he sat down with them again; and, as they did eat, he testified, and said, "Behold, one of you shall betray me." This astounding declaration led to instant personal inquiry; when our Saviour indicated, though not in a manner to be generally understood, that the traitor was no

other than Judas Iscariot. Soon after this, Judas left them, and went out to carry into effect his traitorous design.

After the departure of Judas, our Saviour had a long and affecting conversation with the eleven disciples, in which he exhorted them to mutual love; told them what was to come, and urged them to be prepared for it. After this, he took bread, and blessed and brake it, and instituted the sacred supper, to take the place of the Passover, and to be a standing memorial, in all coming time, of his sufferings and death.

Nor did our Saviour immediately leave the chamber when the supper was ended. He sat long there with his disciples, and delivered those most instructive and comforting discourses, and offered up that remarkable intercessory prayer, which we find recorded from the fourteenth to the seventeenth chapters of John.

When his prayer was ended, and he had sung a hymn with his disciples, they went out of Jerusalem on the way to the Mount of Olives. As they passed along, our Saviour continued his conversation with the disciples, repeating his warnings as to what was coming, and its effect upon them. He told them, that in a very short time they would all be offended (*stumbled*) at him, and scattered from him. To this Peter replied with his usual self-confidence, "Though all shall be offended, yet will not I." Upon which our Saviour turned to him, and said, "This very night, before the cock crow twice, thou shalt deny me thrice."

Having passed the Brook Kedron, they came to the Garden of Gethsemane, — a secluded spot near the foot of Olivet, where Jesus often went with his disciples. Here he fell into a most intense and indescribable agony, under which his human nature seemed ready to sink. He prayed repeatedly, though with the most entire submission to the divine will, that the cup of suffering might pass from him. So intense was his agony, that his sweat was, as it were, great drops of blood falling down to the ground. He had exhorted his disciples to watch with him in his extremity; but, by some strange fatuity, they were overcome with sleep.

It was at this time, and under these circumstances, that Judas, with his ruffian band, came upon him to take him. He voluntarily surrendered himself to his persecutors, and consented to be bound, and led away as a captive criminal to the palace of the high priest.

In this terrible transaction, there were several touching incidents which require to be noticed. One was our Saviour's care for his

disciples: "If ye seek *me*," said he to the guard, "let *these* my disciples go away: do not molest or injure them." And so the disciples went away. As had been just before predicted, they all forsook him, and fled.

Another incident which I cannot fail to notice was the healing of the ear of Malchus, which Peter had cut off. The soldiers were just now in the act of binding the hands of Jesus: but he said, "Suffer ye thus far; let me have my hand a moment;" when, raising it, he touched the wounded ear, and it was well. Was not this Godlike? Did ever any thing like it take place beneath the sun?

Jesus was first examined in the palace of the high priest. It was here that Peter denied him, and soon and bitterly repented of his denial.

At break of day, he was removed to the great council-chamber, — the hall of the Sanhedrim, — where he was still further examined; and on his confessing himself to be the Messiah, the Son of God, and future Judge of the world, he was charged with blasphemy, and pronounced guilty of death. And, had the Jews been permitted to execute their sentence, he would undoubtedly have been stoned; for this was the form of death prescribed by the Jewish law for the blasphemer (Lev. xxiv. 16).

But our Saviour was not to die in this manner. He was to "be lifted up," — to be "hanged on a tree;" or, in other words, to be *crucified*. Hence it was necessary, in the purpose of God, that he should be put to death by the Romans; for crucifixion was not a Jewish, but a Roman mode of executing criminals.

Early in the morning, therefore, on Friday of our week, Jesus was brought before Pilate, the Roman governor.* And here the accusation against him was entirely changed. Before, he had been accused of blasphemy; but now he is charged with setting himself up to be a king, and thus conspiring against the Roman government. This, it was thought, was a charge in which Pilate would feel some interest; whereas he would care little for a charge of blasphemy against the God of the Jews. Pilate examined our Saviour closely on the charge presented, and had concluded to

* Of the history of Pilate, little is known; but that little warrants the belief that "he was a Roman officer of average capacity, deeply imbued with the pride and prejudice of his class, and resolute, sometimes cruel, in asserting the rights of his imperial master, and in maintaining his personal authority." He was in frequent conflict with the Jewish rulers; sometimes yielding to them, but more frequently chastising them with blood. — See Luke xiii. 1.

release him ; but, learning incidentally that he was a Galilean, he resolved to pass him over to Herod, who was at this time in Jerusalem. But Herod with his men of war set him at nought, mocked him, arrayed him in a gorgeous robe, and sent him again to Pilate.

Pilate now made another effort to release him ; but he was overcome by the clamor of the Jews. He repeatedly declared that he found no fault in him ; but the enemies of Christ would listen to nothing but his crucifixion. The governor, therefore, was compelled to yield. He first took the blessed Jesus and scourged him. Then the soldiers took off his garments, and arrayed him in purple, and platted a crown of thorns, and put it on his head ; and, still further to ridicule his pretensions to royalty, they put a reed into his right hand to represent a sceptre, and bowed the knee before him, saying, "Hail, King of the Jews!" They also spat upon him, and took the reed out of his hand, and smote him on the head.

While this profane mockery and cruelty were going on, Pilate received a message from his wife, charging him to have nothing to do with that just man. This, with other circumstances which came to light, caused the governor still further to hesitate. He went again into the judgment-hall, examined anew his bleeding victim, and was more earnest than before to release him. But, the more he wavered, the more fierce and clamorous were the Jews: "If thou let this man go, thou art not Cæsar's friend. Crucify him! crucify him!"

"When Pilate saw that he could prevail nothing, but that rather a tumult was made, he took water and washed his hands before the multitude, saying, I am innocent of the blood of this just person." Then the Jews answered, and said, "His blood be on us and on our children,"—an imprecation which has been most terribly fulfilled.

When the Jews had received their victim, they took off from him the purple, put his own clothes upon him, and led him forth to the place of crucifixion. On the way, he was attended by his faithful female friends, who bewailed and lamented him, and to whom he administered words of consolation and instruction: "Daughters of Jerusalem, weep not for me, but weep for yourselves and for your children."

Meanwhile the traitor Judas, when he knew that Jesus had been condemned, was sorry and distressed for what he had done ; not with that godly sorrow which worketh repentance unto life, but with that sorrow of the world which worketh death : so he

brought back the thirty pieces of silver which he had received, and, in his desperation, went out and hanged himself.

The place of our Saviour's crucifixion is called Golgotha and Calvary; but the precise locality is uncertain. We only know that it was without the walls of the ancient city, and probably on the north-western border. Here Jesus was led, bearing his cross (so long as he was able to bear it), and attended by two thieves, who were to suffer with him; and here the Lord of life and glory was crucified. His hands and feet were nailed to the fatal wood; the cross was erected; and here he hung in shame and agony,—a monument at once of the justice and the grace of God, and of the insatiate cruelty of man. It was while the nails were driving through his flesh, and every nerve within him must have twinged with the keenest torture, that he prayed for his murderers: "Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do."*

Our Saviour lived after he came to the cross about six hours; i.e., from nine in the morning to three in the afternoon. During the first three hours, he was continually insulted and reproached by those who stood by. They wagged their heads, saying, "Ah! thou that destroyest the temple, and buildest it in three days, save thyself, if thou be the Son of God. He saved others: himself he cannot save." It was during these first hours that he commended his mother to the care of John, and pardoned and assured the penitent thief.

At the end of three hours, i.e. about noon, there came a supernatural darkness over all the land until the ninth hour,—fit emblem of the darkness and horror which seem to have pervaded the pure mind of the Saviour during this period. At the ninth hour, when the sufferer could endure no longer, he uttered that loud and bitter cry, "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?" Shortly after, when he had sucked some vinegar from a sponge that was put to his lips, and thus fulfilled the last prediction which had been uttered respecting his sufferings, he said, "It is finished;" and he bowed his head, and gave up the ghost.

Thus died the immaculate Son of God, and made expiation for the sins of the world. Thus ended in a moment all his sufferings, and his pure soul took its flight to the paradise of God. No indig-

* There is a discrepancy in the evangelists as to the *time of the day* when our Lord was crucified. Mark says it was the third hour, or about nine o'clock (xv. 25). John says it was about the sixth hour when Pilate delivered him up to be crucified (xix. 14). I incline to the opinion that the reading in John was originally the third hour; and to this agree some ancient manuscripts of very high authority.

nity was offered to his lifeless body, except that, to make sure of his death, it was pierced shortly after with a soldier's spear.

But the throes and convulsions of Nature at this awful moment were terrible. In addition to the appalling darkness which brooded over the whole land, there was now a terrible earthquake, which rent the rocks asunder, and burst open the tombs. The thick veil of the temple which separated the holy from the most holy place was also rent in pieces; thus indicating that the dispensation of types and shadows was ended, and that the way into the holy of holies was made manifest by the blood of the cross.

The earthquake and the darkness put an end to the profane mockeries which had been so recently indulged in around the cross. Every one quaked and shuddered with fear: they smote upon their breasts, and said, "Certainly this was a righteous man; he was the Son of God!"

Towards evening of the same day, Joseph of Arimathea, a member of the Sanhedrim, who had not consented to their vile proceedings, came boldly to Pilate, and asked that he might have the body of Jesus; and, when Pilate had ascertained that he was truly dead, he gave the body to Joseph. Then Joseph, assisted by other friends, took down the body, and wrapped it in a clean linen cloth. Nicodemus also came to his assistance, bringing a hundreds pounds' weight of myrrh and aloes to prepare the body for its burial: and, having swathed it with the spices, they laid it in a new tomb near by which had been hewed out of a rock, in which no person had ever yet been laid; and they rolled a great stone to the door of the sepulchre, and departed.

During all this while, the faithful female friends of Christ had not deserted him for a moment. They saw him die; saw him taken down from the cross; followed him to the tomb, and saw where he was laid.

The Jews, too, were on the alert. To make sure against any attempt to remove the body privately, they procured an order from Pilate that the door of the tomb should be sealed, and a watch set to guard it, at least until after the third day. When this was done, the tomb was left in charge of the guards; and friends and enemies departed together to keep the Passover sabbath, which by the Jews was regarded as a great day.

And in truth it was a great day. Never before had such a sabbath been kept in Jerusalem. The chief priests and Pharisees were in high exultation, though not altogether without anxieties

and fears. The terrible portents attending the death of Jesus, together with his known prediction that he should rise on the third day, were enough to fill them with apprehension.

To the friends of Christ, this sabbath was a time of deep distress. They knew not how to understand the trying scenes through which they had passed, or what to think of them. They trusted that they had found the long-promised Messiah who was to deliver Israel; but he was dead and buried, and all their hopes were buried with him.

But the sabbath passed quietly away, and the night following it; and the first day of the week began to dawn. And now we come to a new chapter in our Saviour's history, — his triumphant resurrection, his occasional appearances for forty days, and his final and glorious ascension into heaven.

Some have thought it impossible to harmonize the different accounts of the evangelists in regard to our Saviour's resurrection and subsequent appearances; but I am satisfied that they admit of a consistent harmony, and shall proceed to detail the several events in the order in which I suppose them to have taken place.

Towards morning on the first day of the week, while the guard was keeping watch about the sepulchre, suddenly there was a great earthquake. One of the chiefest of the angels of light descended from heaven, rolled away the stone from the door of the sepulchre, and sat upon it. His countenance was like lightning, and his raiment white as snow. For fear of him the keepers trembled, swooned away, and became as dead men; so that they were no longer able to see or tell what was passing around them. At this time, Jesus awoke from the dead, threw aside his grave-clothes, and left the sepulchre. At the same time, also, many bodies of the old saints which had been buried round about Jerusalem, and whose tombs had been burst open by the earthquake at the time of Christ's death, arose from the dead, went into the holy city, and appeared unto many.

While these things were passing at the sepulchre and among the dead, the female friends of Christ were awake, and preparing to go to the sepulchre, that they might more formally and perfectly embalm the body of Jesus. Foremost among them were Mary Magdalene, and Mary the mother of James and Joses, and Joanna, and some others; and, as they passed along to the sepulchre, they had some anxiety and conversation between themselves respecting the stone at the mouth of it. It was very great; and who should

assist them in rolling it away? But, as they approached the sepulchre, they saw that the stone was rolled away. The guard by this time had recovered from their swoon, and gone into the city to report respecting the earthquake and the angel.

As soon as the women saw that the stone had been removed, they stopped and turned back; while Mary Magdalene, leaving them, ran into the city to inform the disciples. And Peter and John arose, and ran to the sepulchre. They went down into it, and found the grave-clothes carefully laid away; but the body was not there. They then returned in doubt and wonder to the city, leaving Mary Magdalene alone weeping at the sepulchre: and as she wept she stooped down, and looked into it; and there she saw two angels sitting—the one at the head, and the other at the feet—where the body of Jesus had been laid. They seem to have been in the form of men, so that she was not frightened at all by the apparition. And one of them said, “Why weepest thou?” She answered, “Because they have taken away my Lord, and I know not where they have laid him.” And, having said this, she turned round, and saw Jesus standing near her; and, supposing him to be the gardener, she said to him, “Sir, if you have removed the body of my Lord, please tell me where you have laid it, and I will take it away.” Then Jesus said unto her in his usual voice and tone, “Mary!” Instantly she knew him, and was about to fall at his feet and embrace him: but he told her, “No, not now: rather run quickly and tell my disciples what you have seen.”

While Mary Magdalene was gone with her message to the disciples, the other women, from whom she had been separated, came to the sepulchre at the rising of the sun. They even ventured to go down into it; and there, instead of the body of Jesus, they saw two angels in the form of men,—probably the same which had before appeared to Mary Magdalene,—sitting in shining garments on the right side of the sepulchre.* The angels spoke kindly to them, told them not to be affrighted, and no longer to seek the living among the dead: “Your Lord is not here; he is risen: come see the place where they laid him. And now go quickly and tell his disciples that he is indeed risen from the dead.”

And, as they went to tell the disciples, Jesus met them, and said unto them, “All hail!” And they fell together at his feet, and worshipped him. But he hastened their departure, as he had

* Matthew and Mark speak of but one angel,—the one, it is likely, which addressed the women.

before done in the case of Mary Magdalene, saying, "Go tell my brethren that I am alive, and that ere long they shall see me." So they ran, and united their testimony with that of Mary Magdalene that they had seen the Lord. But the disciples were slow of heart to believe: they thought the women had been deluded, and their words seemed to them as idle tales.

Some time in the course of the day, our Saviour appeared to Simon Peter; but when he made this appearance, and under what circumstances, we are not informed (Luke xxiv. 34; 1 Cor. xv. 5). In the afternoon of this same day, he appeared to two of the disciples as they went to Emmaus, — a village a few miles west of Jerusalem. One of these disciples was Cleopas, or Alpheus, the husband of Mary, and father of James and Joses. Appearing in another form, so that he was not recognized by the disciples, he discoursed with them on the way respecting the recent events at Jerusalem; showed them that the Messiah promised in the Old Testament must necessarily suffer; and, beginning at Moses and all the prophets, he expounded unto them in all the Scriptures the things concerning himself. Arrived at Emmaus, he went in to tarry with these disciples, and made himself known to them in the breaking of bread.

As soon as they knew him, he vanished from their sight; and they arose at once, and returned to Jerusalem. Here they found the apostles assembled with closed doors, and other disciples with them; and no sooner had they commenced telling their story than Jesus himself appeared in their midst, and said, "Peace be unto you." They were all terrified and affrighted, and supposed that they had seen a spirit; but Jesus took measures to convince them that he was something more than a spirit. "Handle me and see; for a spirit hath not flesh and bones as ye see me have." He kindly reproved them for their unbelief, and hardness of heart, in not receiving the testimony of those who had seen him after he was risen; and then repeated the comforting salutation, "Peace be unto you. As my Father hath sent me, so send I you."

Thus closed the transactions of this important day, — the first Lord's day under the new dispensation. Christ appeared visibly during the day no less than five times, — first, to Mary Magdalene; secondly, to the other females; third, to Simon Peter; fourth, to the two disciples on the way to Emmaus; and, fifth, to the assembled apostles and disciples at Jerusalem.

A question arises here as to the *properties* of our Saviour's risen

body. Christ is spoken of in the Scriptures as “the first-fruits from the dead;” “the first that should rise from the dead,” &c. (Acts xxvi. 23.) I suppose he was the first that ever rose with a proper resurrection-body, — rose to die no more. And the question presents itself, What were the *properties* of his raised body? It evidently had some properties after the resurrection which it had not before: it could enter and leave a room with closed doors; it could go from place to place otherwise than by the ordinary processes of locomotion; it could appear in other than its natural form; it could make itself visible and invisible at pleasure.

And yet it seems not to have parted with all its grossness. It had “flesh and bones,” if not flesh and blood; and, in repeated instances after the resurrection, we find our Saviour partaking of material food.

I know not how to account for all the phenomena in the case but by supposing that the change from the natural to the spiritual body *commenced* at his resurrection, but was not consummated till the time of his ascension. As he was to remain on the earth forty days, and furnish “infallible proofs,” meanwhile, of his resurrection from the dead, it was necessary that his body should retain at least *some* of its natural properties; else how could these “infallible proofs” be given? But when they had been adequately furnished, and his work on earth was done, and he was about to ascend to the right hand of God in heaven, then these remaining natural properties were laid aside, and the entire spiritual body, in all its fulness and glory, was assumed.

From the first Lord’s day to the second, our Lord made no visible manifestation of himself: nor do we know how the disciples were employed; but when they were again assembled, on the second Lord’s day, Christ appeared in the midst of them as before. The circumstances under which he appeared were these: Thomas was not with them at the previous meeting, nor had he yet seen his risen Lord; and he was very incredulous as to his being alive: “Except I shall see in his hands the print of the nails, and put my finger into the print of the nails, and thrust my hand into his side, I will not believe.” Now, though his unbelief was quite inexcusable, yet was his gracious Master pleased to overlook it, and take him at his word. Thomas was present on the second Lord’s day, when Christ said to him, “Reach hither thy finger, and behold my hands; and reach hither thy hand, and thrust it into my side; and be not faithless, but believing.” The incredulous disciple was

overcome at once. He exclaimed in accents of joy and wonder, "My Lord and my God!"

Our Lord's next appearance was in Galilee, where the disciples had gone in expectation of meeting him (see Matt. xxviii. 7). They were together near the lake, and concluded to go a-fishing. All night they had toiled, and taken nothing. In the morning, a stranger appeared on the shore, and asked if they had any meat. They told him they had none. Then said he unto them, "Cast the net on the right side of the ship, and ye shall find." They did so, and enclosed more fishes than they could draw to the shore. And now it was evident to them all that this apparent stranger was the Lord. At once they rushed on shore to meet him, and had a most interesting season of communion with him. It was at this time that he thrice demanded of Peter, "Lovest thou me?" and received the thrice-repeated protestations of Peter's love. It was at this time that he predicted Peter's martyrdom, and intimated that John might long survive him.

Our Saviour's next appearance was also in Galilee, on a mountain, where he had appointed to meet his friends, and where "he was seen by more than five hundred brethren at once. After that, he was seen of James; then of all the apostles" (1 Cor. xv. 6, 7). Our Lord repeatedly met his disciples at Jerusalem, and instructed them in the things pertaining to his kingdom. He told them that all power was given unto him in heaven and on earth, and directed them to tarry at Jerusalem until they were endued with power from on high. He instituted Christian baptism, — baptism in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, — and made it one of the standing ordinances of his kingdom. And whereas he had formerly restricted them in their missionary labors to the lost sheep of the house of Israel, he now greatly enlarged their commission: "Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature." He promised to aid them by miraculous powers and gifts as long as these should be needed, and to be with them by his gracious Spirit even unto the end of the world.

And now the forty days of his continuance on earth were ended, and the time of his ascension had come. He met his disciples in Jerusalem, and led them out over the Brook Kedron, by the same path in which they went the night before the crucifixion. And when they came to Bethany, on the eastern slope of the Mount of Olives, he lifted up his hands and blessed them; and it came to

pass, while he blessed them, that he was separated from them, and a cloud received him out of their sight. And, while they looked steadfastly towards heaven, suddenly two angels stood beside them, and said, "Ye men of Galilee, why stand ye here gazing towards heaven? This same Jesus which has been taken from you into heaven shall so come in like manner as ye have seen him go into heaven." And the disciples worshipped him, and returned to Jerusalem with great joy. They spent most of the time for the next eight or ten days in some one of the porches of the temple in united prayer, waiting for the promised descent of the Holy Spirit.

It will be seen from the above account that our Saviour's appearances after his resurrection were confined to his disciples and friends. And the question has been asked, "Why did he not appear to the unbelieving Jews, and convince them all, at once, of his resurrection and Messiahship?" I might answer this question by asking another: "Why does not Christ appear now in celestial glory, and substantiate his divinity and his Messiahship at once and forever?"

I can conceive of two reasons why Christ did not appear to his enemies after his resurrection. In the first place, they were not in a state of mind to be convinced by any amount of evidence which he could consistently afford them. They had perverted all the evidence which had been given them during his life; had charged him with blasphemy; had ascribed his miracles to Beelzebub; had procured his murder, and imprecated his blood upon themselves and their children; and in these ways had proved themselves to be incorrigible. If Christ had appeared to them after his resurrection, they would have called him a spectre, an illusion, a demon; any thing, rather than the risen Saviour.

Hence, secondly, these Jews had reached the point (or many of them had) to which sinners under the gospel not unfrequently come, — the point of *judicial abandonment*. God had said of them, as he had long before said of Ephraim, "Let them alone." They had been given over to hardness of heart, and blindness of mind; and no further means of instruction or conviction were to be wasted upon them.

I have thus presented a brief sketch of the life of Christ, — the briefest possible that should contain a connected account of the facts of his history. And, now, are we not all ready to say in review,

“A wonderful life, a divine life! — fully attesting his high claims to be the Son of God and the Saviour of the world”? Such a life surely is worthy our daily and constant study. It can never grow old to us; it can never be pondered but with interest and profit to the Christian. The Lord assist each one of us to study as we ought the life of Christ! and, in so doing, may we drink deep of his spirit, grow into his image and likeness, and thus be preparing for his everlasting kingdom!

PERIOD I.

THE CHURCH UNDER THE APOSTLES AND THEIR IMMEDIATE SUCCESSORS.

CHAPTER V.

THE OPENING OF THE NEW DISPENSATION.

THE last three chapters were occupied with the life of Christ. I have spoken of his work of humiliation and suffering on the earth, of his resurrection from the dead, and of his triumphant ascension into heaven. We are now to treat of the opening of the new dispensation under the apostles.

I have before said that the Church of God, though passing through several dispensations, has always been the same body: "My dove, my undefiled, is but one: she is the only one of her mother." Pious persons in every age have not only possessed, but professed, the same true religion, and have been members of the same Church of the living God. Righteous Abel belonged to the same Church with Abraham, and Abraham to the same with Moses, and Moses to the same with Peter, John, and Paul, and they to the same with Christians now. The dispensations have changed; but the Church has remained the same.

The earliest dispensation of God's Church, as I have before remarked, was the patriarchal. This was succeeded by the Mosaic dispensation, which commenced at Sinai at the giving of the law. The Israelites had now ceased to be a tribe or clan, and had become a nation. They grew to be a great and powerful nation, of which God was the Sovereign and the Head, and in which Church and State were inseparably united.

Under the gospel, although the Church entered upon a new dis-

pensation, it still continued to be the same body. Christ came, not to destroy the floor, but to purge it (Matt. iii. 12). According to his own prediction, the Gentiles were gathered into the same kingdom or church of God from which the unbelieving Jews were ejected (Matt. viii. 11). They were grafted into the same olive-tree from which the Jews were broken off (Rom. xi. 17).

But *when* did the Mosaic economy end, and that of the gospel begin? And who constituted *the Church*, — *the acknowledged visible Church*, which passed over from the one to the other? These are important questions, and require a careful consideration.

I. When did the Mosaic dispensation end, and that of the gospel begin? It is generally conceded that the Mosaic dispensation continued till the coming of Christ, and till he entered upon his public ministry. Did it cease then? or did it continue till his death? My own opinion is, that the Mosaic dispensation did not cease till the death of Christ. In proof of this, I urge the following reasons: —

1. Our Saviour observed all the rites of the Mosaic dispensation to the end of his life, and enjoined their observance upon others. Soon after his birth, he was brought to the temple to be presented as the first-born unto the Lord (Luke ii. 22). At the age of twelve years, he went up with his parents to the Passover, according to the custom of the feast; and, from that time to the day of his death, we find him a punctual attendant upon all the festivals and rites of the Jewish religion. He worshipped in the synagogue every sabbath. During his public ministry, we find him in Jerusalem at the Feast of the Dedication, at the Feast of Tabernacles, and repeatedly at the Passover. He celebrated the Passover with his disciples on the last evening of his life.

And he not only observed these institutions himself; he enjoined them upon others: “The scribes and Pharisees sit in Moses’ seat. All therefore whatsoever they bid you observe, *that observe and do*; but do not ye after their works” (Matt. xxiii. 2). “Go thy way, show thyself to the priest, and offer the gift which Moses commanded, for a testimony unto them” (Matt. viii. 4). Certainly the Mosaic institutions must have been binding at this time, else our Saviour would not have observed them, and so positively enjoined them.

2. The bloody rites of the Mosaic dispensation *lost none of their significance* until the death of Christ. The great object of these rites was to *prefigure his death*. The blood of bulls and lambs

and goats had no efficacy in itself: its use and efficacy all lay in its typical character and import. It directed the faith of the offerer to a nobler sacrifice, a more precious blood, which alone was able to cleanse from sin. Hence these bloody rites must continue until that nobler sacrifice was offered, and that more precious blood was spilt. They were as significant and as necessary the year, the month, the day, before the crucifixion, as they had been in the days of Moses or of Samuel. Hence, —

3. We find it expressly stated by the apostle Paul, that the ordinances of the Mosaic dispensation terminated, not at the birth of Christ, nor at the commencement of his public ministry, but *at his death*: “Blotting out the hand-writing of ordinances that was contrary to us, and took it out of the way, *nailing it to his cross*” (Col. ii. 14). It was on *the cross*, then, that the rites of the old dispensation were taken out of the way. It was the sacrifice of the cross which removed their significancy and necessity; and when these were gone, and there was no further use for them, they ceased to be binding, and ere long ceased to be observed. And with them ended the dispensation of which they were an integral part.

Immediately after the death and resurrection of Christ, we find the Church in a new position. It has entered on the dispensation of the gospel. New rites have been instituted, and are beginning to be observed. The Lord's Supper was instituted at the close of the last Passover, — as late as it could be previous to the death of Christ. Christian baptism was instituted after the resurrection of Christ, but before his ascension: “Go ye, therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.” There had been baptisms in the Church previous to this. Paul speaks of “divers washings,” or baptisms, among the institutions of Moses (Heb. ix. 10). There had been the baptism of John, and the baptisms administered by the disciples of Christ during his public ministry; but none of these were proper Christian baptism. They all belonged to the old dispensation, which continued till the death of Christ; and, besides, they were not administered in the name of the Trinity. Accordingly, we find those who had received John's baptism afterwards receiving Christian baptism at the hands of the apostles (Acts xix. 5).

II. We come now to our second inquiry: Who constituted the visible Church, which, at the time of Christ's death, passed over from the old dispensation to the new? Not the whole body of the

Jewish nation, which had constituted the visible Church before. This people, generally, had rejected their Messiah: "He came to his own; but his own received him not." He had appeared among them with all needed evidence to substantiate his claims. They had seen his miracles; they had listened to his words; and, while a faithful few adhered to him, the great body of the nation had openly rejected him. They had been in a fearful sense the procurers of his death; and now his death had done for them what they little expected,—it had blotted out forever the handwriting of Jewish ordinances; it had put an end to the dispensation of Moses, of which they were so tenacious and so proud; it had sundered their connection with the visible, or even the nominal, Church of God; it had brought that Church out into a new dispensation, with which they had no sympathy, and to the privileges of which they had no claim. As the idolatrous world was abandoned at the calling of Abraham, and the visible Church thenceforth was confined to his family; so the great body of Abraham's descendants were now abandoned, and the Church was confined to the faithful few who had followed Christ in the regeneration, and adhered to him through the dark period of his sufferings and death.

The hour of Christ's death, then, was the time of the great *excision*,—when the floor of the visible Church was purged; when the great body of its members were broken off for their unbelief; when the stock of the good olive was pruned almost to utter nakedness, preparatory to the reception of new and better branches. The faithful few who adhered to Christ through the period of his trial, and thus proved themselves to be his true disciples and followers,—these were they who bridged the gulf of separation; who passed over from the old dispensation to the new; and who, subsequent to the resurrection of Christ, constituted the Church of the living God. Here were the eleven apostles; here were Christ's faithful female friends,—“last at the cross, and first at the sepulchre.” The whole number of names, we read in one place, was *a hundred and twenty*. On another occasion, there seem to have been *five hundred* assembled together. We nowhere read of a higher number than this. These then, at the first, constituted *the Church* of the new dispensation. They were the only remaining branches of the stricken and terribly pruned olive-tree. They were the nucleus about which the Christian world was now to gather, and into which converted Jews and Gentiles were soon to be received.

And here we see the reason why these five hundred brethren

and sisters, more or less, did not receive Christian baptism, and were not formally admitted to membership in the Christian Church. *They were members of the Church already.* They had never been excinded. They were church-members under the former dispensation; and, when all the rest were cut off for their unbelief, these alone remained. It was their privilege, and theirs alone, to stand “the refiner’s fire and the fuller’s soap;” to abide the great winnower’s fan; to pass over the separating line between Moses and Christ; and to constitute *the Church* of the new dispensation. Of course, they did not need to be taken *into* this Church: they were never out of it. They had received the seal of the church-covenant under the former dispensation, and needed not to have it repeated under the new.

But, as soon as the unbelieving excinded Jews began to be converted, those being out of the Church must be taken into it: they must receive the initiatory rite of baptism. The apostles understood this matter, and baptized all those who were received at the Pentecost and on subsequent occasions. And though many of these, undoubtedly, had been baptized by John, this made no difference. John’s baptism was a mere preparatory rite; it was not Christian baptism; and when any were received to the Christian Church, whether Jews or Gentiles, they must be baptized.

The period we have here contemplated — the time of Christ’s suffering and death — was the most deeply interesting one in the whole history of the church or of the world. It was so on many accounts, and particularly this: The Church of God was now purged and purified; its decayed and rotten branches were broken off; while the faithful few who loved their Saviour and trusted in him, being sheltered in the arms of the everlasting covenant, passed over the line of separation, and became *the Church of the New Testament*, — the Church which, in after-days, was to expand and fill the earth; which was to exist thenceforth, without any further change of dispensation, to the end of time. Around this little body, which had been saved from the wreck of the old Jewish Church, others began almost immediately to cluster. In a few days, the number was three thousand; in a little time more, it had swelled to five thousand. It spreads beyond Jerusalem into Samaria and Galilee and other parts of Palestine; it opens its bosom to the Gentile as well as the Jew; and, within the period of a single generation, it diffuses itself throughout the greater part of the then known world. But wherever diffused, from that day to the

present, it looks back always to the same humble beginning, — to that little band who were believers before the death of Christ; who, of course, were not excinded for their unbelief; who passed over, *church-members*, from one dispensation to the other, and were the connecting link between the two. A most interesting period, this, in the history of the Church of Christ, — the crowning event of which, and the greatest event that ever occurred on this earth, was *the death of Christ*.

Before our Lord's ascension, he had promised his disciples the gift of the Holy Spirit; and he had directed them to tarry in Jerusalem until this promise was fulfilled. Accordingly, they returned from Mount Olivet into the city, and spent most of the time for the next eight or ten days in united and earnest prayer. They had a protracted meeting for conference and prayer; they were "with one accord in one place," imploring the descent of that blessed Comforter which their divine Master had promised to bestow. The only article of business to which they attended in this interval was the appointment of Matthias, in place of Judas Iscariot, to the apostleship.

But when the day of Pentecost was fully come, and the disciples were assembled in their usual place of meeting (which, I suppose, was one of the porches or chambers about the temple), suddenly the Holy Spirit came upon them like a rushing mighty wind from heaven, filling all the place where they were sitting, and filling each of their hearts with light and love. It was attended also with miraculous appearances and gifts: for there appeared in the room pointed, glittering, lambent flames, in shape like tongues of fire, and they settled on the heads of each of the apostles; and immediately these apostles began to speak with other tongues, — in languages which they had never learned, — as the Holy Spirit gave them utterance.

Jerusalem was at this time filled with people, — Jews, speaking different languages, from all the surrounding countries, — who had come together to celebrate the Pentecost: so, when the strange occurrences in the apostles' meeting came to be known, many rushed in there to see and hear for themselves; and they were all amazed and confounded to hear these unlettered Galileans speaking the languages of the nations round about, — the Median, the Persian, the Chaldæan, the Greek, the Arabic, the Egyptian, the Roman, — and publishing forth, in all, the wonderful works of God. And not knowing what else to make of it, and resolved to

turn it, if possible, to the discredit of the apostles, some insisted that they must be intoxicated. But Peter, standing up in the midst, refuted this slander in few words. He then went on to preach to the people a long and pointed discourse, in which he explained to them the nature and cause of the strange appearances which they had witnessed. This was no other than an outpouring of the Spirit in fulfilment of an ancient prediction of the prophet Joel. It was also a fulfilment of an express promise of Jesus, who had been crucified and slain, but whom God had raised from the dead, and taken up visibly into heaven; of which, said he, "we all are witnesses." He proceeded to show that this same Jesus was the promised Messiah, and that they had been guilty of crucifying the Lord from heaven.

When the people heard this, they were pricked to the heart. Their hearts bled and brake under a sense of their guilt; and they began to cry out in bitterness of soul, "Men and brethren, what shall we do?" To this inquiry, Peter had an answer ready: "Repent, and be baptized, every one of you, in the name of Jesus Christ, for the remission of sins; and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost." The people complied with this direction on the spot; and the same day there were added to the little company of disciples no less than three thousand souls.

It has been often asked, "On what day of the week did this great outpouring of the Spirit occur?" I have no doubt that it occurred on the *first day of the week*, — that which was afterwards called *the Lord's Day*. The Pentecost always occurred on the first day of the Jewish week. The law of the Pentecost runs in this wise: "From the morrow after the sabbath," i.e. the sabbath in the Passover week, "ye shall count unto you seven sabbaths, even unto the morrow after the seventh sabbath;" and then the Pentecost begins (Lev. xxiii. 15, 16). This festival was called *the Feast of Weeks*; and *the Feast of the First-fruits*. It is called *Pentecost*, from the Greek *πεντήκοντα*, "fifty," because it came fifty days after the Passover. As it was appointed to commence on "the morrow after the seventh Jewish sabbath," reckoning from the sabbath of the Passover week, of course it must always commence on the first day of the Jewish week, which is our Lord's Day, or Sunday.

Our Saviour honored and set apart the first day of the week by his resurrection from the dead; he further honored it by appearing repeatedly to his disciples on this day after his resurrection; and now he put, if possible, a still higher honor upon it by pouring

out his Spirit on this day, and gathering in the first-fruits of the Christian harvest.

The great accession to the Church on the day of Pentecost changed materially the position and circumstances of the disciples. From being a feeble, despised band, they now came to be a great company; they were in honor and favor with the people; and "continuing with one accord in the temple, and breaking bread from house to house, they did eat their meat with gladness, and singleness of heart; and the Lord added unto them daily such as should be saved."

It is said of them at this time, that "they sold their possessions, and parted to all men as every one had need." They "had all things common." This measure was partly one of necessity, showing at the same time their abounding liberality. Many of these new disciples were strangers in Jerusalem, drawn together for the purpose of celebrating the feast. Probably the greater part of them were not residents in the city. They were thrown together in these peculiar circumstances from all parts of Palestine, and from beyond it; they were drawn together by the cords of Christian love; they felt as though they could not be separated, at least for a time. But how were they to subsist? How shall they be supported? These trying questions were readily answered: "Let us put all our property into a common stock, and live upon it so long as it lasts: when it is gone, the Lord will provide."

It is very certain that this mode of living was never designed to be perpetuated in the Church. It came in for the time as a measure of necessity; and, when the necessity ceased, it passed away.

The next noticeable event in the history of the infant Church was the healing of the lame man at the gate of the temple. This excited much attention, and led to many inquiries among the people; in replying to which, Peter was led to deliver another of his stirring discourses. He charged home upon the Jews, as before, the guilt of rejecting and murdering the Lord; and concluded by solemnly calling them to repentance: "Repent, and be converted, that your sins may be blotted out." The result of this discourse was another large addition to the Church. The whole number had now come to be five thousand.

The Jewish rulers, therefore, thought it time for them to interfere. They had hoped that the death of Jesus would effectually scatter and discomfit his followers: but they were preaching, working miracles, and making many proselytes; and something effectual

must be done. So they laid hold of Peter and John, and put them in prison, and brought them before the council for examination. At their examination, Peter addressed the rulers of his nation in the boldest, plainest manner. He asserted the resurrection and ascension of Christ, together with his divine authority and power, and proclaimed him the only Saviour of lost men: "Neither is there salvation in any other; for there is none other name given among men whereby we must be saved."

The Jewish rulers were puzzled to know what to do with their prisoners. They had committed no offence against the laws; and they were in great favor with the people generally. They concluded, therefore, to threaten them, and let them go.

Thus far the Lord had favored his Church with uninterrupted prosperity: it had had nought but one continued shower of blessings. The time had come when it needed a trial; and so a trial was sent. It came in the detected hypocrisy and death of two of their own number. Ananias and Sapphira had drifted into the Church on the high-tide of the Pentecost revival, without having the selfishness of their hearts subdued; and yet they wished to stand well with the disciples, and keep up the appearance of being as liberal as any of them. So when they saw others selling their land, and laying the proceeds at the feet of the apostles, they concluded that they would do the same. They sold their land, and brought a part of the proceeds to the apostles, pretending at the same time to have brought it all. And here was their error and their sin. They were not obliged to sell their land unless they chose; and, when they had sold it, they might have retained the whole price of it, or any part of the price, in their own hands, if they pleased. But they deceived and lied about it. They wished to have the credit of giving up all, when in fact they kept back a part. But the lie was instantly detected, and they were struck down dead for their sin. An awful example to the infant Church of the guilt and danger of hypocrisy! an awful warning to those who knew of it then, who have since read of it, or ever will read of it to the end of the world, to be afraid of sinning against the Holy Ghost, and tempting the Almighty in similar ways!

CHAPTER VI.

EARLY LABORS AND SUCCESSES OF THE APOSTLES. — LIVES OF THE APOSTLES COMMENCED.

THE last chapter closed with an account of the death of Ananias and Sapphira. The apostles had been once already before the Jewish rulers, but were dismissed with the simple charge that they should stop their preaching, — a thing which, of course, they were determined not to do. Hence, as they continued to preach, and work miracles, and great numbers were attracted to them, they were arrested and imprisoned again; but the angel of the Lord opened the prison-doors by night, brought them out, and said unto them, “Go stand and speak to the people in the temple all the words of this life.” They did so; and hence, when the rulers called for them the next day, instead of finding them in the prison, they found them engaged in their old work of preaching. They summoned them to a trial, and perhaps might have punished them; but Gamaliel, a celebrated doctor of the Jewish law, dissuaded them from it: “Réfrain from these men, and let them alone: for, if this counsel or this work be of men, it will come to nought; but, if it be of God, ye cannot overthrow it, lest haply ye be found to fight even against God.” This good advice was heeded by the Jewish rulers; and so, with another charge to stop their preaching, the apostles were dismissed.

The next important event in the history of the mother Church at Jerusalem was the choice of deacons. In addition to their duties as teachers, the apostles, with such other help as they could obtain, had been much engaged in distributing supplies from the common stock, and especially in caring for the poor; and, after all their labor, entire satisfaction was not given. There was a murmuring of the foreign Jews against the Hebrews because their widows were overlooked in the daily ministrations. Wherefore the apostles called the Church together, and said, “It is not meet

that we should leave the word of God to serve tables. Choose you, therefore, seven men, of honest report, full of the Holy Ghost and of wisdom, whom we may appoint over this business; but we will give ourselves to prayer and the ministry of the word." This suggestion was cordially accepted by the Church: the seven deacons were appointed, and solemnly consecrated to their work by the imposition of hands, and prayer.

The first-named of these deacons, and probably the most distinguished and eloquent among them, was Stephen. He wrought numerous miracles, and was much engaged in propagating the faith. Being a foreign Jew himself, he had frequent disputes in the synagogue of the foreign Jews; and they, being unable to withstand him in argument, undertook to destroy his life. They arraigned him before the Sanhedrim on the charge of having spoken blasphemous words against Moses and against God. In his defence, Stephen delivered a long and eloquent discourse, sketching the history of God's dealings with the Israelitish nation in ancient times, that he might overcome prejudice, and better introduce his testimony in favor of Christ. The Jewish rulers heard him for a while; but at length, becoming impatient, they interrupted him, and brought his address to a sudden conclusion: "Ye stiff-necked and uncircumcised in heart and ears, ye do always resist the Holy Ghost: as your fathers did, so do ye." Hearing this, the Jews were cut to the heart, and gnashed upon Stephen with their teeth. But he, being full of the Holy Ghost, looked up steadfastly into heaven, and said, "Behold, I see the heavens opened, and Jesus standing on the right hand of God." Then the Jews cried out "Blasphemy!" with a loud voice, and ran upon him with one accord, and thrust him out of the city, and stoned him. So Stephen died, like his divine Master, with the language of forgiveness and supplication on his lips: "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit;" "Lord, lay not this sin to their charge."

If it be inquired, "Where was Pilate at this time? and what authority had the Jews to put Stephen to death without his consent and approbation?" my answer is, that Stephen may have died in a popular tumult, without the regular forms of law; or Pilate may have been at the time absent from Jerusalem; or (what is more probable) he may have given a *general license* to persecute and destroy the Christians. Having put their Master to death, he may have permitted the Jewish rulers to treat his followers as they pleased.

There was one young man particularly active in the murder of

Stephen, of whom we shall hear much in the subsequent history of the Apostolic Church. This was Saul of Tarsus. The false witnesses who accused Stephen, and afterwards stoned him, laid down their clothes at the feet of Saul.

The murder of Stephen was but the prelude to a great persecution against the Christians, in which Saul of Tarsus was particularly active. It is said that "he made havoc of the Church," entering into the houses of the Christians, and committing many of them to prison; and, when they were put to death, he gave his voice against them (Acts xxvi. 10).

But this persecution, though most maliciously intended and wickedly executed, was overruled for the furtherance of the gospel. Up to this time, the Christian community had clung together at Jerusalem. They revered the apostles; they loved one another; and they were unwilling to be separated. But God designed that they *should* be separated, and he overruled their bitter persecution for this very purpose. The *apostles* still resided, for the most part, at Jerusalem; but the members of the Church were scattered abroad. And, to whatever parts of the land they were driven, they carried the gospel message with them: "They went forth everywhere preaching the Word."

Their labors, we have reason to know, were not in vain; for almost immediately we begin to hear of little communities of Christians in all the principal cities of Palestine and Syria. The success of one of these first missionaries was so considerable, that the pen of inspiration has recorded it. Philip, one of the seven deacons (who very soon became an evangelist), went down to Samaria, and preached Christ there. The Samaritans were at this time greatly interested in the performances of one Simon, a magician, who pretended to work wonders, and to have at his command the great power of God; but when Philip came among them, and preached the gospel, and performed, not magical tricks, but *real miracles*, they all forsook Simon, and gathered round the evangelist. And very soon there was a great revival of religion, and many were baptized. Even Simon himself professed to be a believer, received baptism, and continued with Philip, beholding the signs and miracles which were done.

Soon the apostles at Jerusalem heard of the success of Philip's labors, and sent to his assistance Peter and John. When these were come, they did for the new converts at Samaria what Philip could not do, — they laid their hands upon them, and imparted to

them the miraculous influences of the Holy Ghost; in other words, they imparted the power of performing miracles. These converts had received the Holy Ghost already in his awakening and sanctifying influences; but now they received his miraculous influences. This gift could be imparted by the laying-on of the apostles' hands, and in no other way. Others wrought miracles in the apostolic age; but none but the apostles could impart the gift.

And this was that which Simon the sorcerer wanted to buy,—not the power of performing miracles, but the apostolical power of imparting the gift: “Give me also this power, that, on whomsoever I lay my hands, he may receive the Holy Ghost.” His preferring such a request as this, accompanied by the offer of money, was what revealed the secrets of his character, and led Peter to say to him, with mingled emotions of indignation and scorn, “Thy money perish with thee! Thou hast neither part nor lot in this matter; for thy heart is not right in the sight of God.”

When a church had been planted and organized at Samaria, the apostles returned to Jerusalem; and Philip was sent by the Spirit on another errand. He must travel into the south of Palestine to meet the Ethiopian eunuch, and preach the gospel of salvation to him. The eunuch was soon convinced, converted, and baptized, and returned to the court of his royal mistress rejoicing; and Philip, turning his feet northward, preached in all the cities till he came to Cæsarea.

While these things were transacting in other parts of the land, Saul was still engaged in his bloody work at Jerusalem. Nor was he satisfied to confine his persecuting zeal to the holy city; but, hearing that there were Christians at Damascus, he went to the high priest, and desired of him letters to the synagogues at Damascus, that, if any of the hated sect were secreted there, he might ferret them out, and bring them bound unto Jerusalem.

But the end of Saul's persecuting career was now come; for, as he approached Damascus on his journey thither, suddenly there shone round about him a light from heaven, before which he was instantly struck blind, and prostrated. And then he heard a voice crying in his ear, “Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me?” And Saul astonished asked, “Who art thou, Lord?” And the Lord said, “*I am Jesus whom thou persecutest.*” And now, if a thunderbolt had struck the prostrate persecutor, he could not have been more confounded. He saw at once what he had been doing. He

saw that this Jesus of Nazareth was really what he claimed to be, — the Messiah of the Scriptures, whom he had been madly persecuting in his followers. He saw his guilt, his danger, his ruin; and he seems to have submitted to his Redeemer at once. And so, turning to him the eye of faith (for his natural eye was for the time extinguished), he said to him in accents of love, "*Lord, what wilt thou have me to do?*" As much as to say, "My whole course of life is changed. I am now your servant. I am ready to do any thing. Lord, wilt thou accept me? Lord, what wilt thou have me to do?"

Being risen from the earth, Saul was led by the hand into Damascus, where, after three days of reflection and repentance, he was baptized by Ananias, and became a member of the Christian Church. At the same time, his sight was restored to him; and he began at once to preach Christ in the synagogues, proving to his Jewish brethren that he is the Son of God.

About this time, the apostle Peter performed a missionary tour through different parts of Palestine. In the course of it, he visited Lydda, — a town lying between Jerusalem and Joppa, about a dozen miles from the latter place. Here he healed Eneas of a palsy which had confined him to his bed eight years. This miracle arrested the attention of the people; and great numbers in Lydda and in the surrounding country were converted.

While Peter was laboring in this revival, a very solemn event occurred at Joppa. A beloved female disciple, whose name was Dorcas, was taken sick, and died. And forasmuch as Lydda was nigh to Joppa, and the bereaved friends had heard that Peter was there, they sent messengers unto him, desiring that he would not delay to come to them. So Peter went with them to Joppa, and visited the family of the deceased woman; and, in answer to his prayer, she was raised from the dead. This great miracle extended still farther the fame of the apostle; and many in Joppa believed on the Lord.

It was while Peter was staying at Joppa that he had his vision of the great sheet let down from heaven, on which were all manner of beasts, clean and unclean, and creeping things, and fowls of the air; and Peter was astonished to hear himself commanded to eat of them promiscuously, — a thing which he had never done, and which he was forbidden to do by the Jewish law. While Peter was revolving this strange command, he received a message from Cæsarea which threw some light upon it, and helped him to understand it aright.

It seems that at Cæsarea, a city about thirty miles north of Joppa, there resided a pious military officer whose name was Cornelius. Though still a Gentile, he had come to a knowledge of the true God, and was a devout and spiritual worshipper. In answer to his prayers, an angel had appeared to him, who directed him to send to Joppa for Peter, who would come and instruct him in the gospel. Accordingly, he sent; and the messengers of Cornelius arrived at Joppa just as Peter had recovered from his vision. Putting the two revelations together, Peter could not doubt as to the import of his call or as to the path of duty. He must go with the messengers of Cornelius, and open the door of faith to the Gentiles, though in so doing he might contravene some of the precepts of the Jewish law. Accordingly, he went with them, met Cornelius and his family, and preached to them the gospel; and, as he was preaching, the Holy Ghost fell on them as it did upon the disciples on the day of Pentecost, enabling them to speak with tongues, and to perform other miraculous works. Then Peter said, "Can any man forbid water that these should not be baptized, who have received the Holy Ghost as well as we? And he commanded them to be baptized in the name of the Lord Jesus."

Such was the entrance of the gospel among the Gentiles,—a work which shortly spread, under the auspices of the converted Saul of Tarsus, into all parts of the Roman world. Peter was soon called to an account for what he had done by his Jewish brethren at Jerusalem; but, when he had expounded the whole matter to them, they joyfully acquiesced, saying, "Then hath God granted also unto the Gentiles repentance unto life."

The gospel was next preached to the Gentiles in the great city of Antioch, where many believed, and turned unto the Lord. When the brethren at Jerusalem heard of this revival at Antioch, they sent thither Barnabas, a native of Cyprus, "a good man, full of faith and the Holy Ghost," that he should go and assist his brethren. He did so, and had great encouragement in his labors; but, finding the work too great for his strength, he went to Tarsus, and secured a most efficient helper in Saul,—afterwards the great apostle of the Gentiles. These men now spent a whole year at Antioch,* where they gathered a flourishing church, and taught

* It will be recollected that there are two Antiochs spoken of in the Acts. The one here referred to was on the Orontes, in Syria, nearly opposite the Island of Cyprus,—about twenty miles from the Mediterranean. It had been for a long time the chief city and capital of Syria.

much people; and the disciples were first called Christians here at Antioch. Probably the name was first applied to them in reproach by their enemies; but it was cheerfully adopted by them, and has been their glory ever since.

While these things were going on so prosperously in Syria, the Church in Jerusalem was threatened with another persecution. Herod Agrippa, a grandson of Herod the Great, had come into favor with the Emperor Claudius, who gave him the entire kingdom of his grandfather. He reigned over Judæa and Palestine about three years, and then died in the wretched manner described in Acts xii. 23. It was during his short reign that "he stretched forth his hand to vex certain of the Church, and slew James, the brother of John, with the sword." This James was the first of the apostles who was called to seal his testimony with his blood. Finding that this act of cruelty was pleasing to the Jews, Herod next proceeded to take Peter also; and, when he had apprehended him, he put him in prison under charge of no less than sixteen soldiers, intending, when the feast was over (for it was now the Passover), to bring him forth unto the people. But prayer was made without ceasing of the Church unto God for him: and the prayers of God's people prevailed; for, lo, while Peter was sleeping between two soldiers, bound with chains, and the keepers of the prison were guarding the door, the angel of the Lord appeared in the prison, awoke the apostle, knocked off his chains, and said to him, "Gird on thy sandals, and follow me." So the angel led him forth through all the barred gates and guarded wards, till he was quite at liberty in the streets of Jerusalem. Being thus miraculously delivered, Peter wended his way to the house of Mary, one of the sisters of the Church, where many were assembled for the purpose of prayer. He gained access to the meeting, rehearsed the story of his deliverance, commanded them to go and tell the other apostles of the fact, and then retired to some place of safety.

After this event, we do not often hear of the apostle Peter in the sacred history. For several years, he seems to have resided for the most part at Jerusalem. Here Paul met him when he went up from Antioch to Jerusalem on the question of circumcising the Gentile converts. This was about the year 49,—fourteen years subsequent to the conversion of Paul (Gal. ii. 1). It was at

The other Antioch was in Pisidia,—some two hundred miles north-west of the former. Here Paul and Barnabas preached the gospel during their first missionary tour among the heathen.

this time that Paul received from Peter, James, and John the right hand of fellowship, that he should go to the heathen, while they continued to labor chiefly among the Jews.

Soon after this, we find Peter at Antioch, where he dissembled through fear of the Jews, refused to associate with the Gentile converts, and acted contrary to the decree which had been passed at Jerusalem. For this his brother Paul rebuked him; which rebuke he received in a Christian manner, being convinced, no doubt, that it was deserved.

After this, he spent some time at Corinth; for, when this Church became divided respecting its ministers, some claimed that they were of Paul, and some of Apollos, and some of *Cephas* (i.e., *Peter*), and some of Christ (1 Cor. i. 12). Still later in life, we find him at Babylon, — either Babylon in Egypt, or more probably New Babylon in Assyria, in the neighborhood of which many Jews had resided ever since the Babylonish captivity. It is from this place that Peter dates his First Epistle (1 Pet. v. 13). According to Origen, Peter's last missionary labors were chiefly among the dispersed Jews in the regions of Pontus, Galatia, Bithynia, Cappadocia, and Asia; and this agrees with the representation of Paul, that, while *he* was commissioned to go to the heathen, Peter was the apostle of the circumcision. It agrees also with the representation of Peter himself, who addresses his First Epistle "to the strangers," i.e. foreign Jews, "scattered throughout Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia."

The Romanists contend very strenuously that Peter resided long at Rome, and was the first bishop of Rome; but the Scriptures, instead of favoring this supposition, give their testimony decidedly against it. Paul wrote his Epistle to the Romans about the year 57, — long after Peter, according to the Papists, had become bishop of that Church; yet there is not a word in it about Peter, nor so much as an intimation that he, or any other apostle, had ever been there. In the last chapter of this epistle, Paul sends salutations to beloved Christian friends at Rome, mentioning them by name, and stating a variety of circumstances respecting them; but not a word do we find in respect to Peter. Two or three years later, Paul himself arrived a prisoner at Rome, and was received with great favor by the Church; but still no mention is made of Peter. Paul dwelt two whole years in his own hired house at Rome, whence he wrote several of his epistles to the churches; but in none of these epistles do we find the slightest allusion to

Peter. In one of his epistles, Paul says of those about him, "All seek their own, not the things that are Jesus Christ's" (Phil. ii. 21). And in his Second Epistle to Timothy, the last that the apostle ever wrote, he says, "At my first answer, no man stood with me; but all men forsook me. I pray God that it may not be laid to their charge" (2 Tim. iv. 16). If Peter was now at Rome, why did he desert his brother Paul on this trying occasion?

In view of all these representations, who can believe, that, up to the time of Paul's writing his Second Epistle to Timothy, Peter had ever resided at Rome, — much less that he had long been the bishop of that Church?

In short, there is no reason to suppose that Peter ever was, in the proper sense of the term, a *bishop* anywhere; or, in other words, that he ever took upon himself a *pastoral charge*. He was an *apostle*, and not a bishop. Not only are these two offices not the same: they are incompatible one with the other. An apostle is a missionary, a minister at large; one who has (what Paul tells us he had) "the care of all the churches." A bishop has, or should have, a pastoral charge; he is the overseer of a particular flock; he is confined in his attentions to some particular field of labor. But to what particular field of labor were the apostles individually confined? They were appointed expressly that they might be "witnesses for Christ in Jerusalem, and in all Judæa, and in Samaria, and to the uttermost part of the earth." They were given to the Church at large, and would have been guilty of a violation of duty had they confined their labors to any particular portion of it. Peter is degraded by the supposition, that, from being a distinguished apostle, he became the bishop of a single city, even though that city were Rome.

In short, we have no certain evidence that Peter ever saw the city of Rome; though the probability is that he came there, or was carried there, a little while before his death. According to the unbroken testimony of the ancient Church, he was crucified at Rome in the persecution under Nero, — about the year 65. At his own request, he was crucified head downwards.

The apostle Peter had a brother Andrew, who became a follower of Christ even sooner than he did. They were born at Bethsaida, near the northern shore of the Sea of Galilee; were fishermen by profession; and were both of them disciples of John the Baptist. When John had pointed out Jesus as the Lamb of God who should take away the sin of the world, Andrew at once commenced fol-

lowing him. Shortly after, he found his brother Simon, and brought him to Christ; and henceforward they followed the Lamb of God together. During the personal ministry of Christ, though Andrew was, so far as we know, a consistent and faithful disciple, still we hear but little of him. While his brother Peter was naturally forward, talkative, impulsive, Andrew was a very different character: he was a silent witness of our Saviour's miracles, and listener to his instructions, and received no special tokens of his Master's affection and regard.

After the ascension of Christ, he doubtless remained for a time at Jerusalem, as all the other apostles did. He then went forth to publish the gospel; but the ancients are not agreed as to the field of his labors. Some think that he went into Scythia; others, with more probability, assign him to different points in Greece. The modern Greeks regard him as the founder of the Church at Byzantium (afterwards Constantinople); but of this there is no certain evidence. The story is, that, after long labor and great success in his chosen work of preaching the gospel to the nations, he was crucified at Patræ, a city of Achaia, by Ægeas, the proconsul. The "Acts of his Passion" were early published by those who profess to have been witnesses of the scene; but of their authenticity there is good reason to doubt. He is said to have been crucified on a cross in the form of an X; which, from this circumstance, has been called St. Andrew's cross.

There were two Jameses in the family of our Lord, — the senior and the junior, or the greater and the less. The elder James, who was the son of Zebedee and the brother of John, was the first of the apostles who suffered martyrdom. He was slain at Jerusalem, as before stated, by Herod Agrippa, — about the year 44. With a few words respecting him, this chapter will be concluded.

These sons of Zebedee were native Galileans, born either at Capernaum or Bethsaida. Like Andrew and Peter, they were fishermen; and they seem to have inherited from their father more worldly substance than most of the apostles. John had a home, to which, after the crucifixion, he took the mother of our Lord, and where he nourished her as long as she lived. Peter, and the brothers James and John, were among the more favored disciples of Christ, whom he called Boanerges ("sons of thunder"), and whom he admitted to a peculiar intimacy and privileges. These alone were allowed to go with him when he raised the daughter of the ruler of the synagogue from a state of apparent death to

life and health, when he went into the Mount of Transfiguration, and when he fell into that dreadful agony in the Garden of Gethsemane.

These sons of Zebedee, though true and loving disciples, were not wholly divested of a worldly spirit: witness the request of their mother for them, — made, no doubt, with their concurrence, — that they might sit, the one on the right hand of their Lord, and the other on the left, in his kingdom; witness also their un-Christian proposal to call down fire from heaven upon the inhospitable Samaritans.

The Church of Rome has many traditions as to the missionary labors of James the Elder after the ascension of Christ; but we have no proof that any of them are true. The apostles lingered about Jerusalem for several years after the crucifixion; and the probability is that James was with them. It is not likely that he ever travelled as a missionary out of Palestine. He was put to death early, as I said, and buried at or near Jerusalem. The Romanists pretend, that, after several hundred years, his remains were disinterred, and carried into Spain; but this is as improbable as most of their other legends.

CHAPTER VII.

LIVES OF THE APOSTLES. — CONTINUED.

WE have already sketched the lives of Andrew, Peter, and James the brother of John. Of the original apostles, there were nine others, including Matthias, who came into the place of Judas Iscariot; but of the most of these we know very little except what stands connected with the personal history of Christ. It is commonly said that they all died as martyrs to the truth; but this is more than can be affirmed with certainty.

There were two Philips among the early disciples of Christ, — the one an apostle, and the other a deacon, and afterwards an evangelist. Philip the apostle was born at Bethsaida in Galilee, — the city of Andrew and Peter: he had the honor to be the first who was expressly called to become a disciple of Christ. Very soon he finds Nathanael, and invites him to become a fellow-disciple (John i. 46). From this time, Philip was a steady and consistent follower of Jesus, though not much is said of him in the Gospels. It was to Philip that our Lord propounded the question, when surrounded by famishing multitudes, “Whence shall we buy bread, that these may eat?” (John vi. 5.) It was to him that the Hellenist Jews, or proselytes, who came up to Jerusalem to the Passover, addressed themselves when desiring to see Jesus (John xii. 21). It was with him that our Lord had a discourse when just about to enter on his scene of suffering: “Philip saith unto him, Lord, show us the Father, and it sufficeth us. Jesus saith unto him, Have I been so long time with you, and yet hast thou not known me, Philip? He that hath seen me hath seen the Father” (John xiv. 8).

After the death and resurrection of Christ, we hear nothing of this apostle in the sacred history. The probability is, that he remained several years at Jerusalem with the other apostles. And, when he departed, we have no reliable information as to the region

of country to which he withdrew. It is generally thought that he visited the northern parts of Asia Minor, and finally died at Hierapolis in Phrygia. Fables we have in abundance respecting his labors, sufferings, and martyrdom; but they were got up at too late a period, and contain too many silly stories, to be worth repeating.

When Nathanael was invited by Philip to become a follower of Christ, he immediately consented. And, when Jesus saw him coming, he said, "Behold an Israelite indeed, in whom is no guile!" Nathanael is also called Bartholomew; i.e., the son of Tholomew, or Tholomai: just as Simon is called Barjona; and Joses, Barsabas. In the Gospels, we find Philip and Nathanael, or Philip and Bartholomew, constantly named together, indicating that they were special friends.

Nathanael, like most of the other apostles, was a Galilean. His home, we are told, was at Cana of Galilee (John xxi. 2). We hear little of him in the sacred history, and have not the means of tracing his course with certainty after the dispersion of the apostles from Jerusalem. Tradition says that he travelled as far as the hither India, bordering upon Chaldæa; and that he left there a copy of Matthew's Gospel, which was found long after by a missionary. From India he returned to North-western Asia, and joined his friend and fellow-apostle Philip at Hierapolis in Phrygia. After the death of Philip, he passed into Lycaonia and Armenia, where he laid down his life.

The apostle Matthew, also called Levi, was, like the rest, a Galilean. His home was at or near Capernaum. He was the son of Alpheus, though not the same Alpheus who was the father of James and Jude (Mark ii. 14). He was a publican, or tax-gatherer, in the employ of the governor, whose business it was to collect and pay over the tribute-money. These publicans were peculiarly odious to the Jews: first, because they were, in general, rapacious and oppressive; then the tribute itself, being a token of subjection, was an offence to the Jew; and, thirdly, their office brought them so much in contact with Gentiles, that the strict Jew could hardly own them as belonging to his people. Hence, to the ears of the Jew, "publicans and sinners" were synonymous terms; and they were regarded as among the vilest of mankind. Yet Matthew, though a native Jew, was a publican. His office was lucrative; and he was rich. At an early period in his public ministry, as Jesus walked by the Sea of Galilee, he saw Matthew sitting in his

office, and receiving the tribute-money; and he said unto him, "*Follow me.*" And Matthew rose up at once, left his office, his money-changing, his worldly business, — the grand source of his wealth and honor, — and became a follower of Christ. We have hardly an instance of more prompt obedience, and of apparently greater self-denial, in the Bible. To do honor to the Saviour, and show that he was not dissatisfied with the decision to which he had come, he invited our Lord and his disciples to dine with him, in company with several of his own profession. At this the Pharisees were offended, and gave vent to their pride and scorn by saying, "How is it that he eateth with publicans and sinners?"

After his election to the apostolate, we hear little of Matthew in the Gospels. He continued to follow Christ while he lived, and, after his death and resurrection, remained for a time with the other apostles in the vicinity of Jerusalem. It was here, that, in compliance with the request of his brethren, he wrote his Gospel, — the earliest of the four that were written. It is thought to have been written about eight years after the death of Christ. The tradition is, that Matthew wrote his Gospel in Hebrew, and that it was early translated into Greek. I cannot go into this question here; nor do I think it one of great importance. If our Greek copies are a translation, the translation was made under the eye of the apostles, and under the inspiration of the Holy Ghost. Hence it is as really the word of God as though it were an original production. Whether written originally in the Hebrew language, or not, it is certain that there was a Hebrew copy of Matthew's Gospel among the early Christians; but this, falling into the hands of the Ebionites, and being by them garbled and interpolated, lost all credit in the Church.

After leaving Judæa, it is very uncertain into what part of the world Matthew travelled, or what became of him. Amidst a crowd of legendary tales, the truth is irrecoverably lost.

Among the apostles of Christ was Thomas, also called Didymus, or the twin. He was probably a Galilean, and a fisherman, like most of the other apostles; though of this we are not certified in the Scriptures. During the ministry of Christ, Thomas was rather a listener than an active speaker. We have but few notices of him in the Gospels. When our Saviour would not be dissuaded by any considerations of personal danger from going into Judæa to raise Lazarus from the dead, Thomas said, "Let us also go, that we

may die with him ;” intimating not only his fears for the personal safety of his Master, but that he was willing to stand by him to the end.

In his parting address to his disciples, our Saviour assured them that he was going to prepare a place for them ; and then added, “ Whither I go ye know, and the way ye know.” Thomas said unto him, “ Lord, we know not whither thou goest, and how can we know the way ?” To this Jesus answered, “ I am the way and the truth and the life. No man cometh unto the Father but by me.”

Upon the death of Christ, the disciples seem to have been distracted with doubts and fears as to his resurrection and Messiahship : “ We trusted that this had been he who should deliver Israel ; but he is dead and buried, and all our hopes are buried with him.” This seems to have been the feeling which at the time possessed their minds ; and after our Saviour had risen, and appeared to his female friends, and they had told it to the disciples, their words seemed to them as idle tales ; and, after he had appeared to all the disciples except Thomas, still he was slow of heart to believe : “ Except I shall see in his hands the print of the nails, and put my finger into the print of the nails, and thrust my hand into his side, I will not believe.” So, when Jesus appeared to the assembled disciples on the second first day of the week, he furnished Thomas with the very test which he had required. He caused him to put his finger into the print of the nails, and to thrust his hand into his side. The incredulity of Thomas was at once overcome : he could only exclaim, “ My Lord and my God ! ”

After the dispersion of the apostles from Jerusalem, Thomas is said to have gone into the East, — to the Medes, Persians, Parthians, and Hindoos. There is this evidence that Thomas preached the gospel in India, and established churches, — that there is still a large body of Christians in the East which bear his name. They were found by the Portuguese when they took possession of some parts of India, and were visited by Dr. Buchanan early in the present century. Dr. Buchanan received from them a copy of the Syriac Scriptures, and was gratified to find that it agreed almost entirely with our own.*

Another of our Lord’s apostles was Simon Zelotes, or the Zealot. He is also called the Cananite (not Canaanite) ; a word of Hebrew origin, which is synonymous with the Greek “ Zelotes.” He was

* Buchanan’s Researches, p. 186.

undoubtedly a Jew, though we know not the place of his birth. He may have been called Simon the Zealot to distinguish him from Simon whose surname was Peter; or he may have belonged before conversion to the sect of Zealots, — a sect which, in the last days of the Jewish state, became exceedingly turbulent and troublesome.

Being invested with the apostolical office, no further mention is made of Zelotes in the gospel history; nor do we know what parts of the world he visited after the dispersion of the apostles. Some think that he went into Africa, and afterwards to Britain and the Western Islands; others tell us that he went into Mesopotamia. That he was a good and faithful man, we have no reason to doubt; but the latter part of his life, so far as reliable history is concerned, is a blank.

The apostle Jude is also called Lebbeus and Thaddeus (Matt. x. 3). He was the brother of James the Less; and both were the sons of Alpheus, sometimes called Cleopas, and of Mary, the sister of our Lord's mother (John xix. 25). Cleopas, according to Eusebius, was a brother of Joseph. They had three sons, whose names are given in the Gospels; viz., James, Joses, and Jude. Tradition has given them another son, Simeon, who was the first pastor or bishop of Jerusalem. These sons were all cousins of our Lord, — perhaps double cousins.

In the family of Joseph and Mary there were also, besides Jesus, four sons whose names are given; viz., James, Joses, Simon, and Judas (Matt. xiii. 56). Whether these were the sons of Joseph and Mary, or of Joseph by a previous wife, we are not informed.

It has been conjectured by some, that while James and Jude, the sons of Alpheus, were apostles of Christ, the James who resided so long at Jerusalem, who wrote the epistle, and of whom we hear so much in the Acts and in Paul's Epistles, was not the apostle James, but James a son of Joseph, if not of Mary, and a literal brother of our Lord.* But I cannot be of this opinion, and for the following reasons: —

1. It is said of Christ's literal brothers, at a late period in his public ministry, that they did not believe on him (John vii. 5). They may have become believers about the time of his resurrection and ascension (see Acts i. 14); but the fact that Jesus did not commit his mother to them, but to John, is evidence that at that time they and their mother were not in full sympathy on the subject of religion. And, —

* See Bib. Sacra for October, 1864.

2. The manner in which the James who dwelt at Jerusalem is spoken of in the Acts and in the Epistles of Paul shows that he must have been an apostle. It was he who presided at the great church-meeting at Jerusalem, and pronounced the decision on the question of circumcising the Gentiles (Acts xv. 19). Then, when Paul went up to Jerusalem to see Peter, he says, "Other of the apostles saw I none, save James, the Lord's brother" (Gal. i. 19). This proves that the James whom he saw was an apostle. At his next visit to Jerusalem, Paul saw there "James, Cephas, and John, *who seemed to be pillars,*" — a proof, again, that James was not only an apostle, but a distinguished apostle; as much so as Peter and John (Gal. ii. 9).

I conclude, therefore, that the James who resided at Jerusalem, and wrote the epistle, was no other than the apostle James. He was not a literal brother of our Lord, but a cousin; and, on this account, is sometimes called "the Lord's brother." Several instances occur in the Scriptures of this use of the term among the Jews.*

But to return to Jude. In the Gospels, we find but a single question proposed by Jude to his Lord and Master: "How is it that thou wilt manifest thyself to us, and not unto the world?" Jesus answered him, "If a man love me, he will keep my words; and my Father will love him, and we will come unto him, and make our abode with him" (John xiv. 22).

After the ascension of Christ, Jude is said to have been sent to Agbarus, king of Edessa, where he wrought miracles, preached the gospel, and converted Agbarus and his people to the faith. For this the king offered him a large reward, which he refused, saying that he had no occasion to receive from others what he had long before relinquished on his own behalf.

Jude seems to have had a wife and family; for, near the close of the first century, two of his grandsons were brought before Domitian, as being of the lineage of David; from which stock the emperor feared that some one would arise claiming to be king of the Jews. But when he saw that they were poor, humble, laboring men, he dismissed his fears on their account, and sent them back to their own country.

Jude has left us a short epistle addressed to the whole body of Christian believers. Its authenticity was doubted by some in the ancient Church; but we see no good reason for rejecting it. Its

* See Schleusner's Lexicon, under *ἀδελφός*.

principal design is to expose certain enemies of the truth,—“ungodly men, who had crept into the churches unawares, turning the grace of God into lasciviousness, and denying the only Lord God, and our Lord Jesus Christ.”

Let us next bring together what little can be known of Matthias, who was divinely designated to be an apostle in place of Judas Iscariot. His appointment was one of the first acts of the assembled apostles after their return from the ascension of Christ. We have a concise account of the whole transaction, with the reasons and the manner of it, in the first chapter of the Acts. From this account it appears that Matthias, though not before an apostle, was one of those who had accompanied with the disciples all the time that the Lord Jesus had gone in and out among them, beginning from the baptism of John until the day when he was taken up; and consequently was a most suitable person to be ordained with the other apostles to be a *witness* of his resurrection.

Of the labors of Matthias after the dispersion of the apostles, we have no certain knowledge. He is commonly thought to have received the crown of martyrdom about the year 64; but it is not certain that he was a martyr at all. As we hear no evil of him, we may hope that he fulfilled, as a hireling, his day, and has long since entered on the rewards of the just.

Of the original apostles of our Saviour, we have only to speak further of James the brother of Jude, and of John. Where James and Jude were born, or what their course of life before they were called to the apostolate, we have no intimation in the Scriptures; nor do the Gospels refer to any incident in the life of James after he became an apostle. Between our Lord's resurrection and ascension, he appeared in one instance to James alone, as he did in another to Simon Peter (1 Cor. xv. 7).

After the ascension of Christ, James seems to have become, for some reason,—perhaps on account of his affinity to Jesus,—a sort of president in the college of the apostles. He resided at Jerusalem, and was virtually pastor of the great Church there. Paul met him there repeatedly on his visits to Jerusalem. To him Peter sent the news of his deliverance from prison: “Go show these things unto James and to the brethren” (Acts xii. 17). As I have before remarked, James presided at the meeting of the Church at Jerusalem when the question of enforcing circumcision upon the Gentile converts was considered. Peter opened the dis-

cussion; Paul and Barnabas debated it; but James stood up to publish the result: "*My sentence* is, that we trouble not them which, from among the Gentiles, are turned to the Lord" (Acts xv. 19).

So holy and venerable was the apostle James, so "blameless and harmless, a son of God without rebuke," that the Jews for a long time could find nothing against him. Though hated by the more bigoted class, he was honored and feared by the people generally; but at length his time of trial came. The tradition is, that he was violently thrown from some part of the temple, and afterwards killed with clubs and stones. His death was greatly lamented by all sober and just persons among the Jews. Josephus tells us that "the miseries which came afterwards upon the Jews were by way of revenge for James the Just, who was the brother of Jesus, whom they call Christ; for the Jews slew him, though a most righteous person." *

The Epistle of James was written not long before his death. It is addressed "to the twelve tribes scattered abroad;" i.e., to Jews and Israelites wherever dispersed. The most of it was intended for *believing* Jews; but some parts of it are addressed to those who did not believe. "From whence come wars and fightings among you? Come they not hence, even of your lusts?" This and the following verses of the fourth chapter we cannot regard as applicable to Christian Jews, but are specially applicable to those murderous zealots with which the holy city was at this time infested.

James encounters in his epistle a very different class of persons from those who so much troubled the apostle Paul. Paul's antagonists were strenuous for the works of the Jewish law, insisting that without them no flesh could be saved; but James's opponents relied upon faith without the deeds of the law. The former class were Legalists; the latter, Antinomians, — both equally at variance with the doctrine of the apostle.

James closes his epistle with setting forth the duty and the efficacy of prayer: "The effectual fervent prayer of a righteous man availeth much." He was himself an eminent example of the duty here inculcated. He used to retire so often into the temple to pray, that, as one of the ancients informs us, "the skin of his knees became hard like that of a camel."

The apostle John is supposed to have lived longer, and to have

* Antiq., lib. xx. cap. 9.

written later, than any other of the apostles. He was a Galilean, the son of Zebedee and Salome, and a younger brother of the first James, with whom he was trained to be a fisherman. He was called to be a disciple at the same time with James; and in the Gospels they are usually mentioned together. John was peculiarly dear to his Lord and Master, being spoken of as "the disciple whom Jesus loved." He was not only one of the three whom our Saviour admitted to the more private passages of his life, but, in some instances, a special kindness was shown him: He lay on the Saviour's breast at the paschal supper; and when Peter wished to know which of the disciples was to be a traitor, instead of asking the question himself, he beckoned to John to put it for him. John was more constant to his Master than any of the disciples at the time of his trial and crucifixion; for, though he fled from him at the first, he soon recovered himself, and returned. He boldly entered into the high priest's palace; followed his Master through the several parts of his trial; and was the only apostle, so far as we know, who stood by him through the terrible scene of the crucifixion. Here it was that his suffering Lord committed to him his blessed mother: "Woman, behold thy son; disciple, behold thy mother." And from that hour John took her to his own home, and made her to the end of life the special object of his charge and care.

On the morning of the resurrection, Peter and John were the first of the apostles to run to the empty sepulchre. He recognized his risen Lord even sooner than Peter at the Sea of Galilee. After the ascension of Christ, we find Peter and John going up to the temple together at the hour of prayer, where they preached to the people, and healed the poor cripple. They were apprehended, and imprisoned together, and the next day were brought out to plead their cause before the Sanhedrim. These were the two disciples who were deputed to go down to Samaria, and assist Philip in the great revival which had sprung up there. It was to James, Peter, and John, still residing at Jerusalem, and seeming to be pillars, that Paul, many years later, addressed himself; and they, seeing the grace which God had imparted unto him, gave him the right hand of fellowship, and confirmed his mission to the Gentiles (Gal. ii. 9).

John seems to have resided chiefly at Jerusalem until after the death of the Lord's mother, — in all, from fifteen to twenty years, — when he migrated into Asia Minor, and exercised his ministry

there. Several churches were formed by him, as those at Smyrna, Pergamos, Thyatira, Sardis, and Philadelphia; but his principal residence during the latter part of his life was at Ephesus. He seems not to have been molested during the Neronian persecution, in which Peter and Paul were put to death; but in the subsequent persecution under Domitian, which occurred about the year 93, he was arrested, brought to Rome, and thence banished to Patmos, a desolate little island in the Ægean Sea. The story told by Tertullian, of his having been previously thrown into a caldron of boiling oil and coming out unharmed, is now generally discarded.

It was on the Isle of Patmos, near the close of the first century, that John had those remarkable visions and revelations recorded in the Apocalypse. This book, Irenæus informs us, was written on the island.

That John was banished to Patmos under Domitian, and not some thirty years earlier under Nero, is an important fact in its bearing on the interpretation of the Apocalypse: for, in the time of Domitian, Jerusalem had been long destroyed; and consequently none of John's predictions could have looked forward, as some pretend, to its destruction. They must portend other calamities about to fall upon the enemies of the Church.

That John was really banished under Domitian is proved by the almost uniform testimony of the early Christians; and we have conclusive evidence to the same point in the Apocalypse itself. If this book was written during the Neronian persecution, then it must have been written shortly after the later epistles of Paul. But it is perfectly evident that the condition of the seven churches in Asia, as indicated in the second and third chapters of the Apocalypse, was very different from what it was in the time of Paul. They had undergone a fearful change, a relapse; and time must be furnished for such a declension. The Church at Ephesus, for example, could not have fallen from what it was when Paul took his leave of the Ephesian elders to what it was at the writing of the Apocalypse, in a less period than thirty years.

Domitian was assassinated at Rome A.D. 96, and Nerva succeeded him. He rescinded the cruel edicts of his predecessor, and recalled those from banishment whom Domitian had driven away. Taking advantage of this freedom, John left the Isle of Patmos, and returned to Ephesus. Here he wrote his Gospel, designed to refute the errors of the times, and to supply what the other evan-

gelsists had omitted. He also left three Epistles, which are generally supposed to have been written before his banishment.

John lived to the time of Trajan, — near the close of the first century, — and was almost a hundred years old at his death. As to the manner of his death, the fathers are not agreed. Some think that he died a martyr, while others insist that he did not die at all: he was either translated, like Enoch and Elijah; or concealed himself for a time, to be again manifested.

Several incidents are related of this apostle after his return from banishment, which are not unlikely to be true. Thus Eusebius relates, that, before his banishment, he had committed a beloved young man to the bishop of Ephesus, with a charge to train him up for him. On his return, the apostle found that the bishop had neglected his charge, and that the young man had become a robber in the mountains. The venerable apostle went in pursuit of him, found him, brought him to repentance, and restored him to the communion of the Church.

Irenæus tells us, that, as John was one day going into the bath, he learned that the heretic Cerinthus was in the building. “Let us flee from this place,” said the aged apostle, “lest the bath in which there is such an enemy of the truth as Cerinthus should fall upon us, and crush us together.”

In his last days, when the venerable man could no longer preach, or even walk to the place of meeting, he used to be carried there, and would repeat from time to time, “Little children, love one another:” and, when asked why he always gave the same exhortation, he replied, “Such is the command of Christ; and this duty, if faithfully performed, is enough.”

Thus lovingly and peacefully passed away the last of the twelve original apostles, — a noble, venerable band of men, honored by the Saviour’s selection and personal instructions while he was yet with them; and left as the depositaries of his truth, and founders of the churches of the new dispensation, when he was removed to his throne in heaven.

CHAPTER VIII.

LIFE OF THE APOSTLE PAUL.

THERE was yet another apostle, called as it were out of due time, and commissioned to preach the gospel to the Gentiles, whose important part in the missionary work of the first century will require a somewhat extended consideration.

Paul the apostle was "a Hebrew of the Hebrews," and was born at Tarsus, the chief city of Cilicia. Tarsus was at this time distinguished not only for its numbers and wealth, but for its schools of learning; being not inferior in this respect to Alexandria, or even to Athens. It had also been greatly favored by Julius and Augustus Cæsar, who constituted it a free city, and made its native inhabitants citizens of Rome. This privilege Paul pleaded more than once in times of persecution, and thus escaped inflictions which otherwise he might have suffered.

In his youth, Paul was instructed at Tarsus in Grecian and classic learning. He was also instructed, like every other Jew, in a mechanical trade. He was by profession a *tent-maker*; which occupation he followed, and by it supplied, in some instances, his own personal wants during his apostolical ministry.

Having passed through the prescribed courses of learning at Tarsus, Paul was sent by his parents to Jerusalem, and placed under the instruction of Gamaliel, to be perfected in the study of Jewish law. He early attached himself to the interests of the Pharisees, the strictest and most illiberal of the Jewish sects. He was regarded by them as a youth of great promise, and seemed fairly entitled to the highest honors which his nation had it in their power to bestow.

We have heard already of the part which he took in the persecution and death of Stephen; also of the zeal with which he pursued the defenceless Christians, seizing men and women wherever he could find them, and committing them to prison. We have

heard, too, of his bloody commission to Damascus; and how he was smitten down, convicted, and converted, while breathing out threatening and slaughter against the saints of the Lord. Blinded by the excessive brightness which shone around him, his attendants led him into Damascus, where, after three days of fasting, reflection, and devotion, he was baptized, and became a member of the Church of Christ.

If it be inquired whether Paul was not *conscientious* in persecuting the Christians, I suppose, that, in a loose sense of the term, he was. He was as conscientious as persecutors generally are; perhaps more so. He "verily thought that he ought to do many things contrary to the name of Jesus of Nazareth." But it does not follow from this that he was justified in persecuting the Church. He certainly did not think so himself afterwards. A warped, misguided, prejudiced conscience is one of the most dangerous guides which a man can follow.

No sooner had Paul received baptism than he began to preach the gospel in the synagogues of Damascus, alleging and proving that the same Jesus whom he had so lately persecuted was the Christ of God. Amazed and confounded at the change which had taken place in him, and not being able to refute his words, the Jews at Damascus sought to destroy him; but he, being aware of their design, left the city, and retired into the northern part of Arabia, where he remained almost three years (Gal. i. 17).

How Paul passed his time during this season of retirement, we do not know. Doubtless a considerable portion of it was spent in meditation and devotion; in communion with Christ, and receiving revelations from him. It was during this period that he "was caught up into the third heavens," into the paradise of God, and heard those unspeakable words which it is not lawful for a man to utter (2 Cor. xii. 4). It was during this period that he was supernaturally instructed in regard to the truths and facts of the gospel, which he tells us expressly that he did not receive from man, or from conversation with the other apostles, but by the revelation of Jesus Christ (Gal. i. 12).

This retirement in Arabia was of unspeakable importance to the apostle Paul. He grew rapidly in knowledge and in grace. He received a fresh anointing, a renewed consecration and commission for the great work of his life.

At the end of about three years, Paul returned from Arabia to Damascus. He commenced anew his appropriate work there, pro-

claiming in the synagogues and in other public places that Jesus of Nazareth is the Christ. But, instead of receiving his testimony, the Jews again sought his life; and, the more surely to effect their purpose, they complained of him to the governor, who set a guard at the gates of the city to prevent all possibility of escape. Nevertheless, he did escape; for, watching their opportunity, his friends let him down through a window in a basket by the wall, and thus effected his deliverance (1 Cor. xi. 32).

From Damascus, Paul went directly to Jerusalem, — the first time that he had been there since his conversion. But, when he essayed to join himself to the disciples, many were afraid of him; they did not believe that he was a disciple: but Barnabas took him and brought him to the apostles, and declared unto them the fact of his conversion, and how he had preached boldly at Damascus in the name of the Lord Jesus. After this he was received joyfully by the whole Church, and began at once to preach Christ in the synagogues, laboring more especially among the Hellenist Jews. But, instead of being convinced, they were enraged, and sought to kill him. He had a revelation also from his Lord and Master, warning him to depart quickly out of Jerusalem, and directing him to go and preach to the Gentiles* (Acts xxii. 21). Accordingly, being assisted by the brethren, Paul departed, first to Cæsarea, and afterwards to Tarsus. He was at Jerusalem at this time only fifteen days, and saw none of the apostles save Peter and James (Gal. i. 18).

It was while Paul was stopping at Tarsus, his native city, that Barnabas came for him (as before related) to go and preach at Antioch, — where he remained a full year. His residence at Antioch must have been a delightful one to himself, as well as profitable to the Church. He was here associated with a choice company of ministers, whose names are given in Acts xiii. 1. Through their joint instrumentality, the work of the Lord prospered greatly, and a large and flourishing church was established.

This was a year of famine in several parts of the Roman Empire, and especially in Judæa; and the disciples at Antioch resolved to send relief to their brethren at Jerusalem. They intrusted their bounty to the hands of Barnabas and Paul. This was Paul's second visit to Jerusalem after his conversion. Of the incidents of it we know nothing, except that he speedily discharged the commission intrusted to him, and returned to Antioch.

* Paul may have received his commission at this time as the Apostle of the Gentiles.

Soon after this, Paul and Barnabas were specially called by the Holy Ghost to go on their first mission to the heathen. So when their brethren at Antioch had fasted and prayed, and laid their hands upon them, they sent them away. Taking Mark, a nephew of Barnabas, with them as an assistant, they went down to Seleucia, the port of Antioch; whence they sailed over to Cyprus, which was the home of Barnabas. They first visited Salamis, a large city in the south-eastern part of the island, preaching in the synagogues on the sabbath, and visiting from house to house. Thence, crossing to the western side of the island, they came to Paphos, which was the residence of Sergius Paulus, the proconsul of the country. And here they found a sorcerer Elymas by name, who was with the proconsul, and exerted an unfavorable influence over him. Nevertheless, the proconsul sent for Barnabas and Paul, and desired to hear from them the word of God; but Elymas withstood them, hoping to turn away the proconsul from the faith. Whereupon Paul, fixing his eyes upon him, said, "O full of all subtlety and mischief, thou child of the Devil, thou enemy of all righteousness! wilt thou not cease to pervert the right ways of the Lord?" And immediately the sorcerer was smitten with blindness, and groped about, seeking some one to lead him by the hand. This miracle had a great effect upon the mind of the proconsul. He became a believer at once, being astonished at the doctrine of the Lord.

From Paphos our missionaries sailed northerly across a part of the Mediterranean, and came to Perga, the chief city of Pamphylia. Here Mark left them to return to Jerusalem; and Titus, a converted Greek, took his place. From Perga they travelled in a northerly direction some seventy or eighty miles, until they came to Antioch in Pisidia. Here they went into the synagogue on the sabbath; and Paul preached to the Jews a long discourse, affirming some of the principal facts of the gospel history, proving incontestably the Messiahship of Jesus, and solemnly warning his Jewish brethren of the danger of rejecting him: "Beware, therefore, lest that come upon you which is spoken in the prophets! Behold, ye despisers, and wonder and perish; for I work a work in your day which ye shall in no wise believe, although one declare it unto you" (Acts xiii. 40).

This sermon produced a great effect. Many Jews and religious proselytes followed Paul and Barnabas, who exhorted them to continue in the grace of God. Great numbers of the Gentiles

also requested that the same word might be preached unto them ; and, the next sabbath, almost the whole city came together to hear the gospel. But, when the Jews saw how much interest was excited, they were filled with envy. They raised a persecution against Paul and Barnabas, and drove them away. So they shook off the dust of their feet against them ; and, journeying some thirty miles in a south-easterly direction, they came to Iconium.

Here our missionaries pursued the same course as at Antioch. They went first into the synagogue, and so spoke that a great multitude of the Jews and proselytes believed. They abode here many days, speaking boldly in the name of the Lord ; and signs and miracles were wrought by their hands. But at length the multitude of the city became divided respecting them, and a conspiracy was formed to assault and to stone them. Aware of this, they took warning, and fled ; and, going still farther in a south-easterly direction, they came to Derbe and Lystra, cities of Lycaonia.

At Lystra, Paul healed a lame man who had never walked ; which so astonished the people, that they declared the strangers to be gods in the likeness of men, and were about to offer sacrifice unto them. But Paul and Barnabas forbade them, saying, " Why do ye these things ? We are not gods, but men of like passions with yourselves, and preach unto you that ye should turn from these vanities unto the living God, who made the heavens and the earth."

This gust of popular favor at Lystra soon passed away ; for certain hostile Jews from Iconium and Antioch came down there, and so excited the people against the missionaries, that they stoned Paul, and drew him out of the city as one dead ; but he soon revived, went into the city, and, the next day, departed unto Derbe.

Here also they preached the gospel, and instructed many ; and then, returning through Lystra and Iconium to Antioch, they confirmed the souls of the disciples, and exhorted them to continue steadfast in the faith. And when they had ordained them elders in every church, and prayed and fasted with them, they commended them to the Lord in whom they believed.

From Antioch in Pisidia, the missionaries returned to Perga, where they first landed when they came from Cyprus ; and there they tarried a while, and preached the gospel. Thence they went to Attalia, another town on the seashore ; from which place they

sailed to Antioch in Syria, — to the great Church which had sent them forth on this mission of mercy. And, when they had gathered the Church together, they rehearsed all that God had done with them and by them, and how he had opened the door of faith unto the Gentiles; and here they tarried with their brethren, and labored for a considerable time.

It was during this respite at Antioch that certain Jewish believers came down from Jerusalem, and insisted that the Gentile converts must all of them be circumcised, and keep the law of Moses, or they could not be saved. This demand Paul and Barnabas strenuously resisted; but, as there seemed to be no prospect of settling the question there, it was determined that Paul and Barnabas, with Titus and certain other brethren, should go up to Jerusalem, and lay the case before the apostles and the elders of that mother-church. This was Paul's third journey to Jerusalem after he became a Christian; in accomplishing which he and his brethren passed down the Mediterranean as far as Tyre, thence across the country to Samaria, and thence to the holy city; declaring wherever they went the conversion of the Gentiles, which caused great joy to all the brethren. Arrived at Jerusalem, they gathered the apostles and elders and the whole Church together, and submitted the very important question with which they were charged. After much discussion, in which Peter and James largely participated, it was decided not to enforce the yoke of circumcision and the Jewish law upon the Gentile converts; and a letter was prepared and sent to Antioch, announcing this decision.

It should seem that this ought to have settled the question; and yet it did not. The Judaizing teachers continued to agitate. They persisted in their demands, and were indefatigable in urging them. They followed Paul in his future labors among the Gentiles, and were determined to give him no peace.

This was the first great controversy in the Christian Church. It related, not to the practice of circumcision as a mere matter of expediency, but to *the enforcing of it as essential to salvation*. This Paul could not admit; and we can never be sufficiently thankful to the great Apostle of the Gentiles for the stand which he took and maintained on this occasion. We find frequent reference to this controversy in the Epistles of Paul, particularly in those to the Romans and Galatians.

During this visit to Jerusalem, Paul had more intercourse with

the original apostles — with Peter, James, and John — than he had had before. He compared notes with them, and found that he preached the same gospel as they: “In conference they added nothing to me (Gal. ii. 6); they could tell me nothing of importance which I had not already received by revelation from Jesus Christ; and, when they perceived the grace that was given unto me, they gave to me and to Barnabas the right hand of fellowship.”

Their mission to Jerusalem being accomplished, Paul and Barnabas returned to Antioch, taking Judas and Silas with them. They took with them the decision of the Church at Jerusalem, which gave great satisfaction to the Gentile brethren.

Not long after this, Peter came to Antioch; and, falling in with some of the zealous Judaizers, he was led to swerve from an upright and consistent course, and gave countenance to their schismatical proceedings. He separated himself from the Gentile converts, and refused to eat with them; and so great was his influence, that even Barnabas was led into the same error. Again, then, we are indebted to the firmness of Paul for withstanding the incipient threatening evil. He calmly but firmly rebuked Peter and the other dissemblers, and maintained the position which had been taken at Jerusalem.

Shortly after this, Paul and Barnabas resolved to visit the churches which they had planted among the Gentiles, and look after their state. Barnabas wished to take Mark with them again; but Paul would not consent to this, since Mark deserted them on their former mission, and went not with them to the work.* On this ground the two friends now separated: Barnabas took Mark, and sailed over to Cyprus, his native island; but Paul took Silas, a brother who had recently come with him from Jerusalem, and entered on his second and far more important mission to the heathen.

They first went through Syria and Cilicia, confirming the churches, and delivering unto them copies of the late decision at Jerusalem. At Lystra, Paul found Timothy, a young brother in Christ, whose mother was a Jewish convert, but his father was a Greek. Him Paul invited to accompany him on his mission; and, that he might encounter less prejudice among the Jews, he first circumcised him. From Lystra they passed through Phrygia into

* This was John Mark, a nephew of Barnabas, and not Mark, the companion of Peter, who wrote the Gospel.

Galatia, where Paul met with great acceptance, and established many churches, to which he afterwards addressed an epistle. From Galatia, Paul intended to preach the gospel in the several provinces of Asia Minor; but he was directed by the Spirit, and by other manifest indications of the divine will, to cross the Ægean into Macedonia. So, sailing from Troas, he came first to the Island of Samothracia, and thence to Neapolis, and thence to Philippi, one of the chief cities of Macedonia, and a Roman colony. Here he baptized Lydia and the jailer, with their households, and established a flourishing church, which was afterwards honored with an epistle. But, being persecuted without cause, he departed from Philippi; and, passing through Amphipolis and Apollonia, he came to Thessalonica, another large city of Macedonia. Here Paul went into the synagogue, and for three successive sabbaths reasoned with the Jews out of their own Scriptures, opening and alleging that Christ must needs suffer, and rise from the dead, and that Jesus of Nazareth is the Christ: and many believed, both Jews and proselytes; and the materials of a church were soon gathered. But the unbelieving Jews stirred up the people, set the city in an uproar, and constrained Paul and his company to depart.

They next went to Berea, a neighboring city, and commenced preaching the gospel there: and the Berean Jews were more liberal than those of Thessalonica; for they received the word with all readiness of mind, and searched the Scriptures daily whether these things were so. The consequence was, that many were converted, both Jews and Greeks. But, when the Thessalonian Jews heard that the Bereans had embraced the truth, they came down there and created a tumult, and made it necessary for Paul to depart: so, leaving Silas and Timothy at Berea, he went on to Athens, the great seat and centre of Grecian art and wisdom.

While waiting here for his companions, Paul took a survey of Athens, preached in the synagogue, entered into conversation with the philosophers, and, as he was found to hold some novel doctrines, was brought by them to the Areopagus, an Athenian court designed for looking into such matters. And here he delivered his celebrated speech on Mars' Hill, one of the finest specimens of popular oratory in all antiquity. His object was to set before them that "unknown God" for whom both they and their fathers had been so long groping in vain. His success in Athens, however, was small. These proud philosophers were not in a mood to receive

instruction from a travelling Jew: a few only adhered to him, among whom were Dionysius the Areopagite, and a noble lady named Damaris.

Upon his departure from Athens, Paul went to Corinth, the metropolis of Greece Proper, and the residence of the proconsul of Achaia. Here he found Aquila and Priscilla, lately come from Italy, because that Claudius Cæsar had banished all the Jews from Rome. With them Paul resided, and wrought with them in the business of tent-making. He assembled with the Jews every sabbath in the synagogue, and testified to them that Jesus is the Christ; and, though some few of them received his testimony, the multitude rejected it, opposing and blaspheming the doctrine of the Lord: wherefore Paul shook his raiment, forsook the synagogue, and commenced preaching to the Gentiles. At the same time, he was encouraged by a vision of his risen Lord, who said to him, "Be not afraid; hold not thy peace; for I am with thee, and no man shall hurt thee; for I have much people in this city." So Paul continued at Corinth a year and six months, teaching and publishing the word of the Lord. In this time a large church was established, which continued to flourish for a long period. The Jews, as their custom was, endeavored to excite against him Gallio the proconsul; but Gallio would not listen to them, and the work of the Lord continued to prosper.

While residing at Corinth, Paul is supposed to have written his two Epistles to the Thessalonians, — about A.D. 52. If so, these are the oldest of his epistles.

After leaving Corinth, Paul sailed over the Ægean to return to Syria, taking his friends Aquila and Priscilla with him. On their way they stopped at Ephesus, where he went into the synagogue and reasoned with the Jews; and, when they requested him to tarry with them, he refused, being determined, if possible, to keep the approaching Passover at Jerusalem. This was his fourth visit to the holy city after his conversion. And here we leave him and his history for the present, to be concluded in the following chapter.

CHAPTER IX.

LIFE OF THE APOSTLE PAUL.—CONCLUDED.

IN the last chapter, we followed the apostle Paul through his second long and perilous missionary tour, in which he not only visited the churches before planted by him, but passed over into Macedonia and Greece, preaching the gospel at Philippi, at Thessalonica, at Berea, at Athens, and at Corinth. On his return he touched at Ephesus, and then landed at Cæsarea in Palestine; whence he hastened forward to Jerusalem to be present at the Passover.

He seems to have spent but little time at Jerusalem; for we soon find him at Antioch in Syria, from which place his missionary tours in both instances had commenced. Here he tarried some considerable time, and then revisited the churches he had before planted in Phrygia and Galatia. While Paul was thus engaged, an Alexandrian Jew named Apollos made his appearance at Ephesus. He was an eloquent man, and mighty in the Scriptures; but he only knew the doctrine and the baptism of John. Him Priscilla and Aquila took, and instructed in the doctrine of the Lord. After this he went over to Corinth, where his labors were greatly blessed; for he mightily convinced the Jews at Corinth, showing from their own Scriptures that Jesus was the Christ. About this time, Peter also preached at Corinth; for, when the members of this Church became divided respecting their teachers, some of them claimed to be of Paul, and some of Apollos, and some of *Cephas*, and some of Christ (1 Cor. i. 12).

Meanwhile, Paul, having accomplished his mission in Phrygia and Galatia, fulfilled his promise in returning to Ephesus; and here he found certain disciples—probably those to whom Apollos had first preached—who knew only the baptism of John. They had not heard of the actual coming of Christ, or the descent of the Holy Ghost: so Paul took them under his special charge, care-

fully instructed them, administered to them Christian baptism, laid his hands upon them, and they received the Holy Ghost in his miraculous influences. They began at once to speak with tongues.

In his public labors at Ephesus, Paul pursued his usual course. He went into the synagogue every sabbath for three months, endeavoring to convince and persuade the Jews; but, the most of them becoming hardened and obstinate, he departed from them, and went to the Gentiles. He taught for two full years in the schoolroom of one Tyrannus, so that all those of Lesser Asia heard the word of the Lord: and not only did he teach, but he wrought the most astounding miracles; for if only a handkerchief from his body were carried to a sick person, or to one possessed with a devil, immediately he was healed. It was here that the sons of Sceva the Jew undertook to counterfeit the miracles of Paul, and to cast out devils in the name of Jesus, whom Paul preached. But the attempt (a profane one) was most disastrous to themselves; for the man in whom the evil spirit was leaped on them, and prevailed against them, and they fled out of the house naked and wounded.

There was now a great revival of religion at Ephesus. Many believed on the Lord Jesus, and made an open confession of their sins; and many of those who had used magical arts brought their books together and burned them: so mightily grew the word of God and prevailed. But the Devil could not be easy to see his kingdom thus rudely assailed: so he stirred up the silversmiths which made shrines for Diana, insisting that the new religion was likely to ruin their business; and these men got up a mob and an uproar, from which Paul and his companions thought it prudent to retire. It was during Paul's abode at Ephesus that he wrote his Epistle to the Galatians and his First Epistle to the Corinthians.

From Ephesus, Paul and his companions crossed over the sea to Macedonia, leaving Timothy behind to attend to some important matters, which, in the hurry of his departure, he had not time to finish (1 Tim. i. 3). From Macedonia, Paul wrote his First Epistle to Timothy.

In Macedonia, Paul not only visited the cities where he had before preached, but went beyond them, even unto the borders of Illyricum and Thrace (Rom. xv. 19). Here also he was comforted by the coming of Titus, who brought him a favorable account of the reception of his First Epistle to the Corinthians: whereupon he wrote them a Second Epistle.

From Macedonia, Paul went into Greece Proper, where he abode three months. In this time he visited Corinth, where he wrote his Epistle to the Romans, and sent it to them by Phœbe, a servant (deaconess) of the Church at Cenchrea. Cenchrea was the port of Corinth. It was during this visit to Macedon and Greece that Paul was urging forward his collections for the relief of the poor saints at Jerusalem (2 Cor. ix.).

It had been Paul's intention to pass directly over from Greece into Syria; but, when he learned that the Jews were lying in wait for him,—perhaps to rob him of the money he had collected,—he resolved to turn back through Macedonia. In all these journeyings, Paul was attended by several young men, who waited upon him, ministered to him, executed his orders, and aided him in the work of the ministry. They were in many instances his pupils and evangelists, whom he was training for usefulness in the Church when his own labors should be ended. Among those who were with him at this time were Sopater, Aristarchus, Secundus, Gaius, Timotheus, Trophimus, Tychicus, and Luke the beloved physician (Acts xx. 4).

From Philippi in Macedonia they sailed to Troas in Asia, making the voyage in five days. At Troas they tarried seven days. It was here that Paul preached until midnight, when a young man in his sleep fell from the third loft, and was taken up for dead. He was not dead, however, but was presently restored through the instrumentality of Paul.

The following day, Paul walked to Assos, a town on the sea-shore, whither he had sent his company by ship. Thence they set sail to Mitylene, and from thence to Samos; and, having staid some little time at Trogyllium, the next day they passed by Ephesus, and came to Miletus. From Miletus, Paul sent messengers to Ephesus, and called for the elders of the Church; and, when they had come to him, he delivered to them that touching farewell address and charge which we find recorded in the twentieth chapter of the Acts. His parting with them was of the most affecting character. They prayed and wept together, under the impression that on earth they should meet no more.

Leaving Miletus, Paul and his company first came to Coos, then to Rhodes, then to Patara, and then to Tyre, where, finding disciples, they tarried with them seven days. From Tyre they came to Ptolemais, and the next day to Cæsarea, where they lodged in the house of Philip the evangelist, originally one of the seven

deacons at Jerusalem. Philip had four daughters endowed with the gift of prophecy, who warned Paul — as he had been before warned at Tyre — of the danger of going up to Jerusalem. In view of these prophetic warnings, his friends entreated him to stop, or to turn aside to some other place. But to his own mind the point of duty was clear, and his resolution was fixed. He proceeded directly to Jerusalem, and was kindly received by brethren there. Indeed, he *ought* to have been kindly received; for this was his second visit to the holy city, bringing presents from the Gentile churches for the relief of the poor. The day after his arrival, Paul went to the house of James, where he found the elders of the church assembled. He gave them an account of his missionary labors and successes, in which they were greatly interested. But the questions at once arose, “How is Paul to be disposed of here at Jerusalem? How are we to satisfy the thousands of Jewish believers, who are all zealous of the law, that he is not, as he is charged, a disorderly walker, and a despiser of the institutions of Moses?” To meet the difficulty, the following expedient was proposed: “We have four men which have a vow upon them: purify thyself with them, and be at charges, and shave thy head, that all may know that the things reported of thee are false, but that thou walkest orderly, and keepest the law.” To this proposition Paul assented. He purified himself with the men under a vow, and entered into the temple with them to accomplish the seven days of purification, that an offering might be made for each of them. And here, as it seems to me, Paul mistook, for once, the line of his duty. Instead of keeping about his business, and putting his trust in God, he descended, at the suggestion of others, to a specious artifice, a trick, with a view to satisfy the Jews that he was a more strict observer of the law than he really was. And soon the event proved that this very artifice, resorted to to save him from trouble, was the means of plunging him into it. For, when the days of his purification were almost ended, certain Jews from Asia Minor, seeing him in the temple, stirred up the people, and laid hands on him, crying out, “Men of Israel, help; for this is the man who preaches everywhere against this holy place and the law.” And the whole city was moved: the people ran together: they dragged Paul out of the temple, fell to beating him, and would soon have killed him, had he not been rescued by the chief captain of the temple (a Roman military officer) and his soldiers. The chief captain, therefore, took Paul, bound him, and was in the

act of carrying him into the Castle Antonia, which stood near the temple; but, when he came upon the stairs, Paul asked and obtained permission to address the people. And here he delivered to the excited multitude, in the Hebrew tongue, one of his most eloquent and powerful speeches, recorded in the twenty-second chapter of the Acts. He spake of his birth, of his education at the feet of Gamaliel, of his zeal in persecuting the Church, of his sudden and surprising conversion, and of the commission he had received of the Lord Jesus Christ to preach the gospel to the Gentiles. They heard him patiently till he came to this point,—the preaching of the gospel to the Gentiles,—when they broke out upon him with great violence, crying, “Away with this fellow from the earth! for it is not fit that he should live.”

The chief captain took Paul into the castle, and was about to examine him by scourging; but Paul pleaded his Roman citizenship, and so escaped the infliction. The next day, the chief captain brought Paul before the Sanhedrim, that he might know the nature of the charges against him; but the Sanhedrim broke up in confusion, without coming to any decision. The night following, Paul was favored with a vision of his ascended Lord, who stood by him, and said, “Be of good cheer, Paul; for as thou hast testified of me at Jerusalem, so must thou bear witness at Rome.”

When the captain of the temple learned the next morning that the Jews were lying in wait for Paul, and that more than forty of them had bound themselves with an oath not to eat or drink till they had killed him, he resolved at once that he would send him away under a strong military guard to Felix, the Roman governor, who dwelt at Cæsarea. And all this was successfully accomplished. Paul was safely lodged in Herod’s judgment-hall at Cæsarea, waiting for his accusers to come and implead him.

Here Paul, after a little time, confronted his accusers, and easily refuted their false and malicious charges. Here he preached so pointedly to Felix of righteousness, temperance, and a judgment to come, that the governor trembled. Still Paul was not released. He was retained a prisoner, in the expectation that he would ere long consent to purchase his liberty with a bribe.

At the end of two years, Felix was displaced by Nero, and Porcius Festus was made governor in his room. To him the Jewish rulers made an earnest appeal, entreating that Paul might be condemned and punished, or at least that he might be sent back to Jerusalem to be tried according to the Jewish law. When the

governor laid this proposition before Paul, he firmly replied, "I stand at Cæsar's judgment-seat, where I ought to be judged. I have done nothing against the Jews worthy of death or of bonds; and I will not be delivered into their hands. *I appeal unto Cæsar.*" Then Festus answered, "Hast thou appealed unto Cæsar? unto Cæsar shalt thou go."

Shortly after this, King Agrippa, son of Herod Agrippa, and great-grandson of Herod the Great, came down to Cæsarea to salute Festus. To his notice Festus brought the case of Paul; when the king expressed an earnest desire to hear him. So Paul was brought before the king, the governor, and all the nobility of the province, and there made a speech,—an apology for himself. This speech is given entire in the twenty-sixth chapter of the Acts, and has been justly regarded as one of the finest specimens of popular eloquence. The result was, that King Agrippa was almost persuaded to be a Christian; and all were agreed that Paul might have been set at liberty if he had not appealed unto Cæsar.

We come now to Paul's voyage into Italy, in which he was accompanied by Luke, by Aristarchus, and by other Christian friends. The prisoners, among whom was Paul, were intrusted to the charge of a centurion, whose name was Julius. They embarked early in September, and, sailing northerly, touched at Sidon, where Paul was permitted to go ashore and visit his friends. Thence they passed by the eastern end of Cyprus, not far from Antioch in Syria; then, turning their course westward, they sailed along the borders of Cilicia and Pamphylia to Myra, a city of Lycia. Here they were put aboard of another vessel; and, coasting along the shores of Asia, they came as far as Cnidus, opposite the Island of Rhodes. A contrary wind now arose, which drove them in a south-westerly direction upon the Isle of Crete. They touched at Fairhaven, on the south-eastern shore of Crete; and Paul advised them to winter there: but, as the harbor was not commodious, it was resolved to sail a hundred miles farther,—to Phenice, on the south-western shore of the island. But no sooner had they embarked than they encountered a tempestuous wind, which rendered the ship wholly unmanageable; and so they were tossed about, without sun or stars, and not knowing at all whither they were drifting, for a long time. After about fourteen days, they were wrecked on the coast of Melita, now Malta; having been driven in a westerly direction across the whole sea of Adria.

At Melita the ship's company were detained about three months;

in which time Paul healed many that were sick, and did all in his power to inculcate and commend the gospel. They at length embarked in a ship of Alexandria, and touched first at Syracuse, on the Island of Sicily; then at Rhegium, the southern extremity of the Italian peninsula; and then at Puteoli, where they left the ship, and tarried with Christian brethren seven days. Thence they pursued their journey by land, and were met and cordially greeted by brethren from Rome, — first at Appii Forum, some fifty miles from the city; and afterwards at the Three Taverns, a distance of thirty miles. Greatly encouraged by these tokens of affection and regard, Paul and his company were conducted in a kind of triumph into the city. The prisoners were delivered over by the centurion to the captain of the guard; but, instead of being lodged with the rest in the common prison, Paul was permitted to live in his own hired house. He was, to be sure, encumbered with a chain; but he had a degree of liberty, and received all who came to him.

The first thing that Paul did after coming to Rome was to call the chief of the Jews together, acquaint them with the cause of his being brought there a prisoner, and assure them that he had no charge to prefer against the Jews. As they expressed a wish to hear him concerning the faith of Christ, he appointed them a day, when they came in great numbers to his lodgings; and he reasoned with them out of the Scriptures from morning till night. And some believed the things that were spoken, while others rejected them.

Paul continued a prisoner at Rome two full years, laboring as best he could with the encumbrance of a chain. He ceased not to teach and preach the things concerning the Lord Jesus Christ, no man forbidding him. Without doubt, many were converted through his instrumentality; among whom were some of Cæsar's household.

There was a slave at Rome, Onesimus by name, who had run away from his master, Philemon of Colosse. He was converted through Paul's influence, and sent back to his master with a letter, not to consign him to hopeless bondage, but rather to effect his legal release; which object was at once accomplished. Onesimus was set at liberty, and sent back to Rome, to be an assistant of the apostle in the work of the Lord. Onesimus was afterwards employed with Tychicus to carry Paul's Epistle to the Colossians.

The Christians at Philippi, hearing of Paul's imprisonment at

Rome, and fearing that he might be in circumstances of want, got up a contribution for him, and sent it by Epaphroditus, one of their ministers. Epaphroditus fell sick at Rome; but after his recovery he returned to his charge, carrying with him the Epistle to the Philippians. The Epistle to the Ephesians was also written at this time, and sent to them by the hand of Tychicus.

The Epistle to the Hebrews, I cannot doubt, is a genuine writing of the apostle Paul. The style of it differs somewhat from that of his other epistles, as does also the subject; and yet it bears unmistakable marks of being the product of his great, overflowing mind and his full heart. The sentiments are coincident with those of his other epistles, and the whole is just what might have been expected from him in an address to his Hebrew brethren. It could have been written by no man in that age of whom we have any knowledge, except the apostle Paul. It is dated from Italy, speaks of Timothy as having been recently set at liberty, and was probably written near the close of Paul's confinement.

By what means the apostle obtained his liberty, we are not informed: it may have been through the intercession of some in Cæsar's household who had been converted by his means.

In regard to the places which Paul visited after his enlargement, there is much uncertainty. My own opinion is, that he first travelled eastward, visiting many of the churches in Macedonia, Greece, Asia Minor, and Syria. He may have carried out his expressed design of revisiting Palestine (Heb. xiii. 23). It was during this tour that he left his cloak and his parchments at Troas (2 Tim. iv. 13). This was also the time of his mission to Crete, where he left Titus to regulate and organize the churches, and when he left Trophimus at Miletum sick (Tit. i. 5; 2 Tim. iv. 20).

Returning from the East, Paul may have accomplished his long-cherished purpose of visiting the churches in Spain and Gaul. We have no notice of this in the Scriptures; but it accords well with the enterprising spirit of the apostle, and also with the testimony of the Roman Clement, a companion of Paul, who perfectly knew his personal history, and who tells us that he did publish the gospel "to the uttermost boundaries of the west."

From this tour (if he actually made it) Paul returned to Rome about the year 64. The Neronian persecution broke out soon after, and he was imprisoned. He was not now, as before, a prisoner at large, living in his own hired house, and receiving all that came to him; but he was in close confinement,—so close, that good One-

siphorus was under necessity of searching very diligently for him in order to find him (2 Tim. i. 17).

During Paul's first confinement at Rome, his brethren were encouraged by his bonds, and were bold to speak the word more abundantly without fear (Phil. i. 14). But, during his last imprisonment, circumstances must have greatly changed. It was a time of terrible persecution, and his more timid brethren were concealed: "At my first answer, no man stood with me; but all men forsook me" (2 Tim. iv. 16).

It was after his first imprisonment, and previous to the second, that Paul wrote his Epistle to Titus; but the Second Epistle to Timothy was written during his last close confinement at Rome. The closing chapter of this epistle may be regarded, therefore, as his *last words*,—the last, certainly, of which we have any knowledge. And with what more appropriate words could he have closed his ministry on earth?—"I am now ready to be offered, and the time of my departure is at hand. I have fought a good fight; I have finished my course; I have kept the faith. Henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous Judge, shall give me at that day."

The tradition is, that Peter was now a prisoner at Rome, and that the two apostles suffered martyrdom together. Peter was crucified: but Paul, on account of his being a Roman citizen, was not exposed upon the cross; he was beheaded. He was buried in the Via Ostiensis, about two miles from the city; and over his grave a splendid church was erected by Constantine about the year 318.

The ancients represent Paul as a man of small stature, and somewhat stooping. His complexion was fair, his eyes bright and intelligent, his nose long and aquiline, his brows thick and shaggy, and his hair and beard, during the latter part of his life, sprinkled with gray. His age cannot be certainly determined. He must have been more than sixty at his death; having been born only a few years later than Christ.

I have no occasion at this time to go into a lengthened consideration of the character of Paul. That he had a vigorous intellect, well sharpened by early training and culture, no one can doubt. His emotional nature was impulsive, strong, and deeply sanctified. He had a great and a good heart. Though for the gospel's sake he would not suffer his apostolical claims to be called in question, yet he was a truly *humble* man. He spoke the feelings of his heart when he said, "I am the least of the apostles, and am not meet

to be called an apostle, because I persecuted the Church of God." "Unto me, who am less than the least of all saints, is this grace given, that I should preach among the Gentiles the unsearchable riches of Christ."

Paul was an example of *temperance* and *sobriety*. He kept under his body, and brought it into subjection, lest, when he had preached to others, he himself should be a castaway. His *kindness* and *charity* were admirable, even towards those who were his personal enemies: "I speak the truth in Christ, I lie not, my conscience also bearing me witness, that I have great heaviness and continual sorrow in my heart; for I would that myself were accursed from Christ for my brethren, my kinsmen according to the flesh."

The zeal and enterprise of the apostle, his activity in publishing the gospel and gathering sinners into the fold of Christ, were unparalleled. By night and by day, on the land and on the deep, he was instant in season and out of season, reproving, rebuking, exhorting every man, that he might present them faultless before the judgment-seat. For more than thirty years after his conversion, he was seldom long in one place. From Jerusalem round about unto Illyricum, and then to Rome, and "to the utmost boundaries of the west," he fully preached the gospel of Christ; "running," says Jerome, "like the sun in the heavens, — sooner wanting ground to tread upon than a desire to propagate the faith of Christ." While the other apostles were laborious men, Paul says truly, though not boastfully, "I labored more abundantly than they all."

And what shall be said of his *patience* and *fortitude* in meeting and overcoming difficulties and trials? His perils and sufferings were perpetual. A thousand times his life was at stake. Everywhere he manifested that he counted not his life dear unto himself, that so he might accomplish the ministry he had received, and finish his course with joy. Therefore, when under sentence of death, he could triumphantly say, as before quoted, "I am now ready to be offered. I have finished my course. Henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness."

Though Paul has long been dead, his influence can never die. It still lives in his example, his writings, and his works, and will continue to live on earth to the end of time, and in heavenly places forever. Of all the mere men that ever dwelt upon the earth, to no two is the world so much indebted as to Moses and

Paul. Nor can we ever sufficiently admire the providence and grace of God in making a thorough-bred and bigoted Jew the principal means of deliverance from Jewish rites, and in making the earliest and most violent persecutor of Christianity such an eminent means of spreading the Christian religion throughout the earth.

CHAPTER X.

COMPANIONS AND IMMEDIATE SUCCESSORS OF THE APOSTLES.

THE companions of the apostles were that corps of evangelists who generally attended them, and labored under their direction. Pre-eminent among these were Mark, Luke, Barnabas, Timothy, and Titus. The immediate successors of the apostles were those venerable men — the most of them bishops, or pastors of churches — who filled up the first century, and part of the second. They are designated Apostolical Fathers.

MARK.

Among the evangelists of the apostolic age were two men by the name of Mark. The first was a relative and assistant of the apostle Peter; the second was John Mark, a sister's son of Barnabas. Eusebius tells us that the first Mark was early sent by Peter into Egypt, and there planted the great Church of Alexandria. He was instrumental in leading many in that city not only to embrace the Christian faith, but to honor it by a holy, consistent life.

When Peter came or was carried to Rome near the close of life, Mark is supposed to have been with him, and there, at the request of the Roman Church, and under the direction and inspection of Peter, to have written his Gospel. It is virtually Peter's Gospel, — the account of our Lord's life, labors, sufferings, and death, which Peter was accustomed to relate in his discourses, — although it bears the name of Mark.

After the martyrdom of Peter, which occurred in the year 64, Mark is supposed to have returned to Alexandria, where he was greatly instrumental in guiding and building up the Church which he had before planted. And here he at length obtained the crown of martyrdom. The idolaters of the city broke in upon him while engaged in the solemnities of divine worship,

bound his feet with cords, and dragged him through the streets until his flesh was literally torn from his body and he expired. This is supposed to have taken place about the year 70.

It is remarkable that the Gospel of Mark, which, as I said, is Peter's Gospel, is more severe upon the foibles and faults of Peter than either of the other Gospels; thus showing, that, however the other writers may have been disposed to spare the reputation of Peter, he was not at all disposed to spare himself.

Of John Mark we are told expressly that he was "sister's son to Barnabas" (Col. iv. 10). His home was at Jerusalem; and his mother's name was Mary. It was at her house that the disciples were assembled when Peter, having been rescued from prison by an angel, came and knocked for admittance at the door (Acts xii. 12). When Paul and Barnabas set forth from Antioch on their first mission to the heathen, they took Mark with them as an assistant; but, when they reached Perga in Pamphylia, he became discouraged, and turned back to Jerusalem (Acts xiii. 13).

When they were about to enter upon their second mission, Barnabas was minded to try Mark again: "But Paul thought it not best to take him with them, who departed from them in Pamphylia, and went not with them to the work" (Acts xv. 38). This difference of opinion respecting an assistant was the means of separating the two missionaries; Paul (attended by Silas) going one way, and Barnabas and Mark another. Later in life, Mark seems to have recovered the good opinion of Paul; for he mentions him to the Colossians as a "fellow-worker unto the kingdom of Christ, who has been a comfort unto me:" and, in his last letter to Timothy, Paul says, "Take Mark, and bring him with thee; for he is profitable to me for the ministry" (Col. iv. 11; 2 Tim. iv. 11). We hear nothing further of John Mark in the New Testament, but may hope, from the favorable mention of him by the apostle Paul, that he proved himself a faithful minister of Christ, and finished his earthly course with joy.

LUKE.

Luke, to whom we are indebted for the Gospel which bears his name, and for that invaluable fragment of early Christian history entitled "The Acts of the Apostles," is supposed to have been a proselyte of Antioch, where he may have been converted under the searching ministry of Barnabas and Paul. That he was an adept in Grecian learning, as well as a "beloved physician," his

works sufficiently declare. He became a companion and follower of Paul during his second mission to the heathen. Thus, when Paul had the vision calling him into Macedonia, the writer of the Acts says, "Immediately *we* endeavored to go,"—importing that at that time he was of Paul's company; and from this period he seems to have constantly attended Paul, or to have waited upon him, almost to the close of his earthly labors. Paul gratefully owns him as his fellow-laborer,—as the brother whose praise is in all the churches. He mentions him in his Epistles, and uniformly speaks of him with affection and confidence.

At what time Luke wrote his Gospel, it is impossible to decide. He had had abundant opportunities for information from those who "from the beginning were eye-witnesses and ministers of the word," and "had a perfect understanding of all things from the very first;" add to this, he wrote under the inspection of the apostle Paul and the inspiration of the Holy Ghost. Both his Gospel and the Acts Luke addresses to "the most excellent Theophilus," who most probably was some distinguished Christian brother and patron at Antioch.

The history in the Acts is continued down to the close of Paul's first imprisonment at Rome. Why the writer did not pursue the narrative further, I am unable to say. I should conclude that he died about that time, but that we find him still associated with Paul when the Second Epistle to Timothy was written; which was during Paul's second imprisonment, and only a little while before his death. Whether Luke survived Paul, and, if so, where he labored afterwards, we have no means of knowing. We know that he was a learned and faithful man, and a devoted Christian, whose writings will be read and pondered, and whose memory will be honored, to the end of time.

BARNABAS.

Though Barnabas has left us no writings which are of divine authority, he was an honored minister and missionary of the apostolic age. He was a Levite, born and brought up in Cyprus, a large island in the north-easterly part of the Mediterranean Sea. We first hear of him at Jerusalem on the day of Pentecost, or a little later. He was then a decided, self-sacrificing believer, who sold his property for the common weal, brought out the proceeds, and laid them at the apostles' feet.

Barnabas seems to have had an early acquaintance and intimacy with Paul. They may have been students together at the feet of Gamaliel before either of them was converted. Upon Paul's first visit to Jerusalem after his conversion, when the disciples were afraid of him, Barnabas took him and brought him to the apostles, and satisfied them as to the reality of his change.

When news of the great revival at Antioch reached Jerusalem, the apostles sent forth Barnabas, that he should go and labor there; but, finding the work beyond his strength, he went to Tarsus to secure the assistance of Paul. When they had labored together a whole year at Antioch, they were summoned to go forth together on the first formal mission to the heathen. This being accomplished, they returned to Antioch, and reported to their brethren all that God had done with them and by them.

During their stay at Antioch, the question came up respecting the obligation of the Gentile converts to be circumcised and to keep the Mosaic law. Being unable to settle this question among themselves, Paul and Barnabas went up with it to the apostles and elders and the Church at Jerusalem. The decision of the apostles was against the circumcision of the Gentile converts.

On their return from Jerusalem, Paul and Barnabas soon projected another mission to the heathen; but, as they could not agree in regard to the person to be taken with them as an assistant, they separated one from the other: and we hear little of Barnabas in sacred story afterwards. We know that he was a good man, "full of faith and of the Holy Ghost," and that he wore out his life in the service of the gospel; but where he labored, and when and how he died, it is impossible to tell. There is extant an epistle bearing his name; but, though a very ancient writing, I could never persuade myself that Barnabas wrote it. It is addressed chiefly to Jews, with the design of drawing them off from the letter of the law to a more spiritual understanding of it. It is full of allegorical interpretations, and is unworthy of the name of Barnabas.

TIMOTHY.

We first hear of Timothy at Derbe, or Lystra, in the progress of Paul's second missionary tour in Asia. He was probably converted at the time of Paul's first visit. His father was a Gentile; but his grandmother Lois and his mother Eunice were of Jewish descent, and had been converted to the faith of the gospel. They had

taken much pains in the religious education of Timothy, who "from a child had known the Holy Scriptures." It was this early religious instruction which restrained him from the vices and vanities of youth, made him a fit subject of renewing grace, and prepared him for future and distinguished usefulness.

When Paul came to Lystra the second time, he was struck with the attainments and gifts of young Timothy; and, hearing him well reported of by all the brethren, he resolved to take him with him as a helper in the ministerial work. And, the better to prepare him for such an undertaking, he circumcised him; not that he laid any stress upon this Jewish rite, but that Timothy might labor with less prejudice among the Jews. He was subsequently ordained to the work of the ministry by the laying on of the hands, not only of Paul, but also of the presbytery (1 Tim. iv. 14; 2 Tim. i. 6). From this time we find him almost continually with Paul, or laboring under his direction. The apostle calls him his own son, his brother, his yoke-fellow; and declares that there is no one so much united with him in mind and heart as Timothy.

Timothy accompanied the apostle into Macedonia, — to Philippi, to Thessalonica, and to Berea; and, when Paul departed from Berea, he left Silas and Timothy there to strengthen and establish the new converts. At Athens, Paul sent for them to come to him; and when they had come, and had given him an account of the distressed condition of the churches in Macedonia, Paul sent Timothy back to them; whence he afterwards returned, and came to Paul at Corinth (1 Thess. iii. 2). Here he remained with Paul for more than a year; and the apostle mentions him and Silas in the inscriptions of the two epistles which he wrote from Corinth to the Thessalonians.

When Paul left Corinth, he came back into Asia; and, stopping a little at Ephesus, he hurried on to Jerusalem, that he might be present at the Passover. From Jerusalem he returned to Antioch; and, having visited the churches which he had before planted in Phrygia and Galatia, he came to Ephesus, where he remained more than two years. It is likely, that in most of these journeys, if not in all, the apostle was attended by his young friend Timothy. It is certain that Timothy was with him at Ephesus; for, during the apostle's long residence there, he despatched Timothy, on some occasion, to Macedonia and to Corinth; whence, having fulfilled his mission, he returned to Paul (Acts xix. 22).

From Ephesus Paul was at length driven by a mob got up by

the silversmiths ; and, leaving Timothy behind him, he passed over into Macedonia. It was at this time that he wrote his First Epistle to Timothy (see 1 Tim. i. 3). Timothy soon followed his great leader into Macedonia ; for in the inscription of the Second Epistle to the Corinthians, written at this time, we find his name associated with that of Paul. In company with Timothy, Paul now visited Corinth, taking up contributions for the poor saints at Jerusalem. From Corinth he wrote his Epistle to the Romans, containing the salutation of Timothy (Rom. xvi. 21). Paul was now projecting a journey to Jerusalem, taking with him the money which he had collected. He went back through Macedonia, sailed over to Troas, and touched at Miletus, where he sent for the elders of the Ephesian Church, and delivered unto them his parting words. Thence he went forward by easy stages to Jerusalem ; whence he was sent a prisoner, first to Cæsarea, and afterwards to Rome.

Whether Timothy accompanied Paul to Jerusalem, and staid by him during his two-years' confinement at Cæsarea, and then went with him in his voyage to Rome, we are not certainly informed. The probability is that he did, as we know that he was with the apostle at Rome. His name is associated with that of Paul in most of the epistles written from Rome. Indeed, he was himself a prisoner at Rome during a portion of the two years that Paul was there ; for, in the conclusion of the Epistle to the Hebrews, the writer says, " Know ye that our brother Timothy is set at liberty ; with whom, if he come shortly, I will see you."

As to the movements of Paul and Timothy after their liberation at Rome, we are not so accurately informed. The probability is that they journeyed eastward through Macedonia, Greece, Asia Minor, and perhaps Palestine, visiting and strengthening the churches which they had planted. Then they may have visited Crete ; for I cannot find that Paul was at Crete at any earlier period.* Thence they may have passed over into Gaul and Spain, and come back to Rome about the year 64 or 65. The Neronian persecution was now raging ; and Paul was soon made a close prisoner. It was during this imprisonment that he wrote his Second Epistle to Timothy, — the last that he ever wrote. Timothy was now in Asia Minor, perhaps at Troas (see iv. 13). He was urged to visit the apostle quickly, — at least, before winter, — and to bring with him his master's cloak, his books, and his parchments. If

* Except that he touched there on his voyage to Rome.

Timothy complied with this injunction (as he certainly would if it were practicable), he may have witnessed the martyrdom of Paul.

Much is said, in certain quarters, of Timothy as bishop of Ephesus: but the supposition has no foundation in Scripture; indeed, it is contradicted by the entire history of Timothy as given in the Bible. Timothy was not a bishop anywhere. He never had, so far as we know, the pastoral supervision of any particular church or flock. He is expressly called an *evangelist*; and an evangelist in the primitive Church was an itinerant, a missionary, who labored usually in connection with some one of the apostles, and under his direction.

Of the life of Timothy after the death of Paul, we have no reliable information. He was a faithful man, a devoted servant of the Lord Jesus Christ, and no doubt finished his course with joy; but whether he died a natural death, or fell by martyrdom as many insist, it is impossible to say.

TITUS.

Titus was another of Paul's evangelists. He was a Gentile, and converted through the instrumentality of Paul, who calls him his son (Tit. i. 4). Paul took him with him when he went up to Jerusalem on the question of circumcising the Gentile converts. Some would then have constrained him to circumcise Titus; but neither he nor Titus would consent.

Titus was afterwards sent by the apostle to Corinth on account of some divisions and abuses in that Church (2 Cor. xii. 18). He was well received by the Corinthians, and much satisfied by their submission to the reproofs and instructions of Paul. He went back to the apostle in Macedonia, and gave him a gratifying account of the state of things among the Corinthians (2 Cor. vii. 6, 7). A short time afterwards, he was desired by Paul to return to Corinth, help forward their charitable collections, and prepare matters for his own arrival there. This journey Titus readily undertook, carrying with him Paul's Second Epistle to the Corinthians (2 Cor. viii. 16, 17).

How Titus was occupied for several of the next years, we have no account: but after Paul's release from his first imprisonment at Rome, when he undertook his mission to Crete, we find Titus with him; and, when Paul was called away from Crete, he left

Titus there to "set in order the things that were wanting, and ordain elders in every city" (Tit. i. 5). Titus has been called the first bishop of Crete; but the truth is, he was not a bishop anywhere: like Philip and Timothy, and a great many others, he was an evangelist. His residence in Crete when left there by Paul was very short; for, only a little while after, Paul writes to Timothy, "Titus is gone to Dalmatia," — a great way from Crete. As to the remainder of Titus's life, and the manner of his death, nothing is known.

The Apostolical Fathers, so called, are Clement of Rome, Ignatius, Polycarp, Hermas, and perhaps Papias.

CLEMENT OF ROME.

Of the early life of the Roman Clement we know nothing. His name proves him to have been a native of Italy, if not of Rome. That he was an early convert to Christianity, and member of the Church at Rome, there can be no doubt. He is generally thought to be the Clement spoken of by Paul in his Epistle to the Philippians, as one of his "fellow-laborers whose names are in the book of life" (Phil. iv. 3).

Roman Catholics of modern times have much difficulty in determining who (next to Peter) was the first bishop of Rome. Some think it was Linus, others Cletus or Anacletus, and others Clement. The truth is that Peter never was bishop of Rome in any sense; and as to the rest, the probability is that they were all bishops or presbyters together. The words "presbyter" and "bishop" at that period denoted the same persons, and were often used interchangeably. Of these presbyter-bishops, the Church of Rome, like most of the other large churches, had several at the same time (see Acts xiii. 1; xx. 17). Among these, undoubtedly, were Linus and Cletus, and the Clement of whom we now speak.

Clement is chiefly known to us by an Epistle to the Corinthians, in fifty-nine chapters, written before the close of the first century. This epistle strongly resembles the apostolical writings, and, next to them, is perhaps the best authenticated fragment of high Christian antiquity. It is often quoted by the early fathers, and was sometimes read in the churches. For a long period, it was supposed to have been lost; but it was found complete, and sent into England as part of the Alexandrine codex of the Bible, by Cyrillus Lucaris, a patriarch of Constantinople, near the beginning

of the seventeenth century. It was written, not from one bishop to another, but in the name and by the authority of *the Church of Rome to the Church which is at Corinth*. It was occasioned by party divisions and quarrels in the Corinthian Church, in the progress of which some restless spirits had undertaken to depose their presbyters or ministers. It consists of earnest exhortations to compose these differences, to restore their injured pastors, and to stand fast in the faith and order of the gospel as delivered to them by the holy apostles. Of the particular doctrines of this epistle, as well as of the writings of the other apostolical fathers, I shall have occasion to speak in another place.

Clement of Rome was so early a Christian writer, and at the same time so celebrated, that various works in later times were falsely ascribed to him; as a Second Epistle to the Corinthians, the Apostolical Canons and Constitutions, the Recognitions of Clement, and the Clementina.

IGNATIUS OF ANTIOCH.

Ignatius, surnamed Theophorus on account of his eminent piety, was pastor-bishop of the great Church at Antioch at the close of the first century and the beginning of the second. Of his early history we know nothing; neither do we know precisely at what time he was called to preside over the Church at Antioch. The great event of his life was his martyrdom under Trajan, which took place about the year 106. As he was then nearly eighty years old, he must have been for a long time contemporary with the apostles. The story is, that, as Trajan passed through Antioch in prosecuting a war with the Parthians, Ignatius was brought before him for examination; and, when he boldly confessed Christ, the emperor commanded that he should be taken to Rome, and there thrown to the wild beasts for the entertainment of the people. On his way to Rome, Ignatius wrote several epistles to the churches, which are still extant.

As to the genuineness of these epistles, or some of them, there has been much dispute. Time was when there were thought to be fourteen or fifteen of them: then they were cut down to seven; and so they are commonly reckoned. But recent investigations have reduced them to three; and these are considerably abridged. The probability, however, is, that there were originally seven (and so they are reckoned by Eusebius), addressed to the Ephesians, the Magnesians, the Trallians, the Romans, the Phila-

delphians, the Smyrneans, and to Polycarp. These were translated into English, and published by Archbishop Wake. There is much reason to believe that these seven have been interpolated and tampered with, particularly in regard to episcopal authority; since they use a language, and urge claims in reference to this matter, not at all in accordance with contemporary writers.

Ignatius died triumphantly at Rome, according to his sentence. His bones, which the wild beasts left, were gathered up by his friends, and carried back to Antioch, where they were long regarded as a most precious relic. An account of his martyrdom, purporting to have been drawn up by his friends at the time, is translated and published by Archbishop Wake in connection with his epistles.

POLYCARP.

This apostolical pastor of the Church at Smyrna lived in the latter part of the first century, and far into the second. He was a disciple of the apostle John, a personal friend of Ignatius, and may have been the angel of the Church in Smyrna, addressed by our Saviour in the second chapter of the Revelation. His disciple, Irenæus of Lyons, has recorded his reminiscences of this apostolical man. He tells us of his personal appearance, his mode of life, his discourses to the people, and his communications respecting the teachings and miracles of the Lord as he had heard them from the mouth of John and other eye-witnesses.

Polycarp, like his friend Ignatius, was called to seal his testimony with his blood. In the persecution under Marcus Aurelius, about the year 167, he was brought for examination before the proconsul of Asia, who urged him to swear, and reproach Christ. Polycarp replied, "Eighty and six years have I served Christ, and he has never done me the least wrong: how, then, can I blaspheme my King and my Saviour?" The proconsul said, "I have wild beasts ready: to them will I throw thee except thou repent." "Call for them, then," said Polycarp; "for we Christians are fixed in our minds never to change from good to evil." The proconsul then said, "Since thou despisest the wild beasts, I will cause thee to be devoured by fire unless thou repent." Polycarp answered, "Thou threatenest me with fire which burns for an hour, and so is extinguished, but knowest not the fire of the future judgment, and of that eternal punishment which is reserved for the ungodly." The examination here ended, and Polycarp was led away to the

flames ; his enemies shouting as he passed along, " This is the teacher of Asia, the father of the Christians, and the overthrower of our gods ! "

I shall say nothing of the miracles which are said to have taken place at the burning of Polycarp. His ashes were carefully collected, and long preserved as a treasure more precious than gold.

Polycarp wrote an Epistle to the Philippians, in fourteen chapters ; which is all that remains to us of this holy man. A particular account of the martyrdom of Polycarp was published by the Church at Smyrna, addressed to the Church at Philadelphia and " to all the other assemblies of the holy Catholic Church in every place." This interesting narrative, together with the Epistle of Polycarp, has been translated and published by Archbishop Wake.*

HERMAS.

Hermas was not a bishop or pastor, but a private member of the Church at Rome. He was a contemporary of Clement, and is supposed to be the same Hermas whom Paul greets by name in his Epistle to the Romans (xvi. 14). " The Shepherd of Hermas " purports to be a kind of apocalyptic revelation, and consists of three parts ; viz., the Visions, the Commandments, and the Similitudes. It is called the *shepherd* of Hermas because the angel who revealed the greater part of it appeared to Hermas as a shepherd. The estimate formed of it by the primitive church fathers was very different. Origen thought it divinely inspired ; while others rank it with the apocryphal books, and recommend that it should be read only in private. It is rather a practical than a theological treatise, inculcating a rigid morality and a strict religious life.

There were others besides those which have been mentioned, who were contemporary with the apostles, and immediately succeeded them in the care of the churches ; as Linus at Rome, and Simeon at Jerusalem, and Papias of Hierapolis, and the author of the Epistle to Diognetus. Papias is represented as a pious but weak and credulous man, who was much engaged in collecting traditions respecting Christ and the apostles. He published " Explanations of our Lord's Discourses," in five books ; of which only some fragments remain.

The Epistle to Diognetus is an elegant production, vindicating

* Other translations of the Apostolical Fathers have followed that by Archbishop Wake.

Christianity against the aspersions of some distinguished heathen who had slandered it. The date of the epistle is not certainly known, though it is generally ascribed to the age of Trajan or Adrian, — near the commencement of the second century. The following is the author's description of Christians as they appeared in his own time: "The Christians," says he, "are not distinguished from other men by country, by language, or civil institutions; for they neither dwell in cities by themselves, nor speak a peculiar tongue, nor lead a singular mode of life. They dwell in the Grecian cities or the Barbarian, as the case may be. They follow the usage of the country in dress, food, and the other affairs of life. Yet they present a wonderful and confessedly paradoxical course of conduct. They dwell in their own native land, but as strangers. They take part in all things as citizens, and yet suffer all things as foreigners. They live upon the earth; but their home is in heaven. They love all, and are persecuted by all. They are unknown, and yet are condemned. They are killed, and they make alive. They are poor, and make many rich. They lack all things, and yet abound in all. They are reproached, and glory in their reproaches. They are calumniated, and yet justified. They are cursed, and they bless. They receive scorn, and they give honor. They do good, and are punished as malefactors. By both Jews and Greeks they are hated and persecuted; and yet the cause of their enmity their enemies cannot tell. In short, what the soul is in the body the Christians are in the world. The soul dwells in the body, but is not of the body; and so Christians dwell in the world, but are not of the world. Being itself immortal, the soul dwells in a mortal body; and so the Christian dwells in corruption, but looks for incorruption in heaven. This lot hath God assigned to Christians in the world; and it cannot be taken from them."

CHAPTER XI.

CHURCH ORGANIZATION AND GOVERNMENT IN THE FIRST PERIOD.

IT has been made a question, whether there is any precise model of church organization and government laid down in the New Testament to which Christians universally are under obligations to conform. By some it has been contended that this *is* the case; that nothing is left to the discretion of the Church; that we are bound to copy in every particular after the divine pattern which has been given us. By others it is asserted that we have *no* divine pattern which is at all obligatory; that Christians are left to their own judgment in this matter; that it is not only their right, but their duty, to modify the government of the Church according to existing circumstances.

The truth probably lies between these two extremes. There are some *general outlines* of church organization and government marked out for us in the Scriptures; and these, so far as they can be discovered, should be regarded. But, aside from these, God has wisely left many things to be judged of by the light of reason, and to be modified according to circumstances in providence.

It was remarked in a former chapter, that the Church of God has been the same under all the dispensations. At first, its government was patriarchal; then theocratic and national; and then congregational, using the word "congregational" in the general sense. At first, its visible rites were the weekly sabbath, bloody sacrifices, and (after a time) circumcision; then a variety of new ordinances were added, mostly of a typical or symbolical character; and, when these were abolished, the Christian rites of baptism and the Lord's Supper took their place. Yet, amid all these changes of rites and dispensations, the Church of God has been the same, consisting of a peculiar people, and brought into a near and covenant relation to its Lawgiver and Head.

I have said that the government of the Church, as it passed from

the Jewish to the Christian dispensation, became congregational. The followers of Christ were embodied, not in one corporate, universal Church, but in *particular churches*. The materials for such churches were prepared by Christ himself during his personal ministry; and, soon after his ascension, such a Church was fully organized at Jerusalem. It was a principal labor of the apostles and evangelists to form such churches in the cities and villages where they preached, and where a sufficient number of disciples could be collected. Nearly thirty particular churches are expressly spoken of in the New Testament, besides a much greater number which are referred to in more general terms.

These churches were accustomed to assemble for religious worship on the first day of the week, and frequently on other days. Where the congregation consisted chiefly of Jews, the seventh day was observed. Towards the close of the century, the first day of the week came to be called "the Lord's day," and was regarded as the proper Christian sabbath.

During the whole of this century, the Christians met for worship wherever they could find a place, — in public buildings, in private houses, and often in dens and caves of the earth. Their meetings were conducted much like our social prayer-meetings. The Scriptures were read, prayers were offered, the praises of God were sung, and exhortations warm and affectionate were delivered. At the close of service on the Lord's day, and perhaps oftener, the Lord's Supper was administered, followed frequently by what was called an *αγαπη*, or feast of love.

The churches in the days of the apostles were all of them *voluntary associations*. The apostles had no compulsory power to bring persons into the churches, nor did they desire any. All who joined themselves to any of these bodies did it freely and of their own accord.

Those who became members of the churches at this period were required to profess their faith in Christ, and to give credible evidence of piety. It was those who "gladly received the word" who were admitted to the Church on the day of Pentecost. It was not till the Samaritans "believed Philip, preaching the things concerning the kingdom of God," that they were received by him to baptism and the Church. The Holy Ghost fell on the family of Cornelius, and satisfied Peter as to their piety, before he would admit them to the Church, and administer to them the ordinances of the gospel. Ananias objected to baptizing Paul, until a voice

from heaven assured him of the piety of this recent persecutor: "He is a chosen vessel unto me, to bear my name before the Gentiles and kings and the children of Israel" (Acts ix. 15).

We here see what were the terms of admission to the primitive churches. In all cases, there must be a credible profession of piety. The rite of initiation was *baptism* "in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." This was administered, ordinarily, very soon after a profession of faith. A long probation at that period was not thought to be necessary. Of the other standing ordinance in the early Church, — the Holy Supper, — I have already spoken. In the close of the century, these ordinances were observed in their primitive simplicity as the apostles left them.

The churches of the first century, being voluntary associations, united by a common faith and a holy covenant, possessed all the essential rights of such associations. One of these rights, and one which they exercised in presence of the apostles, was that of *choosing their own officers*. Thus, when an individual was to be appointed to fill the place of Judas Iscariot, the disciples *chose* two from among themselves, one of whom was designated by lot to be numbered with the apostles (Acts i. 23); and, when deacons were to be appointed in the Church at Jerusalem, these were first *chosen by the Church*, and afterward ordained by the apostles (Acts vi. 5). The churches of Macedonia chose delegates to travel with Paul and his company, and carry their contributions to Jerusalem.

This right of choosing its own officers continued to be exercised in the Church long after the close of the first century. Origen, near the end of his great work against Celsus, represents elders as "chosen to their office by the churches which they rule." Cyprian insists largely on the right of churches to choose their own officers; affirming that this was the practice, not only of the African churches, but of those in most of the other provinces of the Roman Empire.* Socrates, speaking of the election of Chrysostom, says, "He was chosen by the common vote of all, both clergy and people."† Theodoret describes the election of Eustathius in the same manner: "He was compelled to take the bishopric by the common vote of the bishops and clergy and of all the people."‡ The churches retained the right of electing their own officers when most of their other immunities had been taken away.

* Epistle 68.

† Ecc. Hist., lib. vi. cap. 2.

‡ Ibid., lib. i. cap. 7.

The people of Rome continued to choose their bishop until past the middle of the eleventh century.

The churches of the first century also had the right of admitting and excluding members. Our Saviour directs, when an offending member is not reclaimed by private remonstrance, that his case be brought before the Church; and, if he hear not the Church, that he be excommunicated (Matt. xviii. 17). "When," says Neander, "a vicious person was to be excluded from the Church at Corinth, the apostle regarded it as something which must proceed from the whole Church; and when this same person, being humbled, was to be forgiven and restored, his restoration must be effected by the same body" (1 Cor. v. 7; ii. 2).

Another right of the early churches was that of holding and controlling their own property. Paul, speaking of widows, says, "If any who believe have widows, let them relieve them, and let not *the Church be charged*," — a form of expression which implies that the Church at that period had funds which it disposed of at discretion (1 Tim. vi. 16). The Church at Jerusalem was early in possession of property to a very considerable amount: for a time, it seems to have held the property of nearly all its members; for "as many as were possessors of lands or houses sold them, and brought the prices of the things that were sold, and laid them down at the apostles' feet" (Acts iv. 34). It was to take charge of the property of the Church, and see to its equitable distribution, that the order of deacons was first instituted (Acts vi. 3).

In short, every church in the first century seems to have had the right to dispose of its own proper concerns, subject only to such restrictions and regulations as had been imposed by Christ himself. It had the right to do all that needed to be done in order to preserve its own existence, and secure to itself the privileges and blessings of the gospel.

It follows from the statements here made, that, while the churches planted by the apostles maintained a fraternal intercourse one with another in all holy fellowship and communion, they were *independent* one of another in respect to jurisdiction and authority. The apostles indeed, as the divinely commissioned and inspired founders of churches, had a degree of authority over them which was peculiar to themselves; but among the churches we find no one of them, and no confederated body of them, presuming to exercise authority over the rest. Not even the mother-church at Jerusalem, considered as separate from the apostles, ever

undertook to dictate to the other churches, or to extend its jurisdiction over them.

The independence of the primitive churches, in the sense and to the extent here explained, is not only sanctioned by the Scriptures, but is most explicitly asserted by learned and impartial historians of different denominations. Thus Waddington, an Episcopalian of the Church of England, speaking of the Church in the first century, says, "Every church was essentially *independent of every other*. The churches thus constituted and regulated formed a sort of federative body of *independent religious communities*, dispersed through the greater part of the Roman Empire, in continual communication and in constant harmony with each other." *

Mosheim, a Lutheran, who could have had no predilection for the doctrine of church independency, thus describes the state of things in the first century: "All the churches in those primitive times were independent bodies, or none of them subject to the jurisdiction of any other; for though the churches which were formed by the apostles frequently had the honor shown them to be consulted in difficult cases, yet they had *no judicial authority, no control, no power of giving laws*. On the contrary, it is clear as the noonday that all Christian churches had equal rights, and were in all respects on a footing of equality."

The same author, speaking of the second century, says, "During a great part of this century, all the churches continued to be, as at first, *independent of each other*, or were connected by no consociations or confederations. Each church was a kind of little independent republic, governed by its own laws, which were enacted, or at least sanctioned, by the people." †

Archbishop Whately, speaking on the same subject, says, "Each church, though connected with the rest by ties of faith, hope, and charity, seems to have been *perfectly independent* so far as regards any power or control. The plan of the apostles seems to have been to establish a great number of *distinct, independent communities*, each governed by its own bishop, conferring occasionally with the brethren of other churches, but owing no submission to the rulers of any other church, or to any central common authority, except the apostles." ‡

The testimony of Neander, Gieseler, and other approved historians, as to the constitution of the primitive churches, is altogether

* Ecc. Hist., p. 43.

† Ecc. Hist. (Murdock's edition), vol. i. pp. 86, 142.

‡ Essay on the Kingdom of Christ.

coincident with that given above. A single fact shows that the churches of the first century *must* have been independent bodies. There were no synods, consociations, or confederations of any kind in existence to make laws for the churches, or to whose behests they were required to submit. Such confederated bodies were not known in Christendom until past the middle of the second century.

But while the primitive churches were, in the sense explained, independent of each other, they were bound together by the strongest ties, and maintained (as hinted above) a constant intercourse in all suitable acts of fellowship and communion. They were to each other objects of deep interest, and of mutual concern and prayer. As their teachers journeyed from place to place, it is not to be doubted that they had an interchange of pastoral labors. The members too, when absent from their own churches, were freely admitted to communion in the assemblies of their brethren. The primitive churches sent Christian salutations, and letters of instruction and warning, one to another: they also sent messengers one to another, and administered mutual relief in distress. They cheerfully bore one another's burthens, and, in case of doubt and difficulty, looked to each other for advice.

This delightful fellowship of churches, which was established under the apostles, was continued under their immediate successors. The Epistle of Clement of Rome to the Corinthian Church commences as follows: "The *Church* of God which is at Rome to the *Church* of God which is at Corinth, elect, sanctified by the will of God, through Jesus Christ our Lord." Several like instances occur in the age immediately succeeding that of the apostles, in which one church, or the pastor of some one church, addresses letters of exhortation to other churches.

The officers in the primitive churches were of two kinds,—the *ordinary* and *extraordinary*. The extraordinary officers were the *apostles* and their missionary assistants, called *evangelists*. The ordinary standing church-officers—those designed to be perpetuated—were *pastors*, also called bishops and presbyters, and *deacons*. It seems to have been no part of the official work of a deacon to preach the gospel, but rather to have charge of the temporal concerns of the Church: "Look ye out among you seven men of honest report, full of the Holy Ghost and of wisdom, whom we may appoint over this business" (the serving of tables); "but *we* will give ourselves continually to prayer and to the ministry of the word" (Acts vi. 3).

The higher order of standing church-officers are called in Scripture by different names; as pastors, teachers, bishops, presbyters, or elders, &c. That the terms "bishop" and "presbyter" refer to the same class of church-officers, and indeed to the same persons, is evident from the fact that they are often used in Scripture interchangeably. Thus Titus was left in Crete that he might "ordain elders in every city." But, in a following verse, these elders are denominated bishops (Tit. i. 5-7). In his farewell address to the Ephesian elders, Paul calls these elders *overseers*, or (as in the original) *bishops* (Acts xx. 17, 28). Peter exhorts elders to take the *oversight* of the flock, or (as it is in the Greek) to do the work of *bishops*, not by constraint, but willingly (1 Pet. v. 2).

The identity of bishop and presbyter is taught, not only in Scripture, but in the writings of the early fathers. Hermas, who was a member of the Church at Rome, and lived in the first century, uses the terms "bishop" and "presbyter" promiscuously, and speaks of presbyters as presiding over the Church at Rome.* Clement of Rome says that presbyters had been placed over the Church at Corinth, and complains that these presbyters had been ejected from the *episcopate*.† Irenæus uses the terms "bishop" and "presbyter" interchangeably: "We ought to obey those *presbyters* who have succession from the apostles, who, with the succession of the *episcopate*, received the certain gift of truth." "Such *presbyters* the Church nourishes; concerning whom the prophet says, 'I will give you princes in peace, and *bishops* in righteousness.'" ‡

Several epistles have been published under the name of Ignatius, an early pastor of the Church at Antioch, in which the bishop is distinguished from the presbyter, and great authority is ascribed to him. There is so much evidence, however, that some of these epistles are spurious, and that those which are not have been tampered with in reference to this very subject, that no certain conclusions can be drawn from them.

There can be no doubt, that in the third and fourth centuries, and onwards, important changes took place in the government of the churches. The power of the clergy was increased, and the liberties of the churches were diminished, and ultimately destroyed. In the third and fourth centuries, bishops generally claimed to be a distinct and superior order of ministers. The manner in which this distinction came into the Church is pretty fully explained by Jerome in his commentary on Tit. i. 2: "*A presbyter*," says he,

* Vision ii. sect. 4.

† Sect. 42-57.

‡ Advers. Hæres., lib. iv. cap. 43, 44.

“*is the same as a bishop* ; and before there were, by the instigation of the Devil, parties in religion, the churches were governed *by the joint counsels of presbyters*. But afterwards it was decreed throughout the whole world that one chosen from among the presbyters should be put over the rest, and that the whole care of the Church should be committed to him.” Jerome proceeds to support his opinion as to the original equality of presbyters and bishops by commenting on Phil. i. 1, and on the interview of Paul with the Ephesian elders ; and then he adds, “ Our design in these remarks is to show, that, among the ancients, *presbyter and bishop were the very same* ; but by degrees, that the plants of dissension might be plucked up, the whole concern was devolved on an individual. As the presbyters, therefore, know that they are subjected, *by the custom of the Church*, to him who is set over them ; so let the bishops know that they are greater than presbyters, more *by custom* than *by any real appointment of Christ*.”

It is remarkable how long the opinion of the original identity of bishops and presbyters was retained in the Church. This was the generally-received doctrine of the Romish Church, insisted on both by canonists and schoolmen, until past the middle of the sixteenth century, when the opposite opinion was affirmed by the Council of Trent. This was also the doctrine of the fathers of the English Episcopal Church down to the time of Archbishop Laud, in the first part of the seventeenth century.

In the larger churches of the first century, we find several bishops or presbyters holding office together in the same church. Paul's Epistle to the Philippians is addressed “ to all the saints in Christ Jesus which are at Philippi, with the *bishops and deacons* ;” implying that there were in that church several bishops as well as deacons. So also we read of the *elders* of the churches at Ephesus and at Jerusalem ; importing that there was a corps of elders in each of these great churches (Acts xv. 4, 6 ; xx. 17).

Some have inferred from this fact that there were two classes of elders in the primitive churches, — the *teaching* and the *ruling* elders ; and this conclusion has been strengthened by a passage in Paul's First Epistle to Timothy (v. 17) : “ Let the elders that *rule well* be counted worthy of double honor, especially they that labor in word and doctrine ;” importing that there were some who did *not* labor in word and doctrine. But I doubt whether this passage implies any *official* distinction among the elders. In a company of elders such as existed in all the large churches, some

would be more learned and gifted, more competent to teach, and more acceptable preachers, than the rest. On these, of course, the greater part of the labor of preaching would devolve. They would preach more frequently than their less-qualified brethren; they would labor more in word and doctrine: and while Paul would have the elders that *ruled well* counted worthy of high honor, even though they were not so effective preachers, he would have special respect accorded to those who devoted themselves more entirely to the preaching of the Word.

We are confirmed in the interpretation here given to the apostle's language from the fact that no such officers as *lay elders* are found in the Church for several centuries succeeding the apostolic age.

On a review of what has been written respecting the organization and government of the churches in the first century, it appears that these churches were essentially *congregational*. Each one was a body by itself, independent of every other in regard to authority and control; having the right to elect its own officers, to admit and exclude members, and to manage, in general, its own appropriate concerns. Such were the churches of the first century; and, being such, they were essentially *congregational*, using the term "congregational" in the larger sense. The one essential characteristic of congregationalism is the *independence of the individual church*, to the exclusion, not of church-fellowship, but of outward dictation and control. Where this principle is retained, there is congregationalism in the larger sense: if this be swallowed up and lost, as it is in most of the nominal churches of Christendom, congregationalism is lost with it.

It further appears from what has been said that the congregational churches of the present day are not, as is sometimes alleged, *innovations, novelties*, in church-order, but rather a reviving of the original order,—that established by the apostles and their immediate successors. This original order had been lost for more than a thousand years. The independence of the individual Church had long been swallowed up in the all-ingulfing power of a dominant hierarchy. But, subsequent to the reformation from Popery, the fathers of the present independent churches sought out this original, apostolical principle, and found it. They succeeded, after a long struggle, in restoring it, and have transmitted it to us their successors; and we shall be recreant to their memory and to our own rights if we do not cherish it, preserve it, and transmit it unimpaired to the generations which shall come after us.

CHAPTER XII.

PERSECUTIONS AND PROGRESS OF THE CHURCH IN THIS PERIOD.

THE first persecutors of the Christians were the Jews. Having crucified the Lord of glory, they naturally set themselves in hostile array against his interests and kingdom. They had heard of the resurrection of Christ, but persisted in the mad pretence that the disciples had stolen the body from the sepulchre while the soldiers slept. They had witnessed the strange appearances on the day of Pentecost, but accounted for them by saying, "These men are full of new wine."

But, notwithstanding all their lies and reproaches, the cause of Christ continued to prosper. The original five hundred soon came to be more than three thousand; and in a little time the three thousand had swelled to five thousand; and their numbers were increasing daily. The Jewish rulers, therefore, thought that it was time for them to bestir themselves if they meant to arrest the growing evil.

In a previous chapter, I have spoken of the arrest, in two separate instances, of Peter and John by the Jews, and of their deliverance; of the persecution following the death of Stephen, in which Saul of Tarsus was so much engaged, and by which the disciples were scattered abroad; also of the designs of Herod Agrippa against the Church, when he slew James the brother of John with the sword, and intended to take Peter also, but was disappointed.

With the death of Herod, the persecution ceased; and from this time, although the Jews retained all their spite and hate, they lacked the power to inflict essential injury upon the people of God. They continued to annoy the Christians, so far as they were able, more especially in and around Jerusalem. In about the year 62, they effected the murder of James the Less; for which wickedness and cruelty, Josephus believes that they were visited with the destruction of their city and temple. Early in the next century,

they took the life of good old Simeon, the son of Cleopas, who succeeded James in the care of the Church at Jerusalem. But the next general and fiery persecution came, not from the Jews, but from the heathen. It sprang up, not at Jerusalem, but at Rome. This was the terrible persecution under Nero.

Nero, the successor of Claudius, became emperor of Rome A.D. 54. During the first years of his reign, while he was under the influence of able counsellors, his government was respected; but he soon showed himself to be one of the most cruel and brutal characters in all antiquity. He murdered his mother, his brother, his wife, his two preceptors, Burrhus and Seneca, and at last murdered himself. In the latter part of his reign, he set fire to Rome, just for the satisfaction of seeing it burn (as it did for six successive days); and then, to avoid the indignation of the citizens, he charged the burning upon the Christians. The Christians were at this time numerous at Rome; and the fury of the enraged emperor fell upon them without measure or mercy. The most horrible methods of punishment were resorted to. Some were thrown to wild beasts; but more were sewed up in tarred clothes, and set on fire in the night, that they might illuminate the burned city. This persecution lasted four years, and was not confined to the city of Rome, but extended into other parts of the empire. A vast number of Christians were put to death, among whom were the apostles Peter and Paul. Upon the death of Nero, which occurred in the year 68, the persecution ceased.

During the short succeeding reigns of Galba, Otho, Vitellius, Vespasian, and Titus, the Church enjoyed some repose; but under Domitian, a suspicious and blasphemous tyrant who reigned from the year 81 to 96, the fires of persecution were kindled anew. He had heard that some one of the descendants of David was destined to come to universal empire; and this led him to hate and persecute both the Jews and Christians. He sent and brought two young men of the lineage of David — grandsons of Judas the “cousin of our Lord” — from Palestine to Rome; but seeing their poverty and humility, and hearing their explanation of the kingdom of Christ, as being not temporal, but spiritual, not earthly, but heavenly, he dismissed them, and with them dismissed his fears of their disturbing the stability of his throne. It was during this persecution that Flavius Clemens, a cousin of the emperor, was put to death, and his wife Domatilla was driven into exile. It was under Domitian that the apostle John was banished to the Isle of Pat-

mos,* and that Andrew and Mark and Onesimus, and Dionysius the Areopagite, are supposed to have been slain. Domitian was succeeded by Nerva, under whom those who had been banished were recalled, and the persecution ceased. It may be inquired, as it often has been, why the Romans, who were proverbially tolerant to the religions of their conquered provinces, were so averse to the Christian religion, and so ready to persecute and distress its followers.

One reason for the fact here noticed was, that, while the different heathen religions embraced each other, the Christian religion was exclusive. The heathen of one country could say to those of another, "Your gods may be good for you, as ours are for us: you enjoy your religion, and we will enjoy ours." But the Christians could not say as much as this. They professed to worship the only true God, and to have the only true religion. The religions of the heathen (and that of imperial Rome among the rest) they held to be false and worthless, — an abomination and a lie. Now, this, to the proud Romans, was an outrageous presumption, an insufferable offence. They were as ready to have fellowship with Christians as with other religionists, if Christians would have fellowship with them. They would even have placed the image of Jesus in the Pantheon, and offered incense before it, if the Christians would do as much for their images: but the Christians could enter into no such compromise with idolatry; and hence their religion was a detestable superstition, and must be suppressed.

But further than this: the religion of Rome was the religion of the State, and its idolatries entered into and formed an integral part of the State policy and government. The emperor was, *ex officio*, the *Pontifex Maximus*; the gods were national; while the eagle of Jupiter Capitolinus moved as a good genius in front of the all-conquering legions. Not an oath could be taken, nor any important office be held, without an appeal to the Romish divinities and a professed belief in them. But such complicity with idolatry the Christians could not consistently practise: hence they were constrained to stand aloof in great measure from public affairs, and thus incur the reproach of hostility to the government.

There were yet other causes of hostility to the Christians. As they had no images, no visible gods, they were thought by many

* Some persons think that John was banished under Nero; but I cannot be of this opinion. Irenæus, a disciple of Polycarp, who was a disciple of John, testifies that he was banished by Domitian.

to have no god at all, and lay under the charge of atheism; and as they were obliged to hold their meetings privately, and often in the night-season, they were charged with practising in them the grossest abominations. The Pagan priests, too, as their altars came to be comparatively deserted, wrought earnestly upon the fears of the people, imputing all public calamities to the anger of the gods. Hence, at every inundation or drought or famine or pestilence, the populace were excited to proclaim, "Away with the atheists! *Christianos ad leones!*" ("Hurl the Christians to the lions!")

Then, in addition to the priests, there were hordes of jugglers, artificers, merchants, and others, who derived their support from the idolatrous worship. These all, like Demetrius at Ephesus, had a personal interest in sustaining the established religion, and in crushing those who set themselves against it.

But, notwithstanding the persecutions of the first century, the religion of Christ made constant and rapid progress. It spread often, not merely in spite of persecution, but by means of it. Thus in the persecution about Stephen, when the Christians were scattered away from Jerusalem, they went forth everywhere preaching the Word; and churches sprang up all over the land. So Paul tells us that his imprisonment at Rome was overruled for the furtherance of the gospel. For "my bonds," says he, "are manifest in all the palace and in all other places; and many of the brethren, waxing confident by my bonds, are much more bold to speak the Word without fear" (Phil. i. 12-14).

Of the extent to which Christianity was propagated in the first century, it is impossible to speak with literal exactness. That it early spread throughout Palestine, Judæa, Samaria, and Galilee, and on both sides of the River Jordan, there can be no doubt. We next trace it into Syria,—to Sidon, Damascus, Antioch, and the other great cities. Thence it extended into Asia Minor, and thence through the principal cities of Macedon and Greece. Almost immediately, we hear of churches springing up at Rome and in other parts of Italy; whence the sound of the gospel passed over the Alps into Gaul, and (as Clement of Rome informs us) to "the farthest regions of the west."

We know that there were churches in Egypt, in Ethiopia, and other parts of Africa, in the apostolic age. Nor were the regions lying north and east of Palestine unvisited by the light of gospel truth. Peter wrote his First Epistle at Babylon, during his visit to the Jews residing there; and he addresses it to converted Jews

“scattered through Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia” (chap. i. 1; v. 13).

Of the missionary labors of Paul we have heard in former chapters. Several years before his martyrdom, he tells the Romans, that “from Jerusalem” as a centre, “and round about unto Illyricum” (beyond Macedon and Thrace), “he had fully preached the gospel of Christ.” He preached it in a much wider circle afterwards. In the same epistle, speaking to the Romans of the wide diffusion of the gospel, he says, “Its sound went forth into all the earth, and its words to the end of the world” (Rom. x. 18; xv. 19).

With regard to the other apostles, we are told that Andrew labored on the shore of the Black Sea, near the site of the modern Constantinople; that Philip went to Hierapolis in Phrygia; that Thomas travelled eastward into Parthia, Media, Persia, and India; and that Jude, the brother of James, preached in Edessa, in the north of Syria.

It is not to be understood that the countries here mentioned were thoroughly Christianized through the labors of the apostles and their immediate successors. But the gospel was preached in them; the kingdom of God came near to them; a seed was sown which ere long sprang up, and in most places yielded precious fruit.

In the following century, Tertullian says, “We are a people of yesterday; and yet we have filled every place belonging to you, — your cities, islands, castles, towns, assemblies, your very camp, your tribes, your companies, the palace, the forum, and the senate. We leave you nothing but your temples. You can count your armies; but our numbers in some single provinces are greater than they.” Justin Martyr uses a similar language: “There is *no* people, Greek or Barbarian, or of any other race, by whatsoever appellation or manners they may be distinguished, however ignorant of arts or agriculture, whether they dwell in tents or wander about in covered wagons, among whom prayers and thanksgivings are not offered in the name of the crucified Jesus to the Father and Creator of all things.”

Passages such as these — making all due allowance for rhetorical exaggeration — indicate a prodigious spread of Christianity at or near the close of the first century; and the questions arise, How are we to account for this extended and rapid diffusion? To what cause or causes is it to be attributed?

Not certainly to the learning and eloquence of its first preachers

and promoters; for they were plain, unlettered men, whose only aim was to live the religion they professed, and to deliver their important message in a simple, truthful way. Nor can we account for the success of the gospel on the ground of its offering any favor or indulgence to the corrupt inclinations and practices of men; for the whole tendency of it was the other way. Its demand for repentance and newness of life, for a renunciation of self and the world, was perpetual and inexorable. Nor can we account for the success of the first preachers of the gospel on account of the support of the civil powers; for these, as we have seen, were all arrayed against them: instead of meeting with support and encouragement from the world, they were obliged to encounter a world in arms.

There was, indeed, a preparation for the gospel in the existing state of the world and of its prevalent religions. Judaism had fallen, with its doomed capital and temple, and wandered restless and accursed; while Heathenism, though outwardly in power, was inwardly rotten and in process of decay. Public morality was undermined, the moral bands of society were sundered, and the minds of men were prepared to look with expectation and hope upon the light of the new religion which was beginning to rise upon them.

Then this religion was of a nature to commend itself to every man's *conscience*, however pointedly it may have condemned his course of life. In the manifest truth of its leading doctrines; in the purity and elevation of its moral precepts; in its regenerating and sanctifying effects upon the heart and conduct; in the brotherly love, the beneficence, the holy lives and triumphant deaths, of its confessors; in its adaptedness to all classes, conditions, and relations among men,—it carried its own evidence with it, and this evidence in many cases was irresistible.

Still there is no accounting for the rapid success of the gospel in the first century but by referring to its divine origin and to the accompanying power of God. Its divine origin the first preachers of the gospel constantly affirmed: "Which things we speak, not in words which man's wisdom teacheth, but which the Holy Ghost teacheth" (1 Cor. ii. 13). In proof of their claims, they appealed to a long line of manifestly accomplished prophecy, and to the signs and wonders which were performed by their hands. Most of the leading facts of the gospel were predicted long ages before they took place; and the miracles which accompanied the early propagation of it were a standing proof of its divine original.

But there was another way in which the power of God operated to promote the early success of the gospel, and without which all other appliances had been vain. The Spirit of God was continually shed forth, enlightening dark minds, conquering stubborn prejudices, breaking hard hearts, bowing reluctant wills, and bringing rebellious Jews and Gentiles to the obedience of faith. On the day of Pentecost, three thousand who came together to scoff remained to pray. Within a few days after, two thousand more had been affected in the same way; and, wherever the gospel was preached, similar scenes were witnessed through the entire first century. Against a power which wrought so secretly, and at the same time so effectually, there was no contending. What could high priests, and Jewish elders, and heathen governors and magistrates, do? The Jewish rulers send officers to the temple to lay hands on Jesus, and bring him before them; but the officers return without him, saying, "Never man spake like this man." These same rulers send a fiery zealot to Damascus to seize all the Christians whom he can find there, and bring them bound to Jerusalem: but their ambassador is converted before he reaches Damascus; and no sooner does he arrive there than he begins to publish in the synagogues that Jesus of Nazareth is the Christ.

Assuming that the gospel is of God, and was enforced in the early dispensation of it by the Spirit of God, and its diffusion, in face of all difficulties, is easily accounted for; but, rejecting this assumption, the undeniable facts of the case are all a mystery. They can never be accounted for on the ground of mere natural causes. The rapid diffusion of the gospel in the first century is, therefore, a valid argument for its divine original.

CHAPTER XIII.

DOCTRINES, CONTROVERSIES, AND RELIGIOUS SPIRIT, OF THE FIRST PERIOD.

IN discussing the subjects here announced, it would be superfluous to go into a consideration of the doctrines of the New Testament. Suffice it to say that they are substantially the doctrines of the Reformation, the doctrines of evangelical religion; embracing the Trinity, the divinity and atonement of Christ, the natural and entire depravity of unrenewed men, the necessity of regeneration by the Holy Spirit, justification by faith, the perseverance of saints, a general resurrection and final judgment, the endless happiness of the righteous, and punishment of the wicked, beyond the grave. These doctrines, and those essentially connected with them, are, not systematically, but clearly, written out in the New Testament, and command the assent of evangelical Christians generally throughout the world.

The same doctrines were taught, and in much the same way, by the fathers of the first century. They prepared no connected system of doctrines, but announced the truth in all plainness and simplicity, as occasions called for it, after the manner of the sacred writers.

These fathers taught abundantly, and in all possible forms of speech, *the divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ*. Clement of Rome saith, "The sceptre of the majesty of *God, our Lord Jesus Christ*, came, not in the show of pride and arrogance (though he could have done so), but with humility" (Epis. to Cor., sect. 16). Polycarp says, speaking of Christ, "To whom all things are subjected, both that are in heaven and that are in earth; *whom every living creature shall worship*" (Epis. to Phil., sect. 2). Ignatius says, "There is one Physician, both fleshly and spiritual; made, and not made; *God incarnate*, both passible and impassible, — even Jesus Christ our Lord" (Epis. to Eph., sect. 7). And again: "Permit me

to imitate the passion of my God" (Epis. to Rom., sect. 6). And yet again: "I wish you all happiness in our God, Jesus Christ" (Epis. to Polycarp, sect. 8).

Inscriptions on tombstones in the Catacombs at Rome, reaching back to the first century, conclusively show the faith of those early Christians in the proper divinity of Christ: "God, Son of God, save." "Cyriaca, thou sleepest in the peace of Jesus Christ, God." "Eremaisca, my darling, live thou in God, Lord, Christ." "To the well-beloved sister Bona, peace. God, Christ, Almighty, shall refresh thy soul."

Believing in the proper divinity of Christ, these early fathers, of course, held *the Trinity*. Thus Ignatius says, "Be subject one to another, as Jesus Christ to the Father, and the apostles both to Christ and the Father and to the Holy Ghost" (Epis. to Magnesians, sect. 13). Again he says, speaking of Christ, "With whom all glory and power be to the Father, with the blessed Spirit, forever and ever" (Martyrdom of Ignatius, sect. 14). Polycarp says in his last prayer at the stake, "I glorify thee by the eternal and heavenly high priest Jesus Christ, with whom, to thee and to the Holy Ghost, be glory both now and through all succeeding ages" (Martyrdom of Polycarp, sect. 14). In the close of the same epistle, the Smyranean Church says, "We wish you, brethren, all happiness, by living according to the rule of the gospel by Jesus Christ; with whom, glory be to God the Father and the Holy Spirit" (sect. 22).

Of the many passages in these fathers teaching *the vicarious nature of Christ's sufferings and death*, I need give but a few specimens. The following sentences occur in Clement's Epistle to the Corinthians: "Let us look steadfastly to the blood of Christ, and see how precious his blood is, *which was shed for our salvation*" (sect. 7). "By the blood of our Lord, *there is redemption to all those that believe*" (sect. 12). "Let us reverence our Lord Jesus Christ, *whose blood was given for us*" (sect. 21). "Our Lord Jesus Christ *gave his own blood for us* by the will of God, his flesh for our flesh, his soul for our souls" (sect. 49).

Polycarp says of Christ, that he "suffered himself to be brought *even unto death for our sins*" (Epis. to Phil., sect. 1); and that "he suffered for the salvation of all such as shall be saved" (Martyrdom, &c., sect. 17). Ignatius says that Christ "gave himself to God *an offering and sacrifice for us*" (Epis. to Eph., sect. 1). In the epistle ascribed to Barnabas, it is said that "Christ was one

day to *offer up his body for our sins* ;” and that “he gave up his body to destruction, that, through the forgiveness of our sins, we might be sanctified by the sprinkling of his blood” (sects. 5, 7).

On the subject of justification, Clement writes as follows : “ We are not justified by ourselves, neither by our own wisdom or knowledge or piety, or the works which we have done, but by *that faith* by which God Almighty has justified all men from the beginning” (Epis. to Corinth, sect. 32). Ignatius, speaking of Christ’s “cross and death and resurrection, and the faith which is by him,” adds, “By which faith I hope, through your prayers, to be justified” (Epis. to Philadelphians, sect. 8).

In these writings of the fathers, the resurrection of the body is earnestly affirmed and argued against the Gnosticising tendencies of the age ; and so also are the doctrines of a final and general judgment and of eternal punishment. Ignatius, speaking of those who “by wicked doctrine corrupt the faith,” adds, “He that is thus defiled shall depart into *unquenchable fire* ; and so also shall they that hearken to him” (Epis. to Eph., sect. 16). The Smyrneans, speaking of the martyrs in their account of Polycarp, say, “Being supported by the grace of God, they despised all the torments of the world ; by the sufferings of an hour, redeeming themselves from *everlasting punishment*. For this cause, the fire of their barbarous and cruel executioners seemed cold to them ; whilst they hoped thereby to escape that fire *which is eternal, and shall never be extinguished*” (sect. 2).

While the religious teachers of the first century were thus united in setting forth the doctrines of the evangelical faith, there were some, as there always have been, who impugned and rejected them.

The first controversy of any moment in the Christian Church arose from the attempt of certain teachers to impose circumcision and the Jewish law upon the Gentile converts. When Paul and Barnabas had returned from their first missionary excursion among the Gentiles, and reported their proceedings to the Church at Antioch, “there rose up certain of the sect of the Pharisees which believed and said that it was needful to circumcise the new converts from among the Gentiles, and to command them to keep the law of Moses.” And these things were urged, not as a matter of mere order and ceremony, but as *essential to salvation* : “Except ye be circumcised after the manner of Moses, *ye cannot be saved*” (Acts xv. 1). Here, then, we have the precise point in dispute.

Paul and his companions affirmed that *the blood of Christ* was the sole and sufficient ground of salvation; and that all who truly believed in him would be saved, whether circumcised or not: while their opponents insisted that faith in Christ was not alone sufficient, but that all, Gentiles as well as Jews, must be circumcised, and keep the law of Moses, or they could not be saved. As the brethren at Antioch could not well settle this question among themselves, they agreed to refer it to the apostles and elders, and the Church at Jerusalem, where it was determined, as might have been expected, in favor of Paul.

But, notwithstanding this decision, the question was far from being at rest. It continued to be agitated; and Paul continued to be troubled by these Judaizing teachers to the end of his life. The point in debate between them was one, as we have seen, of great importance in itself. It respected the foundation of our hope and the way of salvation. It respected the manner in which the believer is to be justified before his God. Paul insisted that he is to be justified by faith in the Redeemer; but his opponents urged that this would not avail without circumcision, and obedience to the ceremonial law.

And as this controversy was important in itself, so was it in its *consequences*. The adversaries of Paul, in order to bring reproach upon his doctrines, disputed his claim to be ranked among the apostles of Jesus. This imposed on him the disagreeable necessity of vindicating his own apostleship: "In nothing am I behind the very chiefest of the apostles, though I be nothing." "Truly the signs of an apostle were wrought among you in all patience, in signs and wonders and mighty deeds."

In disproving the claims of Paul to be an apostle, it was urged that his knowledge of the gospel must have been received from others, and not directly from the great Head of the Church. This led him to say in reply, "The gospel which was preached of me was not after man; for I neither received it of man, neither was I taught it but by the revelation of Jesus Christ." These Judaizing teachers, and their followers afterwards, rejected the Epistles of Paul, and refused to receive them as divine revelation.

In consequence of their views of justification by the law, and not by the faith of Jesus Christ, many of them were early led to deny the doctrines of Christ's proper divinity, and of atonement by his death. They regarded him as a teacher, rather than a Saviour, — a divinely-inspired man like Moses; and they trusted

for salvation to useless rites and ceremonies, rather than to his blood. Early in the next century, they separated themselves from the Church, and were disowned as heretics. They became distinct sects, and are known in history under the names of Nazarenes and Ebionites.

Another class of errors which infested the churches of the first century arose from the attempts made to incorporate with the holy doctrines of the gospel the dogmas of the Oriental or Gnostic philosophy. This philosophy was of very ancient origin. It appeared first in the East, but gradually extended itself into Egypt and Greece. It was against this corrupt but enticing system that the apostle warned his Colossian brethren in the following words: "Beware lest any man spoil you through *philosophy* and *vain deceit* after the traditions of men, after the rudiments of the world, and not after Christ." Against the same proud system he also cautioned his beloved Timothy: "O Timothy! keep that which is committed to thy trust, avoiding *profane and vain babblings*, and oppositions of *φροσις, science, falsely so called*, which some, professing, have erred concerning the faith."

It was a first principle with all the Gnostics that matter is essentially corrupting, — the source of all evil and of all vice. Consequently, they inferred that the Supreme Divinity, whom they considered as absolutely perfect, could not have been the author of matter or of any thing material. Hence, to account for the existence of this material world, and of the material bodies of men and animals, they had recourse to the following hypothesis: "The Supreme God, having dwelt from everlasting in a profound solitude and a blessed tranquillity, produced at length from himself two minds of different sexes, which resembled their Supreme Parent in the most perfect manner. From the union of these two, others arose, who were followed by succeeding generations; so that, in process of time, a numerous celestial family was formed in the regions of light." These inferior divinities were called *Æons* by the Eastern sages, and *Demons* by the Greeks. One of them, possessing less purity, though not less power, than some of his kindred, degraded himself so far as to become the *Creator*, or rather the *Former*, of this material world. He formed the vile bodies of men, and made them the prisons and the corrupters of human souls. From these corrupting prisons, the Supreme Divinity is using all methods to deliver the wretched souls of men, in which work of benevolence he will finally have complete success; after

which he will dissolve the frame of the material universe, and bury it in a general ruin.

Such, in general, was the theory of the ancient Gnostics; although, in carrying out their theory into particulars, they divided into numerous sects. This philosophy had corrupted the religion of the Jews, more especially in Egypt, previous to the commencement of the Christian era; and no sooner did the religion of Christ come in contact with it than its pernicious influence began to be visible. We find repeated allusions to it, and contradictions of it, in the writings of the apostles. A few instances of these allusions and contradictions will be noticed.

The inferior divinities of the Gnostics were with them objects of worship. These were thought by the Christian Gnostics to be the same, in general, as the angels; and hence the propriety of worshipping angels began to be advocated. This led the apostle to say, "Let no man beguile you of your reward in a voluntary humility and *worshipping of angels*, intruding into those things which he hath not seen, being vainly puffed up by his fleshly mind" (Col. ii. 18).

The Gnostic philosophers had much dispute respecting the number and rank of their inferior divinities, and in tracing their different genealogies up to the Supreme God. In these disputes, such professing Christians as had been corrupted by them more or less participated. It was on this account, probably, that Paul cautioned Timothy not "to give heed to fables and *endless genealogies*, which minister questions rather than godly edifying" (1 Tim. i. 4).*

The Gnostic believers regarded the Lord Jesus Christ as one of their *Æons*, or inferior divinities, sent into the world to aid in delivering the imprisoned souls of men from the corrupting influence of matter. Hence they were unanimous in rejecting the proper *divinity* of our Saviour. They also rejected his *humanity*: they could not think that he had a real body of flesh, or that he really suffered and died. All this took place in *appearance* only. In both these particulars, their errors were contradicted by the apostle John. He wrote his Gospel near the close of the first century, with a view to establish, in opposition to all who questioned it, the proper *divinity* of the Saviour. In the very first verse, he asserts that "*the Word was God*:" and he goes on to say that "all things *were made* by him, and without him was not any thing made that

* See Rosenmüller *in loc.*

was made ;” thus contradicting another Gnostic opinion, that the material world was not made by God. In many passages, both of his Gospel and his Epistles, the apostle John asserts that Jesus Christ *had* a material body, or, in other words, that he had come in the flesh : “The Word was made *flesh*, and dwelt among us” (John i. 14). “Every spirit that confesseth that Jesus Christ is come *in the flesh* is of God ; and every spirit that confesseth *not* that Jesus Christ has come in the flesh is not of God. Many deceivers are entered into the world, who confess not that Jesus Christ is come *in the flesh*. This is a deceiver and an antichrist” (1 John iv. 2 ; 2 John 7). John further contradicts the spectre theory of Christ’s life on earth by saying that he had not only seen, but *handled*, the Word of life (1 John i. 1). A spectre can be seen, but not handled.

The spectre theory was also contradicted by the fathers of the first century. Thus Ignatius insists that Christ “was truly born of the Virgin Mary, and did eat and drink ; was truly persecuted under Pontius Pilate ; was truly crucified and dead ; and was truly raised from the dead by the power of God.” He denounces those as atheists “who pretend that Christ only *seemed* to suffer and die” (Epis. to Trallians, sect. 9, 10).

Since the Gnostics regarded the material body as the clog and prison of the soul, they were led to deny with one voice the resurrection of the body. There will be no resurrection but a spiritual one ; and that, in respect to all true Christians, is past already. Such were Hymeneus and Philetus, of whom Paul speaks (2 Tim. ii. 17) ; such, also, were those among the Corinthians who asserted that “there is no resurrection of the dead,” and in reply to whom the apostle wrote the fifteenth chapter of his First Epistle.

There can be no doubt, that, before the close of the first century, many of the Gnosticising Christians were separated from the true Church, and held meetings for worship by themselves. Among these was Cerinthus, a Jewish convert, who had become fatally corrupted with this imposing philosophy. It is in reference to these, probably, that the apostle John says, “They went out from us because they were not of us ; for, if they had been of us, no doubt they would have continued with us : but they went out that they might be made manifest that they were not all of us” (1 John ii. 19).

There were some in the Church at Jerusalem, in the age of the apostles, who took occasion, from the doctrine of justification by

faith alone, to represent a holy life as unnecessary: "It matters little what our life is, if we only have faith: since it is by faith that we are to be justified without the deeds of the law." This error was very properly noticed and refuted by the apostle James: "What doth it profit, my brethren, though a man say he hath faith, and have not works? Can faith save him? If a brother or sister be naked, and destitute of daily food, and one of you say unto them, Depart in peace, be ye warmed and filled, notwithstanding ye give not those things that are needful for the body, what doth it profit? Even so faith, if it have not works, is dead, being alone" (Jas. ii. 14). We know very little about this old Antinomian controversy except what we gather from these appeals of the apostle James. We know, however, that such a perversion of gospel truth is a very natural one; it has been often made; and it is not strange that it made its appearance even in the apostolic age. It could not have been so well met and refuted in any subsequent age.

It was an error of the first century, into which many seem to have fallen, that the day of judgment and the end of the world were near at hand. This idea was for a season so prevalent among the Thessalonians, that they were induced to neglect their necessary avocations, and thus brought discredit on their profession. Wherefore the apostle wrote unto them: "We beseech you, brethren, by the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, and by our gathering together unto him, that ye be not soon shaken in mind, or be troubled, neither by spirit, nor by word, nor by letter as from us, as that *the day of Christ is at hand*. Let no man deceive you by any means; for that day shall not come except there come a falling-away first, and that Man of Sin be revealed, the son of perdition. . . . Remember ye not, that, while I was yet with you, I told you of these things?" (2 Thess. ii. 1-5.)

It may be supposed that some to whom the apostle Peter wrote had been expecting the coming of the day of God, and had begun to lose their confidence in his promises because it was delayed; for he thought it necessary to say unto them, "The Lord is not slack concerning his promise as some men count slackness, but is long-suffering to us-ward, not willing that any should perish, but that all should come to repentance. For one day is with the Lord as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day. But the day of the Lord *will come* as a thief in the night, in the which the heavens shall pass away with a great noise, and the elements shall

melt with fervent heat; the earth also, and the works that are therein, shall be burned up" (2 Pet. iii. 1-10).

Among the fathers of the first century, the chief advocate of the speedy coming of Christ was Papias, a weak and credulous man, who spent the most of his time in collecting and repeating marvels which he pretended to have learned from the apostles or their immediate successors. His views respecting the state of the world during the personal reign of Christ upon it were many of them gross and ridiculous. These opinions prevailed more in the second century than in the first; nor were they entirely abandoned until the revolution under Constantine, — in the fourth century.

Our view of the first age will be concluded with some remarks respecting the state of religion among the early Christians. These Christians were not great or learned men in the sense in which these terms are used in modern times, though some of them were as learned and as great as any of those among whom they lived. They were not biblical critics, or scientific theologians, or deeply versed in civil or ecclesiastical history. This was not to be expected of them; but, for a strong and vigorous exercise of some of the cardinal Christian virtues, they have never been excelled.

In the first place, they were men of *strong faith*, — that faith which brings invisible things near, and makes them seem to us as though they were realities. Living so near to the fountain-head of Christian truth, and having it confirmed to them continually by signs and wonders and mighty deeds, this *was* to be expected of them; and most strikingly was it exemplified in them. Though living bodily in this world, they lived spiritually in another. They walked by faith more than by sight. They communed continually with invisible realities, and had their conversation in heaven.

It was their faith which nerved them to meet persecution, and gave them the victory over the world and death. They could say to those who pursued them with bonds, and inflicted upon them the spoiling of their goods, "Take these things if you will; take away my liberty or my life: but, blessed be God! I have a portion which you cannot take. I have an inheritance above, and a life, which are beyond your power." The readiness and fearlessness of these Christians in meeting death were a mystery to their enemies, but are easily accounted for on the ground of their faith.

Another characteristic of the early Christians was their *mutual*

love. They had a common faith, were embarked together in a common cause, and bound together by a common suffering; they suffered, they bled, they died together: no wonder, then, that their hearts were knit together in love. They constituted together the mystical body of Christ, of which, if one member suffered, all the members suffered with it. The mutual affection subsisting among the Christians of the first age was remarkable. To the heathen around them it was scarcely less wonderful than the miracles which were wrought by their hands. They had never seen any thing like it. They knew not how to account for it. They could only look on, and exclaim in wonder, "See how these Christians love one another!"

Still another trait in which the early Christians were an example was their *liberality*. Not "any of them said that aught of the things which he possessed was his own." They "sold their possessions and their goods, and parted them to all men as they had need," and, for a time, "had all things common." Never before was there an example of such overflowing liberality. Nor was it confined to the Church at Jerusalem, but extended also to Christians of the Gentiles. No sooner was it known in Macedonia and Achaia that the poor saints at Jerusalem were in distress than contributions flowed in from the Gentile churches for their relief.

In a word, seeing that the early Christians in general were but babes in Christ, — suddenly changed from bigoted Judaism or besotted Heathenism to the faith of the gospel, — it cannot perhaps be said that they were pre-eminent in *all* Christian attainments; but in the respects which have been mentioned, and probably in others, they *were* pre-eminent. They were examples to every succeeding age. Happy the Christian who looks up to them, and follows them wherein they followed Christ!

PERIOD II.

THE SECOND CENTURY.

CHAPTER XIV.

PERSECUTIONS AND PROGRESS OF THE CHURCH.

THE emperors of Rome during the second century were the following: Trajan, Adrian, Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius, Commodus, and Septimius Severus. Trajan reigned from the year 98 to 117, and has the reputation of being a mild and equitable ruler. Still the Church suffered very considerably during his administration; not so much from any persecuting edicts which were passed, as from the rage of the pagan priests and populace. It was under him that good old Simeon of Jerusalem, and Ignatius of Antioch, suffered, of whose martyrdom I have already spoken. At festivals, and on other public occasions in the provinces, the populace, set on by the priests, would raise an outcry against the more prominent Christians; bringing them before the magistrates, and demanding that they should be put to death. The younger Pliny was at this time governor of Bythinia; and so great was the number of Christians brought before him in this way, that he knew not what to do with them, and wrote to Trajan for advice. He had put many to death on a profession of their faith: but the more the accusers were encouraged, the more they multiplied; and the number of victims brought up for trial quite appalled him. To his request for instructions, the emperor answered, "The Christians must not be sought after; nor must anonymous accusations be received. If any confess themselves to be Christians, and persist in it, let them be capitally punished; but if any renounce

Christianity, and evince their sincerity by offering supplication to our gods, let them be pardoned.”

This edict may seem sufficiently severe ; and so it was, and many were put to death under it : yet it operated, on the whole, as a restraint upon the enemies of the Christians. The Christians were not to be sought after, or anonymously accused ; and few persons were willing to assume the dangerous office of accusers.

Trajan died while on his military expedition against the Parthians ; but his edicts remained, and the Christians suffered from them for several years under his successor Adrian. The priests stirred up the people, at the public shows and games, to demand with united voice the destruction of the Christians ; and these public clamors could not be safely disregarded. Whereupon Serenus Granianus, proconsul of Asia, wrote to the emperor, that it seemed to him inhuman and unjust to immolate men and women convicted of no crime, just to gratify a furious mob. To this the emperor returned answer, that the Christians should not be disturbed without cause, nor shall sycophants be encouraged in their odious practices : “ If any people of the province will appear openly, and make charges against the Christians, so as to give them an opportunity of answering for themselves, let them proceed in that manner, and not by rude demands and popular clamors. You can then decide according to the nature of the offence ; but, if the charge be a mere calumny, do you punish it as it deserves.”

This rescript was clearly an advance upon that of Trajan ; and it operated still more to shield and protect the Christians. We hear of little palpable persecution from this time to the end of Adrian’s reign.

But, while the Christians in great measure escaped, the Jews were more severely dealt with ; for now appeared the detestable Barchochabas, pretending to be the Messiah, — the Star spoken of by Balaam. This wretched people, who had rejected the true Messiah, received the impostor with open arms. He vented his rage upon the Christians who refused to deny Christ and adhere to his cause, and went into open rebellion against the Roman government. The result was the destruction of the traitors, and the entire exclusion of the Jews from the city and territory of Jerusalem. Having destroyed the remains of the old city, Adrian built a new one, and called it *Ælia*, and forbade that any Jew should come within its walls. To escape this edict, the believing Jews, or the greater part of them, laid aside the Jewish rites ; chose one Mark, a foreigner,

for their bishop ; and declared that they were no longer Jews, but Christians. A portion of the Church, however, refused to do this, separated from their brethren, and are henceforward known in history as Ebionites.

The events here recorded constitute an important epoch in church history. Up to this time, the believing Jews in and around Jerusalem had been earnest sticklers for circumcision and the Jewish law : some were for enforcing them even on the Gentile converts ; but now, by the churches in general, they were quietly laid aside, and the distinction between the Jewish and Gentile believer was very much obliterated.

It was during the reign of Adrian that we first hear of Apologies for the Christians. While the emperor was at Athens, in the sixth year of his reign, two papers of this kind were addressed to him, — the one by Quadratus, bishop of Athens ; and the other by Aristides. Neither of these Apologies is extant.

Antoninus Pius succeeded Adrian, A.D. 138, and reigned until the year 161. He was one of the best of the Roman emperors, and was comparatively guiltless of Christian blood. The usual charges were urged against the Christians ; viz., those of incest, and the devouring of infants. But time at length refuted these slanders ; and men no longer pretended to believe what was improbable in its very nature, and was supported by no evidence. The Christians were charged, as they had been before, with atheism. To refute this, Justin Martyr presented his first Apology to the emperor ; nor was it perused by him and his court in vain.

Some years after this, Asia Minor was visited with earthquakes, which the priests ascribed to the anger of the gods because their altars were forsaken. In their panic and fury, the people were ready to fall upon the Christians and destroy them. When informed of this, the emperor addressed an edict to the common council of Asia, denouncing punishment upon the accusers of the Christians : * “ I am quite of the opinion,” says he, “ that the gods will take care of the contemners of their worship ; for it much more concerns them to punish such persons, if they are able, than it does you. Why do you harass and vex the Christians, and accuse them of atheism and other crimes which you cannot prove ? To them it appears an advantage to die for their religion ; and they gain their point against you while they throw away their lives.

* This edict has been regarded as spurious ; but it is given at length by Eusebius (lib. iv. cap. 13), and I see no reason to doubt its genuineness.

As to the recent earthquakes, compare your own despondency under them with *their* serene trust and confidence in God. Concerning these men, some of the provincial governors wrote to our divine father Adrian; to whom he returned answer, that they should not be molested unless they attempted something against the Roman government. Many also have signified the same to me, to whom I have returned answer agreeably to the maxims of my father; and now, if any will still accuse them merely as Christians, let the accused be acquitted, and the accuser punished."

Eusebius informs us that this was no empty edict, but was put in execution; nor was it sent to Asia alone, but to all the cities of the Greeks.

Marcus Aurelius Antoninus succeeded his father in the year 161. He was a Stoic philosopher, a rigid moralist, and has the reputation of being a great and good man. Pope calls him "the good Aurelius," and compares him with Socrates; and yet he was, through the greater part of his reign of nineteen years, a bloody persecutor of the Christians. His treatment of them proceeded, we hope, not so much from direct hatred and malice as from philosophic pride and a cruel contempt. "That the followers of the crucified Nazarene should affect not only to be wiser than the wise men of Greece, and to possess a purer religion than that of great Rome, but to have the *only* true spiritual wisdom, the *only* true religion, the *only* means of reaching happiness and heaven,—this is an intolerable affectation, a presumption not to be endured. Crush the madness out of them, or let the miscreants be crushed out of the world." So reasoned the renowned philosophic emperor, Marcus Aurelius; and, under the influence of such reasonings and such feelings, he set himself to destroy some of the best men and women which the world contained.

Among the more distinguished martyrs who suffered in this reign were Polycarp, a disciple of the apostle John and bishop of Smyrna, and Justin, the most learned Christian of the age. Of the death of the former I have already spoken: of that of the latter I shall speak in another place.

In the year 177, the churches of Lyons and Vienne, in the south of France, were called to pass through one of the most dreadful persecutions that was ever visited upon a Christian people. These churches were planted by missionaries from Asia Minor, among whom was Pothinus, long bishop of Lyons. He was called to suffer when more than ninety years of age.

The survivors of this terrible persecution published a full account of it in a letter to their brethren in Phrygia and Asia Minor. The greater part of this letter is preserved by Eusebius; but the details of it are too heart-sickening to be copied here. The old stories were revived against the Christians, — of living in incest, and devouring infant children. The servants of the Christians were put to the torture, and made to confess that these things were true; and then they were punished as though they were true. Some of the principal of the martyrs were Sanctus, a deacon; and Maturus, a recent convert, but an unfaltering witness for the Saviour; and Attalus, a missionary from Pergamos; and Alexander, a physician from Phrygia; and Ponticus, young in years, but a veteran in endurance; and Blandina, a tender female and a slave. She was tortured repeatedly, and for a great length of time, till her tormentors were fatigued, worn out, and confessed themselves conquered; while her confession continually was, “I am a Christian, and no evil thing is practised among us.” At last she was enclosed in a net, and thrown to a wild bull; and, having been tossed some time by the furious animal, at length she breathed out her soul. The corpses of the martyrs, which filled the streets, were shamefully mutilated; then burned, and the ashes cast into the Rhone, lest any relic of them should remain to desecrate the soil. At length, the people grew weary of the slaughter; and a considerable number of Christians survived. Among these was Irenæus, who succeeded the venerable Pothinus as bishop of Lyons, and of whom we shall hear more hereafter.

Repeated Apologies were addressed to the emperor during these persecutions; of which those by Justin Martyr, Athenagoras, and Tatian, are still extant. Perhaps they were never read by him; or, if read, they had no effect to soften his heart.

Marcus Aurelius was succeeded by his son Commodus, who, though a detestable character in other respects, was not guilty, to any great extent, of persecuting the Christians. During the twelve years of his reign, the Church had rest. But when Septimius Severus came to the throne, near the close of the century, much Christian blood was shed in Africa, in Egypt, and the other provinces. The edicts of the former emperors were still in force; and hence it was in the power of the governors to persecute the Christians with impunity whenever they pleased. It was these calamities, near the close of the century, which induced Tertullian to write his Apology for the Christians.

The Christians at this time were assailed, not merely with fire and sword, but by ridicule and satire. As Lucian the satirist laughed at every thing, more especially the Grecian philosophers and gods, the Christians could not be expected to escape. In the "Perigrinus" he ridicules their misplaced philanthropy, and thus bears an unwilling testimony to their works of benevolence. A more serious attack upon the Christians was made by Celsus, who wrote the first book against them of which we have any knowledge. Unlike most modern infidels, he assumes the authenticity of our sacred books, and argues from them against those who believe them: "Your own apostles and évangelists did write these books: we hold you to them, and shall refute you out of them." He admits that Jesus wrought many miracles, but not more than some others, who never thought on that account of being deified. The miracles were performed by magic. The great burthen of Celsus' ridicule is *the crucified God*; which shows how firmly the Christians of that day held to the proper divinity of the Saviour. The work of Celsus, which he entitled "The True Word," is not extant, except so much of it as is preserved in Origen's Reply to it; but from the method of Origen's Reply, paragraph by paragraph, it is presumed that we have the greater portion of it. It is justly regarded as one of the most conclusive proofs of the authenticity of our sacred books, and of some of the doctrines inculcated in them.

After what has been said of the persecution of the second century, it may be supposed that it was little better than one continued scene of murder and blood; but such was not the fact. The persecuting emperors occupied the throne for less than half of the century; and at no time while they reigned were the persecutions universal. While in one portion of the empire the Church was afflicted, in others it would be enjoying comparative repose. And, even in places where the persecutions raged, the saying of Tertullian (uttered at this very time, and oft repeated since) proved true: "The blood of the martyrs is the seed of the Church." Their sufferings excited pity, and drew attention to the new religion; their constancy recommended it; and, for every one that fell a martyr, many others were raised up to stand in his place.

The consequence was, that, throughout the entire century, Christianity made great and rapid progress. It spread into fields before unoccupied, and more deeply penetrated countries where it had already found its way. From the remotest east to the

remotest west, and from the northern extremities of the Roman Empire, and beyond them, far down into Africa and Ethiopia, we shall scarcely find a country in which the religion of Christ was not professed. Persia, Hither India, Mesopotamia, Armenia, Arabia, Asia Minor, Greece, Italy, Germany, Spain, Gaul, Britain, Egypt, and Northern Africa, — some of these countries were spread over with churches, and full of Christians; while in others, missionaries, private individuals, merchants, travellers, and in some instances captives, and even captive females, were busily at work, telling the story of a Saviour's death, and endeavoring to lead poor blinded, groping, ruined sinners in the way of life. It was impossible but that Christianity, — a religion so convincing in its proofs, so pure and reasonable in itself, and so admirably adapted to human wants, — when recommended and enforced with so much earnestness and perseverance, — it was impossible that it should not spread and prevail.

When we search for causes for the rapid diffusion of the gospel in the second century, much is to be attributed, undoubtedly, to the zeal and faithfulness of its early representatives. Their patience under sufferings, their kindness to the distressed and even to their enemies, their fervent pleadings and untiring exertions, their holy lives, and their martyr deaths, — it was impossible that these things should not have influence, and promote the cause which they supremely loved.

But there were other causes for the rapid spread of the gospel in the times of which we speak. All the books of the New Testament had now been written and collected; and the canon of Scripture was virtually closed. To be sure, there were doubts and discussions in regard to the claims of some of the books until a later period; but the canon was substantially settled as early as the middle of the second century.

Then these books were *translated*, and extensively *circulated*. Several Latin translations were early made, of which the best was the *Italic version*. This Latin version was followed by a Syriac, an Egyptian, an Æthiopic, and some others. These were essential helps in the propagation of the gospel; for, as the gift of tongues had now measurably ceased, it was impossible to disseminate religious truth but by the ordinary methods of translation.

Also the several *Apologies* which were written and circulated were of eminent service to the cause of religion. The effect of them was to disprove calumny, to remove prejudice, to make the

new religion known, and to open the minds and hearts of intelligent people to receive it. Up to this time, and even later, heathen authors were accustomed to speak of Christians in terms of contempt, indignation, and reproach. They were called *atheists*, because they derided the heathen gods; *magicians*, because they wrought miracles; *self-murderers*, because they submitted to martyrdom for the truth; and *haters of the light*, because, to avoid the fury of their adversaries, they were constrained to hold their assemblies in the night. They were charged too, as I have before hinted, with practising in their night-meetings the most abominable crimes. It was as much as one's life was worth at that time to stand forth publicly, and rebut charges such as these; and yet it was an indispensably necessary work, and nobly was it performed. The Apologies of Justin, of Tertullian, of Athenagoras, and of Tatian, which are still extant, are worthy to be read on every account. Besides conveying much important information, they stand as monuments of the zeal of their venerable authors in defence of a cause for which they were willing to sacrifice their lives.

Nor were the works which were written in opposition to *the heretics* without an influence in promoting the cause of truth. The opinions of these heretics, more especially the Gnostics, were wild and extravagant; and their conduct was more disgraceful than their opinions. They either practised the most rigid asceticism, with a view to destroy the body and its influence; or they gave a loose to every indulgence, under the impression that the body alone was affected by such practices, while the soul remained pure. Still these heretics called themselves Christians, and Christians of the highest order. They were regarded as Christians by the heathen; and the whole Christian community suffered on account of their extravagances. It was necessary, therefore, that they should be entirely separated from the Church of Christ, and that their opinions and practices should be exposed and refuted. And those Christians who set themselves in earnest to do this accomplished an important work, — one intimately connected with the progress and triumph of the gospel.

In accounting for the spread of the gospel in this century, less influence should be ascribed to *miraculous gifts* than in the preceding century; and for the sufficient reason, that miracles were less frequent, and, before the century closed, seem to have entirely ceased. My reasons for supposing that miraculous gifts ceased before the close of the second century are the following: —

1. The great *object* of miracles had now been fully answered. This was to attest the revelations that God was making to the world; to prove that these revelations were from *him*, and that those who promulgated them were inspired by him for this purpose. But the volume of revelation was now complete. All had been given that was ever expected to be given. Of course, miracles were no longer necessary; and the probability is that they were no longer performed.

2. The apostles alone possessed the power of conferring miraculous gifts. Other Christians wrought miracles in the apostolic age; but the prerogative, by the imposition of hands, of bestowing the gift, seems to have been intrusted to the apostles only. And this was what Simon the sorcerer wished to purchase, not the mere power of performing miracles, but of conferring the gift: "Give me this power, that on whomsoever I lay my hands he may receive the Holy Ghost" (Acts viii. 19). In the second century, the apostles were all dead. The last of them died near the close of the first century. Some of those to whom they had imparted the gift of miracles may have lived to the middle of the second century, but not much longer. Hence the conclusion again is, that miracles ceased at about this time. And then, —

3. If we examine the miracles alleged to have been performed at a later period, we shall find them all of a suspicious character. There have been pretences to miracles through the whole history of the Church. The Church of Rome pretends to them now. But, when we look at the miracles said to have been performed at a later period than that above specified, we find them either no miracles at all, or they are so silly, uncalled for, and incredible, as to pass all belief.*

The most remarkable alleged miracle of the latter part of the second century is that of "the thundering legion." Marcus Aurelius was waging war with the Marcomanni, a tribe of Germans, about the year 174. It was a time of remarkable drought; and his whole army were on the point of perishing with thirst. The heathen soldiers cried to their gods for deliverance, and the Christians prayed to the God of heaven. Unexpectedly, they were visited by a violent thunder-gust, accompanied by an abundance of rain; and the thirst of the army was relieved. All were agreed

* Augustine and Chrysostom both deny that any miracles like those of Scripture were wrought in their day. Augustine classes the miracles of his age under two heads: 1. Forgeries of lying men; 2. Prodiges of deceitful devils. — *De Unitate Eccles.*, cap. 16.

to call it a miracle; the heathen ascribing it to *their* gods, and the Christians to *theirs*. But obviously it was no miracle at all. The most that can be said of it is, that it was a remarkable interposition of Providence in answer to prayer, but no more a miracle than a thousand like events which have occurred at later periods.

There may have been miracles in the first half of the second century; and, if so, they had an influence, undoubtedly, in promoting the gospel: and yet their influence must been of small account compared with what it had been in the apostolic age.

But, whatever other causes may have contributed to the rapid spread of the gospel in the second century, the chief of all, and that without which all others had been nugatory and vain, was *the accompanying Spirit and power of God*. If miraculous influences had comparatively ceased, converting and sanctifying influences (which are of far greater consequence) had not ceased. God vouchsafed to his people in those fiery times the sustaining and comforting influences of his blessed Spirit. He sustained their faith, their fortitude, their pious endeavors, their holy zeal, and made them conquerors, and more than conquerors, through Him who loved them, and had died for them; and when they went forth among Jews and heathen, carrying with them the word of life, the Spirit of God went with them, wrought with them, impressed the minds and hearts of those whom they addressed, and brought multitudes everywhere to the knowledge of the truth. Without such an accompanying influence, all their labors had been fruitless; but with it they were clad with a moral omnipotence. Nothing could effectually resist them, or stand before them; opposition either vanished, or was vanquished; while the word of God had free course, and was glorified.

CHAPTER XV.

CHURCH-ORGANIZATION, RELIGIOUS RITES AND TEACHERS, IN THIS PERIOD.

THE second century was signalized by some important changes in church order and government. In the first place, the distinction between bishop and presbyter, which was unknown in the first century, began to be marked before the close of the second. It was introduced in this wise: In most of the churches, there had been from the first several presbyters, or ministers. Thus we read of the *elders* of the Church at Jerusalem, and the *elders* of the Church at Ephesus (Acts xv. 4; xx. 17). When these elders came together, as they often would, for consultation and prayer, one of their number — on account of his age, learning, or other qualifications — would naturally be called to preside over the meeting. He would be the standing moderator, or presiding elder; and is called *προεστως*, or president, by Justin Martyr and Tertullian. After a time, the presiding elder, or president, began to be called *bishop*, in distinction from the others, who retained the name of presbyters. In this way, the distinction was first introduced. Still the bishop of the second century was not considered as belonging to a distinct and superior order. He was one among his brethren, — a *primus inter pares*, — although their acknowledged leader and head.

Nor had the bishop of the second century, or the first half of it, any diocese. He was simply the pastor of a single church. The manner in which dioceses were created was as follows: The several ministers in the large city churches would naturally extend their labors to the vicinity. They would hold meetings, and collect converts, in the suburbs and surrounding villages. But instead of forming these converts, as they should have done, into separate, independent churches, they constituted them *branch* churches, holding a vital connection with the mother-church. In this way, the

president, the bishop of the city church, soon came to be the head of several surrounding churches. In other words, he had a *diocese*.

Ere long, the rank of this functionary began to be estimated by the number of his branch churches, or, in other words, by the extent of his diocese. Nor was it long before inferior bishops, *chorepiscopi*, were set over some of these rural churches, subject, of course, to the bishop of the central church, who now had the rank, and ere long took the name, of archbishop. These changes, to be sure, were not all accomplished in the second century; but they began to be inaugurated, and the way was opened for their full development.

Another important change in church government occurred in the latter half of the second century. The churches surrendered their primitive independence, and became subject to the jurisdiction of large, confederated ecclesiastical bodies. This change resulted from the institution of such bodies called synods, or councils. We hear of no confederations of this sort until past the middle of the second century. The churches, without doubt, felt the need of a greater degree of union, — a union not merely of love and fellowship, but of organization. They were exposed to common calamities and dangers. Enemies on every hand were thirsting for their blood, and they felt as though their only safety was in organic union. And there had been no hazard in such a union — on the contrary, it might have resulted in important benefits — had it been formed and conducted in a proper manner. Had the churches — being associated together at stated times^e for mutual acquaintance, consultation, and prayer — avoided the exercise of jurisdiction and authority, their meetings had been not only pleasant, but edifying and profitable. But the synods pursued a different course. They soon began to make laws for the churches, and to decide causes and questions of controversy; and the churches submitted to their jurisdiction. In this way, the independence of the individual churches was surrendered and lost; nor was it recovered for more than a thousand years. We find no distinct traces of it till the rise of the Independents and Baptists in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

The institution of synods, and the manner in which they were conducted, operated disastrously upon the churches in another way. In these assemblies, the bishops of the larger churches would naturally exert a controlling influence. This added materially to their authority and power; and the possession of power,

as a general thing, instead of making them more spiritual and holy, made them more grasping and oppressive. In this way, the steps were early laid for that gigantic usurpation, which, in a few centuries, swallowed up all the liberties of the churches, and culminated in the terrific power of Papal Rome.

A change also came over the ritual forms of Christianity in the course of the second century. These, at the first, were very simple: the only standing outward ordinances were those of Baptism and the Lord's Supper. But the early fathers were not long satisfied with these: they wished for something more striking to the eye, more imposing, more formal. Hence the rites of the Church were gradually multiplied in the second and third centuries.

These new rites were some of them *symbolical*, — designed to impress religious truth by outward symbols; but the most of them were borrowed from the Jewish and heathen temples, in the hope of making the new religion more acceptable to Jews and Pagans. They wished also to wipe off the reproach of atheism, which had been cast upon them on account of the extreme simplicity of their worship. Because they had no visible gods and altars, their enemies insisted that they had no god at all.

But, whatever may have been the motives of those who originated these changes, it is certain that their introduction was of disastrous influence. The pure and spiritual religion of the gospel was gradually changed into a system of formalism; and salvation by the sacraments took the place of salvation by the blood of Christ.

The Christians, at this period, had no temples. They met in private houses, in sepulchres, in dens and caves of the earth, — wherever they could find a place. Justin Martyr, an eye-witness, thus describes one of their ordinary meetings: “On the day which is called Sunday,” — the first day of the week, — “all Christians, whether dwelling in towns or villages, hold meetings; when the memoirs of the apostles, and the writings of the prophets, are read. When the reading is finished, the president, in a speech, exhorts to an imitation of the excellent examples which have been presented. Then we all rise, and pour forth united prayers. After prayer, bread is brought forward, with wine and water; when the president offers up prayers and thanksgivings, to which the people respond. Then there is a distribution of the things blessed to each one present, and they are sent to those absent by the deacons. Then those who are willing give what they choose, to be Je-

posited with the president, for the relief of orphans and widows, and all who have need of help." This last service was an exact fulfilment of the injunction of Paul: "On the first day of the week, let each one of you lay by him in store as God hath prospered him, that there be no gatherings when I come" (1 Cor. xvi. 2).

The Lord's Supper continued to be administered in this century, as in the one before it, on the first day of the week; but there had been a change in regard to baptism. This was administered ordinarily but twice in the year; viz., at the two great festivals of Easter or the Passover, and the Pentecost. Before baptism, the candidate must repeat the creed of the Church, confess his sins, and renounce the Devil and all his works. After baptism, he was signed with the cross, anointed with holy oil, commended to God by the imposition of hands and prayer, clothed with a white robe in token of his purity, and directed to taste some milk and honey to denote that he was but a babe in Christ.*

The principal teachers and writers of the second century whose works have reached us were Justin Martyr, Irenæus, Pantænus, and Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, Dionysius (bishop of Corinth), Melito of Sardis, and Theophilus of Antioch. Of each of these I shall give some account in the order in which they have been mentioned.

Flavius Justinus, surnamed the Martyr, was born near the close of the first century, at the ancient Sichem, near Samaria. His parents were probably pagans, and he was educated in Greek literature. He had an earnest desire for truth, and more especially for religious truth. He wished to come, if possible, to the true knowledge of God. With this object in view, he travelled in Egypt and Greece, and applied himself to the different schools of philosophy. At first, the Stoics appeared to him as the great teachers of wisdom, and masters of happiness. He gave himself up to one of this sect, but soon found that he could learn nothing from him as to the nature of God. His teacher told him that this species of knowledge was not at all necessary. He next applied to an Aristotelian; but his master's desire to get a high price for his instructions satisfied Justin that the truth could not be with

* In the English liturgy, the name of the Pentecost is changed to *Whitsuntide*, because the newly-baptized persons at that time appeared in *white*. The name of the Passover is also changed to *Easter*, from the Anglo-Saxon *Eastre*, — the name of a heathen festival, corresponding very nearly to the Pascha of the Jews and ancient Christians.

him. He next consulted a Pythagorean ; but the teacher rejected him because he had not a sufficient acquaintance with geometry, astronomy, and music. In much solicitude, he went to a Platonic philosopher, who recommended seclusion and meditation. As he was walking alone at one time near the sea, he met an aged person of most venerable appearance, whom he surveyed with the closest attention. "Do you know me?" said the stranger. Justin acknowledged that he did not. "Why, then, do you look at me with so much scrutiny?"—"Because I wondered," says Justin, "to find any person here." The stranger offered some excuse for his being there, and then retorted the question, "But why are you here?" Justin told him of his earnest desire to come to the knowledge of God, and of his love, for this purpose, of retirement and meditation. The stranger referred him to the writings of the Hebrew prophets, as being much more ancient and valuable than those of the philosophers ; and also called his attention to the Christian Scriptures ; adding, "Above all things, pray that the gates of light may be opened to you ; for these things are not to be discerned except as God and his Christ shall give thee understanding."—"The stranger having spoken these things," says Justin, "and much more, left me, and I saw him not again ; but a fire was kindled in my soul which could not be quenched. I began to study the Hebrew prophets, and soon came to have a strong affection for them and for the followers of Christ ; and, weighing within myself the things to which my attention had been called, I found this to be the true philosophy."

The conversion of Justin was not a mere intellectual process, but a spiritual change, going to the depths of his moral and spiritual nature, and resulting in an entire newness of conversation and life. He made an open profession of Christianity ; and though he continued to wear the philosophic garb, the *pallium*, and bore the name of philosopher as well as that of Christian, yet his love for the gospel was never called in question. He honored it in his life, and sealed his testimony to it with his blood.

Coming to Rome about the year 140, he wrote a confutation of the heretics, more especially of Marcion, who was a Gnostic. He also published his first Apology for the Christians, addressed to Antoninus Pius ; which may reasonably be supposed to have had a favorable influence upon the mind of the emperor in regard to his treatment of the Christians.

Not long after his first Apology, Justin left Rome, and went to

Ephesus, where he had his dialogue with Trypho the Jew. The substance of this he committed to writing, and it is still extant. In it he endeavors to meet and refute the objections of an intelligent Jew to the Messialship of Jesus of Nazareth.

On his return to Rome, Justin had frequent contests with Crescens the philosopher, — a man equally remarkable for his hatred of the Christians (of whom he knew little or nothing), and for the most abominable vices. Marcus Aurelius was now on the throne; and the Christians were relentlessly persecuted. Justin seized the opportunity to write his second Apology, and present it to Aurelius, hoping thereby to soften his mind towards the Christians; but in vain. He continued to hate and persecute them to the end of his reign.

The doom of Justin was now not long delayed. It was brought about through the instrumentality of his old antagonist and enemy, Crescens, as he predicted it would be. He was accused of the great crime of being a Christian, — nothing more, — and, with six of his companions, was cast into prison. They were brought together before the prefect, who endeavored to persuade Justin to obey the emperor's edicts, and worship the gods. Justin defended the reasonableness of his religion. When the prefect inquired in what kind of learning he had been educated, he told him that he had tried all methods of learning; but, finding satisfaction in none of them, he had embraced the doctrine of Christ. "Wretch!" cried the magistrate, "art thou then captivated by that religion?" — "I am," says Justin. "I follow the Christians; and their doctrine is right." — "But, if I scourge thee from head to foot, do you think that you shall go to heaven, and receive a reward?" — "I have a certainty of it," replied Justin, "which excludes all doubt."

The prefect insisted that they should all go together, and sacrifice to the gods. "No man who knows the truth," says Justin, "can be guilty of such impiety." — "But, unless you comply, you shall be tortured without mercy." — "We can endure all tortures joyfully for the sake of our Lord Jesus Christ," said Justin; and so said they all. The prefect then pronounced their sentence: "Let those who refuse to offer sacrifice to the gods, and obey the imperial edicts, be first scourged, and then beheaded, according to the laws." The martyrs rejoiced, and blessed God; and, being remanded to their prison, they were scourged with rods, and afterwards beheaded. Their dead bodies were removed by Christian friends, and interred with great care.

Thus slept in Jesus the Christian philosopher Justin, about the year 163, and in the third or fourth year of the reign of Aurelius. Like many of the ancient fathers, he appears to us under great disadvantages. Works really his have been lost, while others have been ascribed to him which are unworthy of his name. He is the first of the Church fathers who brought classical scholarship and the Platonic philosophy into contact with the Christian theology. He attributed all that was good in Plato to the inspiration of the Logos, or to his acquaintance with the writings of Moses.

Of the doctrines of Justin I shall speak in another place. We cannot say that his philosophy did not injure him as a Christian teacher; neither can we say that it essentially corrupted him. He stands before us as a truly pious man, — an eminent servant of God, and martyr of Jesus, — notwithstanding that he swerved in some things from the simplicity that is in Christ.

Justin was not a bishop or a presbyter, nor did he aspire to any office in the Church. He was an itinerant teacher and evangelist, who had no fixed abode, but who endeavored to do good in every place to which in Divine Providence he was called. “Every one,” he said, “who can preach the truth, and does not preach it, incurs for his neglect the judgment of God.”

I have dwelt so long on the life and character of Justin, that it will be necessary to touch more briefly upon the other church-teachers who have been named.

Irenæus was one of those missionaries who went from Asia Minor into Gaul in the early part of the second century, and established churches at Lyons and Vienne. He was a disciple of Polycarp, and, through him, was brought into near connection with the apostle John. After the death of Pothinus, he took the place of this aged martyr as bishop of Lyons, and labored there with zeal and success for the upbuilding of that persecuted church, for the defence of the truth, and for the spread of true religion through Western Europe. He is supposed to have died as a martyr, in the persecution under Septimius Severus, about the year 202.

The most important work of Irenæus is his refutation of the Gnostic heresies, in five books. The Greek original of this work is chiefly lost; but we have it in a very literal Latin translation. It contains much information respecting the Gnostics, and sets forth in opposition to them the true doctrine of the Church. Of the other works of Irenæus we have only fragments; but these show

him to have been a man not only valiant for essential truth, but of great mildness of disposition, and of true Christian liberality in regard to unimportant matters. He rebuked Victor, the intolerant bishop of Rome, for his harsh treatment of the Eastern churches, who differed from him as to the time of observing Easter. "The apostles have ordained," he said, "that we make conscience with no one of food and drink, or of particular feasts, new moons, and sabbaths. Whence, then, these controversies? Whence schisms? We keep feasts, but with the leaven of wickedness and deceit rending asunder the Church of God. We observe the outward to the neglect of the higher faith and love." Irenæus followed Papias in his millenarian views, expecting the speedy coming of Christ to set up his kingdom on the earth; but in this he did not differ from many, perhaps most, of his contemporaries.

Pantæus, and Clement of Alexandria, were connected successively with the catechetical school in that city. This school was originally instituted for the purpose of preparing catechumens for baptism and the Church. Ere long, however, it assumed a more learned character, became a kind of theological seminary, and exercised a powerful influence on the education of those who were to be teachers in the Church. It had at first but a single teacher, afterwards more; but they had no fixed salary or special buildings. They gave instruction at their homes, after the manner of the ancient philosophers.

The first superintendent of this school of which we have any knowledge was Pantæus, a converted Stoic philosopher. He was followed by Clement, who continued his instructions until about the year 202; when the persecution under Severus compelled him to flee. Clement was by birth a Greek, was brought up in heathenism, and well versed in all branches of Grecian learning and philosophy. Finding nothing in these studies to satisfy his longings after truth, he at length turned his attention to the Scriptures, and became a Christian. He travelled much in pursuit of light and instruction, but was specially attracted to Pantæus, who, he says, "like the Sicilian bee, plucked flowers from the apostolic and prophetic meadow, and filled the souls of his disciples with pure, genuine knowledge."

Pantæus and Clement, and their successors in the Alexandrian school, were strongly tinctured with the philosophy of the times, and intermixed their philosophy with the doctrines of the Church. They were instrumental, in this way, of obscuring and corrupting

these heavenly doctrines to such a degree, that it has been made a very serious question whether the school itself was not more a detriment than a benefit to the cause of truth.

The principal works of Clement which have come down to us are his "Pedagogus," designed for the instruction of new converts; his "Exhortatio ad Græcos," intended for the conviction and conversion of idolaters; and his "Stromata," or "Miscellanies," in eight books. This last work answers to its name. It is a heterogeneous mixture of the curiosities of history, the beauties of poetry, and the reveries of philosophy, with Christian truths and heretical errors. He compares it to a thick-grown shady mountain or garden, "where fruitful and barren trees of all kinds — the cypress, the laurel, the ivy, the apple, the olive, and the fig — stand confusedly together."

Tertullian may be regarded as the father of Latin theology, and one of the greatest men of Christian antiquity. He was born at Carthage, of heathen parents, about the year 160; received a liberal education, and became a juriconsult and advocate both at Carthage and at Rome. The first half of his life he spent in heathen blindness and licentiousness. Near the close of the second century, he embraced Christianity; coming to it evidently from the deepest conviction, and with all the fiery energy of his soul. He entered the Christian ministry, but like Clement of Alexandria, and Origen, never rose above the rank of presbyter.

Some years later, he attached himself to the rigid, ascetic, but, in point of doctrine, orthodox sect of the Montanists. To these he was attracted by their peculiar qualities, — their rigid discipline, their martyr-enthusiasm, and their thorough contempt of the world. He was disgusted also by the growing laxness, in point both of doctrine and discipline, of the Romish Church. He labored chiefly at Carthage as preacher and author, and died of a decrepit old age in the first part of the third century.

The works of Tertullian were numerous, but in general short, touching on almost every department of religious life. The most important of those that remain to us is his "Apology for the Christians," composed, probably, in the reign of Septimius Severus, about the year 200. He wrote against the Marcionites and Valentinians and other Gnostic sects; also against Hermogenes and Praxeas. After he became attached to the Montanists, he wrote numerous tracts advocating their peculiarities, — against the restoration of the lapsed, against second marriages, on the dress of females, on

fasting, &c. In regard to all such matters, he was a rigid, radical man, but a valiant defender of the faith, and a devout Christian.

Dionysius, bishop of Corinth, lived in the times of Marcus Aurelius and his son Commodus. He wrote epistles to various churches, evincing his care and vigilance in support of Christian doctrine and practice. He was liberal in his discipline, and withstood some of those rigid practices which were so much favored by Tertullian.

Melito, bishop of Sardis, was a devoted Christian, whose labors, we doubt not, were blessed to that drooping Church. He lived under Marcus Aurelius, and was one of those, who, by labored Apologies, endeavored in vain to soften his heart and put a stop to his merciless persecutions. Among his lost works was one on the submission of the senses to faith; another on the body, soul, and spirit; and another on God incarnate. He was one of those (of whom there were several in the primitive Church) "who made themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven's sake" (Matt. xix. 12).

Theophilus of Antioch was a learned and pious man, who wrote several books, nearly all of which are lost. The only one which has reached us is addressed to Autolycus, a pagan friend, in vindication of Christianity. He is fond of allegorical and fanciful interpretations; and on them rests the stress of his arguments. For example, the springing of vegetables from seeds and roots teaches the resurrection of the body; the dry land surrounded by seas denotes the Church surrounded by enemies; the sun represents God, and the changing moon represents man; the three days preceding the creation of the sun and moon are types, *τριαδος το Θεου*, of the trinity of God. This is said to be the first instance in which the term "trinity" occurs in the writings of the fathers. The doctrine is scriptural, and was held from the beginning; but the *term*, so far as we know, was invented by Theophilus.

CHAPTER XVI.

DOCTRINES, HERESIES, AND CONTROVERSIES DURING THIS PERIOD. —
STATE OF RELIGION.

THE doctrines of religion were taught in the second century with a good degree of simplicity and purity; and yet there had been some change, both as to matter and manner, from the teachings of the apostles and their immediate successors. This arose, in part, from the mingling of a corrupt philosophy with the pure principles of Christianity, and in part from the frequent discussions which were held with those who perverted and rejected the truth. Justin Martyr was a philosopher before he was a Christian, and never ceased to be a philosopher afterwards. It was natural that he should continue the style of the philosophers, and introduce something of their spirit and speculations into the minds of his followers. The teachers in the Alexandrian school were also philosophers, and began early to corrupt the theology of the times. The influence of this school, however, was much more extensive and disastrous in the third century than in the second. But, even now, the doctrines of an intermediate place, and of purgatorial fire for all departed souls except those of the martyrs, began in some places to be shadowed forth. A foundation was also laid for the later doctrine of baptismal regeneration. The word "regenerate" was commonly used by Justin Martyr and others as synonymous with baptism; putting the sign in place of the thing signified. Thus Justin, speaking of some who had been recently baptized, says, "They are regenerated in the same way in which we are regenerated; for they are washed with water in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." And Irenæus says, "When Christ gave his apostles the command of *regenerating* unto God, he said, Go and teach all nations, *baptizing* them," &c.

Great stress began to be laid in this century on bodily austerities and mortifications; and a strong tendency was manifested to-

wards a monastic life. Several things contributed to this result: one was the prevalence of the Gnostic philosophy, which degraded the body, and directly inculcated the crucifixion of the flesh. Then there had been recluses for long ages among the heathen in the East. There were also recluses — for example, the Essenes and Therapeuts — among the Jews. Probably the Christians thought it a shame to be outdone in this direction by Pagans and Jews. Some were driven into the deserts by their constant exposure to persecution and death; while others interpreted too literally some expressions in the inspired writings. They seemed to hear their Saviour calling out to them, “Come out from among them, and be ye separate, and touch not the unclean thing, and I will receive you;” and they knew not how to obey such a call but by a literal and entire separation from the world. The monastic spirit first showed itself in Syria and Egypt; from which places it gradually spread into other parts of the Christian world.

The Scriptures were held in high estimation in this century, and were devoutly studied, so far as they had opportunity, by all Christians. Some tried their hand at interpreting the sacred writings; but their interpretations (so far as we have the means of judging) were of little value, owing to their perpetual search after hidden, allegorical meanings.

This allegorical method of interpretation, which became so prevalent in the ancient Church, the Christians borrowed from the heathen and the Jews. The heathen philosophers — as Plato, for example — were ashamed of their sacred mythologies, and were in the habit of allegorizing them in order to draw instruction from them, and bring them into harmony with their philosophical views. And, when the Jews in Egypt began to be philosophers, they pursued the same course with their sacred books, and for the same reason. Their philosophy and their sacred books could in no other way be harmonized. Numerous examples of this method of interpretation among the Jews are furnished by Philo and the Talmuds.

For the same reason, those of the Christian fathers who aspired to be philosophers were led to adopt the allegorical method of interpretation. This method was popular with all the philosophers; and, besides, it made of the Scriptures a nose of wax, which could point one way as well as another. It enabled its votaries to harmonize the sacred writings with any philosophy which they might be led to adopt. This allegorical method of interpretation had a

long and disastrous prevalence in the Church. It began to appear in the second century, but prevailed much more extensively in the following ages, and can hardly be said to be extirpated even in our own times.

The heresies of the second century may be divided into four classes, — the *Ebionistic*, the *Gnostic*, the *Antitrinitarian*, and the *followers of Montanus*; each and all of them resulting in more or less of controversy.

The Ebionites of the second century are the genuine descendants of the Judaizing teachers of the first century who gave so much trouble to the apostle Paul. We have referred to the origin of the sect already. Upon the revolt under Barchochebas, when the Jews were driven away from Jerusalem, and forbidden to return there, the great body of the old Jerusalem Church, in order that they might evade the decree, declared that they were no longer Jews, but Christians. They laid aside circumcision and the Jewish law, conforming in this respect to the practice of the other churches. But a portion of the Church refused to take this ground. They continued to practise the Jewish rites, seceded from their brethren, and became a sect, under the appellation of Ebionites.

The sect was soon divided into two classes, on the score of liberality. The more liberal portion of them, though they continued to observe the Jewish law, indulged in no harsh antipathies against their brethren who had renounced it. They believed in the Messiahship and divinity of Jesus, acknowledged the apostleship and the Epistles of Paul, and were scarcely regarded by the other churches as heretics. They took the name of *Nazarenes*, — the name originally given to all the followers of Christ. They soon disappear from the page of history.

But the more rigid separatists pursued a different course. They were pretty numerous for a time, and spread themselves, not only in Palestine and Syria, but in Asia Minor, the Grecian islands, and even in Italy. They were called *Ebionites*, from the Hebrew אֲבִיּוֹן, signifying *poor*. They were, in fact, a poor, despised people. Their peculiarities may be set forth in the four following propositions: 1. Though they regarded Jesus as the promised Messiah, they held him to be a mere man, like Moses or David, and that he sprang by natural generation from Joseph and Mary. They were the first and only proper *Humanitarians* in the ancient Church. 2. Like their prototypes in the days of the apostles, the Ebionites said of all men, Jews and Gentiles, "Except ye be circumcised,

and keep the law of Moses, *ye cannot be saved.*" 3. They rejected all the Epistles of Paul, and denounced him as an apostate and heretic. 4. They believed that Christ was soon to appear the second time, and set up his kingdom on the earth, the seat and centre of which was to be at Jerusalem. In regard to this latter point, they did not differ from many other Christians. The sect continued until the fourth century, when it became extinct.

Of the Gnostic philosophy, and of the manner in which it began to corrupt the Church, even in the age of the apostles, I gave some account in a previous chapter. It originated in the East, but had spread itself into Syria, Egypt, and Greece before the commencement of the Christian era. The grand problem with the Gnostics, to the solution of which all their inquiries tended, was that respecting the origin of evil. They traced it to the influence of *matter*, and referred the origin of this material world, and of the material bodies of men, not to the supreme God, but to some inferior divinity. The body they all regarded as the prison and corrupter of the soul; and the redemption of the soul consisted, not in its deliverance from sin and death, but in its present deliverance from the influence of matter, and ultimately from matter itself.

To aid in this work of deliverance, the *Christian* Gnostics — and it is with these that we have now to do — believed that Christ had kindly interposed. Christ they regarded as neither God nor man, but a mighty Æon from the region of light, — an emanation, directly or indirectly, from the One Supreme. As to the person and nature of Christ, the Gnostics of Asia differed from those of Egypt. The former class regarded him as a mere spectre, without a body; while the latter believed that Jesus had a body, into which the Æon entered at the time of his baptism, and out of which it fled at his crucifixion. They were divided, also, as to the morality which they inculcated. The greater part of them enjoined bodily mortifications and austerities, and favored an ascetic, monastic life. But some went quite to the other extreme: in a proud conceit of the exaltation of the spirit above matter, or thinking, perhaps, that sensuality can best be overcome by indulging it, they bade defiance to every moral law, and gave themselves up to the most shameful licentiousness. They were all agreed in contemning Moses and the Old Testament, and in rejecting the doctrine of the resurrection.

Though this doctrine prevailed in the first century, and corrupted numerous individuals and some whole churches, it is doubtful

whether any distinct sects were at that time organized. But, in the second century, heresiarchs made their appearance in different parts of the world, and sects were multiplied. Indeed, almost all the heresies of the age of which we are informed by Irenæus and others were of the Gnostic stamp.

The different sects of the Gnostics were agreed as to the *general principles* of their philosophy; but they differed variously as to particulars: for example, as to the number and rank and genealogies of their *Æons*; as to the Maker of the material universe, and the manner of its formation; as to the origin of human souls, and their incarceration in material bodies; and as to the method of their final deliverance and purification. These, it will be seen, are subjects on which their fancies might be expected to riot; and each one had a delusion of his own.

Among the oldest of the Asiatic Gnostics was Saturninus of Antioch, who flourished in the time of Adrian. He taught and practised great austerities, and, by the show of virtue, drew many after him.

Following him were Cerdo, a Syrian, and Marcion, the son of a bishop of Pontus. These men established their sect at Rome, and, from that place as a centre, spread their peculiarities in all directions. The moral discipline which Marcion prescribed was very rigorous. He condemned marriage, wine, flesh, and every thing else which had a tendency to exhilarate the body or delight the senses.

Among the Asian Gnostics may also be classed Bardesanes and Tatian. Tatian was an Assyrian, a learned man, and a disciple of Justin Martyr. His moral principles were rigid in the extreme, and were founded on the Gnostic basis; viz., the necessity of macerating and mortifying the body, that the soul might be delivered from its corrupting influence. His followers renounced all the comforts of life, fasted rigorously, lived in celibacy, and held wine in such abhorrence, that they would not use it even in the sacramental supper.

Among the Egyptian Gnostics, the first place is commonly assigned to Basilides of Alexandria. He recommended purity of heart and life; and yet there were some things in his moral precepts which were offensive to other Christians. He taught that it is lawful to conceal our religion; to deny Christ, if we may thereby save our lives; and that it is no sin to participate in the pagan feasts which were connected with their sacrifices. He also refused

to honor the martyrs, maintaining that they had forfeited their lives by their peculiar sinfulness.

But much worse than he was Carpocrates, who was also a native of Alexandria. As to general principles, he agreed with the other Gnostics; but the morality which he inculcated was corrupt. He held that concupiscence was implanted in the soul by God, and was therefore innocent; that actions are good or evil only as they are made so by the opinions and laws of men; and that among men there should be a community of goods, and even of women. Obviously, principles such as these swept away the foundations of all virtue, and gave license to every species of iniquity. The Nicolaitans, spoken of in Rev. ii. 15, may have been Gnostics of this class.

The most celebrated of all the Egyptian Gnostics was Valentinus, the founder of the numerous sect of the Valentinians. This sect originated at Rome, but had its principal seat on the Island of Cyprus. From this point it spread itself with great rapidity over a considerable part of the Christian world. It is of the Valentinians especially that Irenæus treats in his work against Heresies (lib. i. chap. 1-7). Tertullian also wrote a book against them.

In speaking of the Egyptian Gnostics, we must not omit the *Ophites*, or *Serpentinians*, a senseless sect, which is thought to have originated among the Jews before the coming of Christ. In the second century, a part of them professed to be Christians. They believed that the serpent which tempted our first parents was either Christ himself, or an impersonation of *Sophia*,—heavenly *Wisdom*. Hence the peculiar honor, and even worship, which they paid to their sacred serpents. In celebrating the Lord's Supper, the priest let out one of these serpents upon the dish to crawl around and over the bread. When the bread had been distributed, each one kissed the serpent; after which it was confined in a box. Such are the absurdities into which men readily fall when they forsake the word of God, and give heed to fables.

There were other obscure sects of Gnostics,—as the Adamites and Cainites and Abelites and Sethites,—of which the ancients give us little more than the names. With all their absurdities, these Gnostics were an arrogant, overbearing class of men. They made pretensions to a superior illumination. They were in possession of the true *γνῶσις*,—of all knowledge and wisdom,—and looked down upon other Christians, like the transcendentalists of our own times, as no better than grovelling empirics. They flourished chiefly in

the second century; though their principles continued to show themselves, in one form or another, for several hundred years.

The *Antitrinitarian* controversies, which commenced in the second century and continued through the third, grew out of a vain desire on the part of some Christian philosophers to explain the mystery of the Trinity, or to show precisely *how* the Three are one, and the One three. This was attempted by Praxeas, a distinguished man, and a confessor at Rome. Discarding all real distinction between Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, he taught that *the Father—the whole Deity*—joined himself to the human nature of Christ, and suffered with him on the cross. Hence Praxeas and his followers are appropriately called by Tertullian, who wrote a book against them, *Patripassians*.

The doctrine of the Trinity was explained somewhat differently at Rome by Theodotus the tanner, and by Artemon the father of the Artemonites. They held, that, when the man Christ Jesus was born, a certain *divine energy*, or some portion of the *divine nature*, and not the entire person of the Father, entered into him, and qualified him for his redeeming work. Other persons advanced similar opinions, as we shall see, in the next century.

About the middle of the century, an obscure man of Phrygia, named Montanus, began to have visions and ecstasies, and to utter prophecies. He gave out that himself was the *Paraclete*,—the promised Comforter,—who had been sent to reform the Church, and carry it forward to perfection. Two fanatical women, Maximilla and Priscilla, joined themselves to him as prophetesses; and thus a party was formed, of high spiritual pretensions, who looked down upon other Christians as walking in the flesh. They did not essay to change the received doctrines of the Church, but rather to confirm them. Their province was to reform its manners; to enforce a new and higher and more spiritual course of life. Accordingly, they prescribed new and rigorous fasts; forbade second marriages; attributed an extraordinary value to celibacy and martyrdom; manifested a profound contempt for every thing earthly; and taught that intemperance, incontinence, and other like offences (although they might not exclude utterly from the grace of God), ought to shut one out forever from the Church of Christ. They were also confirmed *Chiliasts*; proclaiming that the end of the world, and the millennial reign of Christ, were near at hand. Their peculiarities were of such a nature, and were so pertinaciously persisted in, that they were excluded from the Church, and obliged to as-

sume the position of sectaries. But Montanus speedily built up a church of his own, and spread his peculiarities into other parts of the world. His most distinguished follower, as remarked already, was Tertullian, — a man very like to Montanus in spirit and character, who did much by his publications to promote the cause which he had espoused.

I close with a few words in regard to the religious spirit and character of the age. There was a greater stress laid, as we have seen, on outward rites and forms, than in the first century. A greater importance also was attached to self-mortification and a “neglecting of the body.” It must be said, too, that the philosophic spirit which had begun to insinuate itself into the schools and churches of the Christians was exerting an unfavorable influence upon the tone of their piety. Still, notwithstanding these abatements, the ardor and vigor of Christian piety in the second century were well sustained. The frequent persecutions of the Christians, and the hard treatment to which they were continually exposed, had the effect to humble them, to strengthen their faith, and keep them near to the throne of grace. Their untiring missionary efforts were also a great blessing to them. It happened unto them, as it has done to Christians in every age, that, while they were endeavoring to water others, they were themselves watered with the dews of heavenly grace.

The spirit exhibited by the martyrs was, in general, of the most heroic character. In some instances, there was a zeal for martyrdom, and an apparent glorying in it, which hardly comports with the true Christian spirit.

The kindness which the Christians manifested, not only to one another, but even to their enemies, is also remarkable. Witness the following extracts from Tertullian’s Apology, written during the persecution under Septimius Severus, near the close of the second century: “We pray,” says he, “for the safety of the emperors to the true and living God, whom emperors themselves should desire to be propitious to them above all others that are called gods. Looking up to heaven with outstretched hands and uncovered heads, we pray constantly for the emperors, that they may have long life, a secure dominion, a safe house, strong armies, a faithful senate, a well-behaved people, and a quiet state of the world. We solicit these things from the God of heaven, because he alone can bestow them; and we expect them of him, being his servants, who worship him in spirit and in truth. And while our hands are thus

stretched out, if it must be so, let crosses suspend us, let fires consume us, let swords pierce our hearts, let wild beasts destroy us: a praying Christian is in a frame for any form of death." Here, surely, is something of the spirit of Him who prayed for his murderers while hanging on the cross.

The writer proceeds to describe further the principles and character of his brethren in Christ: "We are dead to all ideas of worldly honor and dignity. Nothing is farther from us than a disposition to meddle with political concerns. We are a spiritual body, united in one bond of religion, of discipline, and of hope. We meet in our assemblies for prayer and praise. We have continual recourse to the divine oracles for instruction and warning. We nourish our faith by the word of God. We establish our hope, we fix our confidence, we strengthen our discipline, by repeatedly inculcating its precepts and exhortations.

"Those who preside among us are elderly persons, distinguished not for opulence, but for worth of character. Every one pays into the public chest once a month, or oftener, as he pleases; for there is no compulsion. Thence we relieve the needy, bury the dead, and support orphans, decrepit persons, those who have suffered shipwreck, and those who, for the word of God, are condemned to the mines or to imprisonment. This very charity has caused us to be noticed by some, who say, 'See how these Christians love one another!'"

But I will not quote further. These extracts will give us some idea of the purity, the integrity, the heavenly-mindedness, and passiveness under injuries, for which Christians were distinguished at the close of the second century.

PERIOD III.

FROM THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE THIRD CENTURY TO
THE REVOLUTION UNDER CONSTANTINE.

CHAPTER XVII.

PERSECUTIONS AND PROGRESS OF CHRISTIANITY DURING THIS
PERIOD.

AT the commencement of the third century, Septimius Severus governed the Roman Empire. During the first years of his reign, he seemed not unfavorably disposed towards the Christians, though they often suffered severely in some of the provinces; but, being disgusted with the excesses of the Montanists, he at length passed a law prohibiting all persons from abandoning the religion of their fathers. This did not directly condemn those who were already Christians; yet the governors of the provinces, instigated by the populace and by the pagan priests, took occasion from it to molest and destroy many of God's people. Among those who suffered were Leonidas, the father of Origen, and some distinguished Roman ladies. Potamiana, a virgin of rare beauty and accomplishments, after suffering various tortures, was slowly burned, with her mother, in boiling pitch. One of her executioners was so affected with her sufferings and patience, that he shortly after embraced Christianity, and was himself beheaded.

Perpetua, a young woman of noble birth, resisting not only the entreaties of an aged heathen father, but the silent appeals of a helpless babe, sacrificed the tender feelings both of a daughter and mother rather than deny her Lord. Having been apprehended, and kept under guard for several days, her babe was at length taken from her; and she and her companions were thrust into a

dark and dismal prison. Speaking of her feelings at this time, she says, "O fearful day! I was terrified at the darkness; I was torn with anxiety about my infant: but, by the help of the deacons of the Church, my child was brought to me, and we were removed to a more open part of the prison. Having nursed the dear babe, who was dying of thirst, I was obliged to part with him again."

Her wretched father came to her in the prison, and threw himself at her feet, weeping as though his heart would break. "Think of me," said he, "and think of your mother, and think of your little son, who cannot live without you." She answered his entreaties by saying, that, while nothing on earth would delight her more than to please and obey him, she could not displease God, and deny her Saviour. When her trial came, her father forced himself through the crowd, with her child in his arms, that he might make his last appeal to her to change her mind. The heathen judge was moved to tears at the sight, and said, "Oh, spare the old age of your father and the helplessness of your infant! Perpetua, are you a Christian?" She replied, "I certainly am. I have lived a Christian, and a Christian I am resolved to die."

The prisoners were now sent away to their cells to await the execution of their sentence; which was, to be thrown to the wild beasts. Here Perpetua was to be again tried by a visit from her father. He tore his hair; he fell frantic on the floor; he used every entreaty with her: but in vain. Her heart was in heaven. She trusted in Christ, and he sustained her to the last.

Felicitas, one of her companions, had also a little babe. After a fervent prayer on its behalf, she gave it over to her sister, and so relieved herself of all earthly cares.

When led to execution, these heroic females sang a hymn, and then called on the magistrates and people to remember that they must give an account of that day's work. They charged them also to bear witness that they died in the faith of Christ, "whom, not having seen, they loved."

It was the lot of these two Christian females to be thrown to a wild cow. The infuriated animal ran upon Perpetua, and dashed her wounded upon the ground. She then flew at Felicitas, tossed her in the air, and tore her in the most frightful manner. Perpetua sprang upon her feet, ran to her poor sister in suffering, adjusted her clothes, and smoothed her disordered hair.

The spectators, not liking this kind of sport, demanded that the victims should be despatched with the sword; when, giving each

other the kiss of peace, they presented themselves before their executioner. Felicitas was killed by a single blow; but the fainting, trembling gladiator was not so successful with Perpetua. He struck at her and wounded her repeatedly, but to no purpose. At length she seized the weapon, pointed it to the most vital part, and called upon him to finish his work. Without a groan, she sank down upon the sands of the amphitheatre, and fell asleep in Christ.

I have given the particulars of this martyr-scene, because, in the first place, it is well authenticated, and because by this means we get a more vivid idea of what the Christians were called to suffer in these fiery times. It is easy to tell of cases of martyrdom, and to say that they were multiplied by scores and hundreds, and yet get no strong impression of the cases; but when we hear the story of Perpetua, and remember that this was but one of a thousand like scenes which were acted over during the first three hundred years after Christ, we begin to realize what it cost to break down the old heathen altars, and establish Christianity in the earth.

Caracalla passed no laws against the Christians, though the persecutions in some places were continued.

The reckless and vicious Heliogabalus tolerated all religions, in hope of at last merging them in his favorite Syrian worship of the sun. He was himself a priest of the sun, and thence took his name.

Alexander Severus, who reigned from the year 222 to 235, was inclined to favor the Christians. He placed the busts of Abraham and of Christ in his private chapel, with those of Orpheus and some of the Roman emperors; and caused the golden rule, *to do to others as we would that they should do to us*, to be engraven on public monuments and on the walls of his palace. His mother, Julia Mammæa, was almost, if not quite, a Christian.

Maximin the Thracian, who killed Alexander and reigned in his stead, fearing that the Christians might be disposed to avenge the death of their patron, ordered some of their bishops who had been particularly friendly to the late emperor to be seized, and put to death. This encouraged the populace and the pagan priests to rekindle the fires of persecution; and many Christians were destroyed. His reign, however, was short, and was followed by a long season of tranquillity to the Church under Gordian, and the two Philips, father and son.

In the year 249, Decius Trajan came to the throne. He was an

earnest and energetic man, in whom the old Roman spirit revived; and he resolved to extirpate the Christian sect, and restore the old pagan religion in all its glory. Accordingly, he published terrible edicts, requiring the governors in all the provinces either to bring back the people to the religion of their fathers, or to exterminate them utterly. This was the signal for a persecution, which, in extent, persistency, and cruelty, exceeded all that had been before it. During the next two years, vast numbers of Christians in all the Roman provinces were cut off. Large numbers also, terrified, not so much by the fear of death as of the long-continued tortures which were inflicted with a view to shake the constancy of the Christians, were driven to apostasy. They either sacrificed to the idols, or (what was as bad) they bribed the judges to certify that they had sacrificed when they had not. In this time of severe trial, the confessors at Rome wrote thus to their suffering brethren in Africa: "What more glorious and blessed lot can fall to man, by the grace of God, than to confess him amidst tortures and in the face of death; to confess Christ with lacerated body, but with the spirit free; and to become fellow-sufferers with him, and in his name? Though we have not yet been called to shed our blood, we are ready to do so. Pray for us, dear Cyprian, that the Lord, the great Captain, would daily strengthen each one of us more and more, and at last lead us to the field as faithful soldiers armed with those divine weapons which can never be conquered."

The authorities were specially severe against the bishops and officers of the churches. Fabian, bishop of Rome, perished near the commencement of the persecution. Many withdrew to places of concealment, — some, perhaps, from cowardice, but more from Christian prudence, — hoping to allay by their absence the fury of the persecutors, and to preserve their lives for the good of the Church in better times. Among these was Cyprian, the excellent bishop of Carthage. Many censured him for his flight; but he fully vindicated himself by his pastoral industry during his absence, and by his subsequent martyrdom. He says concerning the matter, "Our Lord commanded us, when persecuted in one city, to flee to another; and this command he illustrated in his own practice. Since the martyr's crown comes by the grace of God, and cannot be gained before the appointed hour, he who retires, and remains true to Christ, does not deny the faith, but only bides his time."

Decius reigned only two years; but his successors, Gallus and Volusian, continued the persecution two years longer, — unto the

year 253. The multitudes who fell away in this persecution caused great dissensions afterwards in different parts of the Church: for the lapsed wished to be restored to Christian fellowship without that severe penitence which the laws of the Church prescribed; and some of the bishops favored their wishes, while others opposed them. The disputes on the subject resulted in the Novatian schism, or heresy, of which we shall hear more hereafter.

Valerian succeeded Volusian, and the Church had several years of comparative rest; but, in the fourth year of his reign, Valerian commenced making havoc of the Christians. The most distinguished martyrs at this time were Sixtus II., bishop of Rome, and Cyprian, bishop of Carthage. When Cyprian received his sentence, he said, "*Deo Gratias!*" ("The Lord be praised!") When he came upon the scaffold, he prayed once more, undressed himself, covered his face with his hands, and asked one of his presbyters to pay the executioner twenty-five pieces of gold. With trembling hands, the executioner performed his office; and Cyprian won the incorruptible crown. His faithful friends caught up his blood on their handkerchiefs, and buried their sainted pastor with great solemnity.

From this time, A.D. 260, there was no general persecution to the end of the century. About the year 274, Aurelian issued an edict of persecution; but he was himself assassinated before the edict could go into effect. The result of these forty years of continued tranquillity was to extend the borders of the Church, to increase its numbers, and to confer other marks of outward prosperity; while at the same time there was a decrease of internal purity and spirituality. The time had come when the Church evidently needed a fiery trial; and, in covenant faithfulness, God was preparing such a trial for it.

At the commencement of the fourth century, the vast empire of Rome was governed by four rulers; viz., Diocletian and Hercules Maximianus with the title of Augustus, and Galerius Maximianus and Constantius Chlorus with the title of Cæsars. The state of the Church was peaceful and happy. Christians were regarded with favor, and admitted to the most important civil offices; spacious buildings were erected for public worship, to which the people resorted without fear; and they had little more to hope for, unless it were that one or more of the emperors should embrace their religion. Under these circumstances, the pagan priests and populace began to be alarmed lest the power which

they had so long wielded should pass out of their hands. They first began to work upon the fears and prejudices of Diocletian, who was an old man, and whom they knew to be both timid and credulous, and induce him to persecute the Christians. But, failing here, they next tried their arts upon Galerius, who was son-in-law to Diocletian; and with him they were more successful. He, being a cruel and fanatical pagan, persuaded Diocletian to publish an edict requiring that the temples of the Christians should be demolished, their sacred books burned, and they deprived of all civil rights and honors. This decree did not aim directly at the *lives* of the Christians; and yet many were put to death because they refused to give up their sacred books. Other many, who surrendered their books, were stigmatized by their brethren as *traitors*; i.e., *traitors*.

Not long after the publication of this first edict, there were two conflagrations in the palace at Nicomedia; which being charged upon the Christians, many of them were by an imperial edict put to the torture with a view to extort confessions. Nearly at the same time, there were insurrections in Armenia and Syria, which provoked the emperor to pass a third edict, committing all Christian bishops and ministers to prison, that, by tortures and punishments, they might be compelled to offer sacrifice to the gods. In consequence of this order, many ministers were put to death; while others were exiled, or banished to the mines. But the malice of Galerius was not yet satisfied. In the following year, he induced Diocletian to pass his fourth and final edict, compelling all Christians to offer sacrifice to the gods, under penalty of death.

The malice of the persecutors could go no further; and the condition of the Church, more especially in the eastern provinces, seemed to be hopeless. And what rendered it the more so was, that Galerius, just at this time, succeeded in deposing Diocletian and Hercules Maximianus, and thus became sole emperor of the East. Constantius Chlorus, the father of Constantine the Great, had refused from the first to participate in these bloody proceedings; and the Christians in Spain, Gaul, and Britain, over which he ruled, were in comparative security.

This persecution was the last desperate struggle of Roman heathenism for its life. When it was fairly ended, the persecutions of pagan Rome ceased. Diocletian was deposed in the year 305, and, eight years afterwards, put an end to his life. Constantius Chlorus died A.D. 306; when the army by acclamation made

Constantine his successor. Galerius, who was the real author of the persecution, being visited by a terrible disease, put an end to the slaughter by a decree of toleration in the year 311. In this document he declared, that, his purpose of reclaiming the Christians from their innovations having failed, he would now grant them the free exercise of their religion, provided they did not disturb the peace of the state; adding the singular request, that they would pray to their God for the welfare of the emperors, of the state, and of themselves, that the country might prosper, and that they might lead quiet and peaceable lives.*

I have said already that Constantine succeeded his father in the West in the year 306; but his path to universal empire was not a smooth one. Maxentius, who governed Africa and Italy, made war upon him, but was vanquished and destroyed. Maximin, who reigned in the East, and who was projecting new calamities for the Church, was also vanquished, swallowed poison, and came to a miserable end. Licinius, the only remaining colleague of Constantine, was conquered and destroyed at a later period, leaving him sole ruler and governor of the vast Roman Empire.

The religious character of Constantine, like his power, was of gradual growth. He did not profess to be a Christian, nor do we know that he seriously contemplated becoming one (although he had never been a persecutor), until his war with Maxentius, — about the year 312. He then saw a remarkable vision, which had a great effect upon him, and did much towards shaping the future of his life. The story, as he related it to Eusebius, is as follows: He had been engaged in prayer that the true God (whoever he might be) would manifest himself to him; when, says he, “a little past the middle of the day, as the sun was verging towards the west, I saw in the heavens the appearance of a cross, on which was inscribed, ‘*By this conquer.*’” The night following, the Saviour appeared to Constantine in his sleep, directed him to make an exact representation of what he had seen in the heavens, adopt it as his standard, and henceforth carry it in front of his armies.†

There are many difficulties attending this story. In the first place, it is not likely that it is a pure fiction got up by Constantine for political effect; neither is it likely that such a prodigy

* For a particular account of this terrible Diocletian persecution, see Milner's *Ecc. History*, vol. ii. pp. 1–30.

† This story is related by the author of the work, *De Moribus Persecutorum*, in the year 314; and by the heathen panegyrist of Constantine, especially by Nazarius, in 321.

actually appeared in the heavens to be seen by the whole army, as nothing seems to have been known of it until Constantine related the story to Eusebius several years afterwards. The probability is that it was a *vision*, appearing to the emperor in a state of partial sleep, — a state not at all uncommon, and which can hardly be distinguished by the subject of it from one of entire wakefulness. The vision, if it was one, was not without its influence; since, from that time, Constantine carried the standard of the cross before his armies, and seems to have been intellectually convinced of the truth of Christianity. After the death of Licinius, he openly declared himself a Christian; although, for prudential reasons, he was not baptized, and admitted to the Church, until a short time before his death.

Constantine's personal appearance was winning and imposing. He was tall, portly, and handsome, and was favored with a vigorous and healthy constitution. He was showy in his dress and personal demeanor; always wearing an Oriental diadem, a helmet studded with jewels, and a mantle of silk embroidered with gold. His mind was not highly cultivated, but naturally clear, strong, shrewd, and seldom thrown off its guard.

Constantine, it must be confessed, was a man of blood. His murder of his conquered colleague Licinius, after having promised him safety, cannot be justified; much less his slaying of his eldest son Crispus, and his wife Fausta, under the influence of suspicions which were probably unfounded.

In the latter part of his life, he diligently attended divine worship, and would stand during the longest sermons. He composed and delivered several discourses, one of which is preserved by Eusebius.

I have spoken of the frequent and terrible persecutions which came upon the Church in the period before us. The Church had also trials of another sort. Towards the end of the third century, Porphyry, a Neo-Platonist philosopher, wrote an extended work against the Christians, in fifteen books. He charged the Bible with numerous contradictions. He insisted that the prophecies of Daniel must have been written subsequent to the events of which he speaks. He makes much of the collision between Paul and Peter at Antioch (Gal. ii. 11), and charges even Jesus with equivocation and inconsistency. Still Porphyry could not wholly reject Christianity. Like Rationalists of modern times, he made a distinction between the pure doctrines of Jesus and the adulterated account of them given by the apostles.

The last literary antagonist of Christianity, in the period of which we speak, was Hierocles, who wrote in the first part of the fourth century. He was a bitter persecutor of the Christians, and an instrument of Diocletian in putting many of them to death. Still he pretended to be much interested for them, and addressed his work directly to them, in hope of persuading them to renounce Christianity, and thus save their lives. He repeated the objections of Celsus and Porphyry, and drew a comparison between Jesus and Apollonius of Tyana, which was altogether favorable to the latter. The Christians, he says, consider Jesus a god, on account of some miracles ascribed to him by the apostles; whereas the heathen regard the greater wonder-worker Apollonius as simply a favorite of the gods.

We know little, however, of the works either of Porphyry or Hierocles, since their books were destroyed by the Christian emperors; and nought remains to us but a few fragments preserved by Eusebius and others, who undertook to refute them.

Notwithstanding the persecutions of the period under review, the Church had long intervals of rest and peace; and Christianity made very considerable progress. Its progress, however, was indicated, not so much by a diffusion into new and untried regions, as by more thoroughly penetrating the countries already visited. Origen is said, indeed, to have instructed some of the wandering Arabs in the truths of Christianity. The Goths also received a knowledge of Christ from some priests whom they had carried away captive. To this age may be referred the origin of some of the German churches; and many new churches were established in what is now France. But this was not, like the first two centuries of the Christian era, an age of diffusion so much as of consolidation. The number of Christians and of churches was greatly increased; and Christianity, though often persecuted, was pretty firmly established. Its professors were freely admitted into the army, the court, and other places of honor and trust. They began to have temples, in which they openly assembled for worship.

Great attention was given in this period to the Holy Scriptures. The canon of Scripture was virtually settled; the sacred books were translated into various languages, and copies were multiplied and circulated. In labors of this kind, the learned and indefatigable Origen distinguished himself above all others. His "Hexapla" was the first Polyglot Bible; but it covered only the

Old Testament, and was designed not so much to restore the original text even of that as to improve and defend the Septuagint. It is doubtful whether this work was ever transcribed. It was in existence in the library at Cæsarea in the time of Jerome, and was probably destroyed by the Saracens about the middle of the seventh century. Only some fragments of it still remain.

CHAPTER XVIII.

CHURCH-ORGANIZATION, RELIGIOUS RITES AND TEACHERS, DURING THIS PERIOD.

IN a previous chapter, I spoke of some important changes in Church organization and government which occurred in the last half of the second century, and of the manner in which they were brought about. By the introduction of synods, the original independency of the individual churches was sacrificed and lost. The distinction between bishop and presbyter, which was unknown in the first century, began to be marked; and, from being the pastor of a single church, the bishop, in some places, had surrounded himself with a circle of dependent churches, constituting what is now called a diocese.

Such was the state of things at the commencement of the third century. The Episcopal form of government, having supplanted the simple Congregationalism of the first age, very generally prevailed. A bishop presided over each church, and, in some instances, over several dependent churches; having a board of presbyters for his council, and taking the voice of the people on questions of general interest and importance. The bishops of Rome, Antioch, and Alexandria, were regarded as more important than any other, and were more frequently consulted, on account of the extent of their charges, and because their churches had been founded by the apostles.

These changes had been brought about under the impression that the safety of the Church required them, and that the government of the Church would thereby be rendered more efficient and useful. But the natural effects of them, more especially upon the higher clergy, began soon to be manifested. A spirit of ambition was awakened, and a fondness for pomp and display. Some of the bishops affected the state of princes; for they sat upon thrones, surrounded by their ministers, and dazzled the eyes and minds of

the populace by their splendid attire. Some were chargeable, not only with arrogance, but also with dissipation, voluptuousness, contention, and other vices. By examples such as these, an aspiring, ambitious spirit was awakened among the lower church-officers. The presbyters imitated the bishops in neglecting the duties of their office, and living in indolence and pleasure; and this emboldened the deacons to make encroachments upon the office and prerogatives of the presbyters. To relieve the deacons in part of their appropriate duties, a variety of inferior church-officers were created; as the *sub-deacons*, the *acoluths* or servants, the *ostiarîi* or door-keepers, the *lectors* or readers, the *copiatæ* or undertakers, and the *exorcists*, whose duty it was to dispossess and drive away the evil spirits.

The exorcists owed their origin to a doctrine which had been received from the Neo-Platonists, — that evil spirits are attracted to human bodies; and that men are impelled to sin, not so much by their natural depravity and the influence of bad examples, as by the suggestions of indwelling evil spirits: hence the necessity of their being expelled previous to baptism.

Marriage was yet allowed to all the clergy, although the current of opinion was setting against it. Celibacy was accounted a holy state, since those who practised it were far less exposed than others to the assaults of evil spirits. And yet the results of this course of life, even at this early period, were just what they have been at all periods since, — a shameful licentiousness among its votaries. Those who were too holy to be lawfully married were not too holy to receive into their houses, and even to their beds, a class of sisters, who, like themselves, were under vows of perpetual chastity.

The tendency to an increase of ceremonies, which began to show itself in the second century, continued in full force during the period before us. In proportion as the spirituality of religion diminished, the tendency to ritualism constantly increased. The temples which were now permitted to be erected were frequently adorned with pictures, and perhaps with statues or images. Nor was the use of incense in public worship, which the early Christians so much abhorred, prohibited or discountenanced. It began to be used at funerals to counteract offensive smells; it was burned in the temples to purify the atmosphere; and ere long degenerated into a superstitious rite. The discourses in the temples were becoming more formal and scholastic than before, being modelled after the rules of Grecian eloquence. The Lord's Supper

was administered in private, and with more pomp and ceremony than in the previous age; and was regarded by most persons as essential to salvation. Under this impression, the practice commenced, in the third century, of administering it to little children.

Baptism was ordinarily administered only twice in the year,—at the festivals of Easter and Whitsuntide, and to candidates who had been through a long process of preparation. Of course, none were allowed to be present but those who had been baptized. The ceremonies used on the occasion were the following: First, a solemn consecration of the water. This is mentioned by Tertullian and Cyprian; and, in the Apostolic Constitutions, the prayer of consecration is given. Then the person to be baptized must be exorcised. He must make a public renunciation of the Devil and all his works; after which the exorcist breathed on him three times, and, by a solemn and menacing formula, adjured the evil spirits, in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, to come out of him. In the case of infants, the renunciation was made by the sponsors.

After exorcism, the subject was anointed with holy oil, the sign of the cross was made upon him, and a veil was put upon his face to denote the darkness of his state previous to baptism. Then he was led naked to the font, and immersed three times, unless necessity required some other mode; in which case pouring or sprinkling was used. When females were baptized, the preparatory rites were performed, and the subject was led into the water, by deaconesses.

The baptism having been administered, it was followed by additional rites. The veil was removed from the subject's face in token of his having now passed from darkness into light. He was again anointed with holy oil. The priest put his fingers into his ears, and touched his eyes with spittle and clay, and breathed on him, that he might receive the Holy Ghost. Then some milk and honey was given him in token of his being a babe in Christ; and some salt was laid upon his tongue, indicating that henceforward his "conversation must be with grace, seasoned with salt." Then a white robe was put upon him to denote his purity, which he must wear seven days; a lighted taper was put into his hand; he was saluted with the kiss of charity, and told to depart in peace.

Such are the ceremonies, which, as early as the third and fourth centuries, had come to be connected with the simple rite of baptism. The most of them were borrowed from the heathen or Jewish tem-

ples, and were adopted with a view to make the Christian religion more acceptable to Pagans and Jews. They were intended also to be symbolical, — to set forth by expressive outward signs important scriptural truths. But, whatever the intention of their inventors may have been, their results in a religious view were ultimately disastrous. They introduced a system of dead formalism, — the substitution of outward rites for the graces of the spirit, — which brooded over all Christendom for a thousand years, and still rests upon the great majority of those who bear the Christian name.

The stated hours of prayer among Christians in the age we are considering were the same that had been observed among the Jews; viz., the third, the sixth, and the ninth; or, according to our reckoning, nine o'clock, twelve, and three in the afternoon. On the Lord's day, and on other joyful occasions, it was the custom of Christians to pray in a standing posture; but, in seasons of fasting and humiliation, they prayed on their knees, and sometimes prostrated themselves on the earth. Forms of prayer which belonged not to the first century had come into use in the third and fourth. They seem to have been introduced chiefly for two reasons: first, the ignorance of many of the clergy; and, secondly, because of the prevailing disputes and errors, that so nothing might be uttered in the prayer which was contrary to sound doctrine.

Much importance was attached, at the time we are reviewing, to fasting and the sign of the cross. These were regarded as the surest preservatives against the influence of evil spirits. The Latins observed every seventh day of the week as a season of fasting.

The great man of the age in which he lived, and the most learned man in all ecclesiastical antiquity, was Origen, surnamed Adaman-tius. He was born at Alexandria, of Christian parents, A.D. 185, and was baptized in infancy. Under the direction of his father Leonidas, and of the famous Clement of Alexandria, he received a learned and Christian education. While yet a boy, he had committed to memory whole sections of the Bible, and often perplexed his father with questions on the deeper sense of Scripture. In the persecution under Septimius Severus, about the year 202, Leonidas was apprehended, and shut up in prison. Fearing that his father's constancy might waver, out of a regard for his dependent family, Origen wrote to him in the prison, urging him to be steadfast, and leave his wife and children to God. Leonidas was put

to death, and Origen was intent upon dying with him, but was prevented by his mother, who secreted his clothing that it could not be found. The property of Leonidas was confiscated, and the mother was left a widow with seven children. Origen was assisted for a while by a friend of the family, but afterwards supported himself by giving instruction in the Greek language and literature, and by copying manuscripts.

When only eighteen years of age, he was placed at the head of the catechetical school at Alexandria. To qualify himself for this office, he gave himself to the study of Grecian philosophy, especially Neo-Platonism, which was now beginning to attract notice. He was much attached to this philosophy, and mixed up its teachings with theology, to the prejudice of his own orthodoxy and that of his school. He was eminently successful as a teacher, and brought some distinguished heathens and heretics into the Catholic Church. Among his converts was Ambrosius, a wealthy Gnostic, who became thenceforth his most liberal patron. He furnished Origen with a costly library, with stenographers to take down his discourses, and with copyists to correct and engross them. His fame spread far and wide over Egypt, Italy, and Greece. Julia Mammæa, the mother of Alexander Severus, sent for him to Antioch, A.D. 218, that she might learn from him the doctrines of Christianity. He was visited also by an Arabian prince for the same purpose.

His mode of life during this whole period, and indeed through his whole life, was strictly ascetic. He refused the gifts of his pupils, and retained nothing for his support which was not absolutely necessary. He had but one coat, no shoes, rarely ate flesh, drank no wine, devoted the greater part of the night to prayer and study, and slept (when he did sleep) upon the naked floor. That he might be free from temptation and suspicion in his intercourse with females, he literally made himself a eunuch for the kingdom of heaven's sake (Matt. xix. 12). Of this inconsiderate act he afterwards repented, as he thereby disqualified himself, according to the church canons, for the clerical office. He was, however, constituted a presbyter late in life by the bishops of Cæsarea and Jerusalem.

By his consenting to be ordained by foreign bishops, Origen incurred the hostility of Demetrius, bishop of Alexandria. Demetrius charged him, before a council, not only with being ordained contrary to the canons, but with corrupting the doctrines of the

Church. The charges were declared to be sustained; and Origen was excommunicated in the year 232. The sentence was disregarded, however, by the Eastern bishops; and Origen was continued in fellowship as before.

Origen bore his harsh treatment at the hands of Demetrius in a truly Christian manner. Speaking of his enemies, he said, "We must pity them, and not hate them; we must pray for them, and not curse them; since we were made for blessing, and not for cursing." He took up his residence at Cæsarea in Palestine; prosecuted his studies there; opened a new theological school, which soon outshone that at Alexandria; and labored in every way possible for the spread of Christ's kingdom. He was continually consulted on controverted topics, and had numerous correspondents; among whom was no less a personage than the wife of the emperor, Philip the Arabian. At an Arabian council, he convinced Beryllus, bishop of Bostra, of his errors concerning the person of Christ, and brought him back into the fellowship of the Church.

Upon the death of Demetrius, Origen was invited to return to Alexandria; but it does not appear that he took up his residence there. In the Decian persecution, about the year 250, he was apprehended, cast into prison, cruelly tortured, and condemned to the stake; and although, by the death of the emperor, he regained his liberty, he never recovered from the injuries which he at that time received. Worn out with continuous study and ascetic privations, and broken down by violent persecution, he died at Tyre, about the year 254, at the age of sixty-nine. Though we may lament his philosophical speculations, by which his theology was not a little corrupted, and his influence in his own time and in after-ages was curtailed, still he was a laborious, self-sacrificing, and devoted Christian, whose memory should be cherished, and whose name should be held in honor wherever it is known. He did more than all his enemies combined to advance the cause of sacred learning, to refute and convert heathens and heretics, and to make the Church respected in the eyes of the world.

The peculiarities of Origen's theology all sprang from his philosophy, and may be classed under the following particulars:—

1. He believed in the pre-existence and fall of human souls; and that they are incarcerated in bodies here as a discipline, a punishment, for sins previously committed.

2. He was the first to express a belief in the eternal *generation* of the Logos, or his eternal *emanation* from the substance of the

Father ; and from him the emanation doctrine descended, and was received by the whole Church for a thousand years.

3. Origen believed that the human soul of our Lord pre-existed, and became united to the Logos, before his incarnation, and birth of the Virgin.

4. He believed that the benefits of Christ's redemption would somehow be extended to the inhabitants of the stars, and to all created beings.

5. Origen is commonly represented as believing in the certain restoration of all creatures, even the devils and the damned, to eternal happiness and glory ; but this is not a correct statement of his views. He held, with the Platonists, not to a universal restoration, but to a universal *revolution*, or *liability to change*. To him there was no final, confirmed state, either of holiness or sin. The inhabitants of heaven had fallen once, and they might fall again. Some of the lost had come up from their fallen state, and others might do the same ; and then they might fall again, and be again among the lost. There is no confirmed state, either of holiness or sin, but a constant liability to change ; and continual changes are occurring from one state and condition to the other.

Such were some of the peculiarities of Origen, which were so fruitful of controversy in the subsequent ages ; but, though he held these opinions in speculation, they rarely, if ever, appeared in his public discourses. He preached the doctrines of the Church like other men, only with an increased earnestness and power.

Of Origen's "Hexapla," and of his labors upon the sacred text, I spoke in the last chapter. He gave much attention also to the *interpretation* of the Scriptures. His commentaries covered nearly all the books of the Old and New Testaments ; but are of little value, owing to his persistent, allegorical method of interpretation. The Scriptures, he says, resemble man. As man consists of three parts, — a material body, a sensitive soul, and a rational mind ; so the Scriptures are to be taken in three senses, — the literal, the moral, and the spiritual. The spiritual sense also divides itself into the allegorical and anagogical ; making five senses in all. Origen did not invent this absurd method of interpretation ; but he did much to give it currency, and spread it over the Christian world for long ages.

Origen was a very prolific author. Epiphanius reckons the number of his works at six thousand ; which may be true if we include all his short tracts, homilies, and letters, and count them as

separate works. Many of them were got up, not only without his co-operation, but against his will, by the writing down of his oral lectures by others. The most of Origen's works which remain are known to us only through Latin translations. His most valuable work extant is his reply to Celsus, in eight books, written in the last years of his life. We have this in the original Greek; and the reply is so conducted, that it is supposed to contain, in extracts, nearly the whole work of Celsus.

The other distinguished Greek writers in the period before us were the following:—

1. *Dionysius of Alexandria*.—He was converted to the faith through the instrumentality of Origen; was made bishop of Alexandria in the year 248, and died in 265. He took an active part in the controversies of the times; but nothing remains of his works but some fragments preserved by Eusebius and Athanasius.

2. *Gregory*, surnamed *Thaumaturgus*, or *the Wonder-Worker*.—He, too, was a convert and a pupil of Origen. He was bishop of Neo-Cæsarea, in Pontus, from the year 244 to 270. His ministry was a very successful one; but the miracles ascribed to him seem to have been fabulous. We hear nothing of them until a full century after his death. He wrote a glowing eulogy on his beloved teacher Origen, which is still extant.

3. *Julius Africanus*.—He was an older friend of Origen, who labored chiefly in Palestine, and died in 232. He was the first Christian chronologist, commencing at the creation, and coming down to the year of our Lord 221. Of his work, Eusebius made good use in the preparation of his Chronicon.

4. *Hippolytus*.—Of this father very little was known in modern times, until, in 1851, a genuine work of his (the “Philosophoumena”) was discovered and published by Baron Bunsen. He lived in the first part of the third century, and was bishop of Ostia, the port of Rome. His newly-discovered work is a refutation of the heresies of his time, more especially those of the Gnostic stamp, and resembles that of Irenæus on the same subject. Of his other works we have only fragments remaining.

5. *Methodius*, bishop of Tyre, who died a martyr in the year 311. He was not a friend, but an opponent, of Origen, whose speculations he endeavored to refute. He wrote many popular works; among which is one against the Gnostics, ascribing the origin of evil, not to matter, but to an abuse of the human will.

The principal Latin writers of the age were Tertullian, Cyprian,

and Minutius Felix. Of Tertullian, who belongs more properly to the second century than to the third, I gave some account in a previous chapter. Cyprian, who was both a bishop and a martyr, sprang from a wealthy heathen family in Carthage, about the year 200. He was thoroughly educated, became a teacher of rhetoric, and lived in worldly splendor and in the vices of heathenism during the first half of his life. Of his conversion, which took place about the year 245, he gives the following account in a letter to a friend: "While I languished in darkness and deep night, tossing upon the sea of a troubled world, I floated about in wandering ways, ignorant of my destination, and far from truth and light. I thought it a hard thing that a man must be born anew in order to be saved; that, while preserving the identity of the body, he must be transformed in mind and heart. I said, How is such a change possible? How can one divest himself, at once, of all that was either innate, or was acquired and grown upon him? How can he who has been prodigal learn frugality? and he who has gloried in costly apparel come down to a simple attire? and he who has been in honor and station consent to become private and obscure? . . . But when, by the aid of regenerating water, the stain of my former life was washed away, a serene and holy light was poured from above into my purified breast. So soon as I drank the spirit from above, and was transformed by a second birth into a new man, then the wavering mind became wonderfully firm; what had been closed was opened; the darkness became light; strength was imparted for that which before had seemed difficult; what I had thought impossible became practicable; and I could clearly distinguish between that which was born of the flesh, and that which was of God and which the Holy Spirit animated."

From this time, Cyprian became indeed a new man. He renounced the world, entered the class of catechumens, sold his estates for the benefit of the poor, took a vow of chastity, and was baptized. He went into retirement for the study of the Scriptures, and was a diligent reader of Tertullian. But such a man could not be concealed. Only two years after his baptism, he was made bishop of Carthage, and thus became the head of the North African Church. For the space of ten years, ending with his martyrdom in 258, he sustained the duties of his office with exemplary wisdom, fidelity, and energy. Cyprian was in principle a high-churchman, and did much to advance Episcopal dignity and authority. His works are chiefly practical. They are for the most

part epistles, written while he was in exile, in which he discusses various questions of Christian discipline and duty. He suffered in the Valerian persecution, and, as his end approached, gave utterance to the following noble sentiments: "Only above are true peace, sure repose, and a constant, firm, and eternal security: there is our dwelling, there our home. Who would not fain hasten to reach it? There a great multitude of beloved ones await us, — fathers, brothers, children, friends. There is the glorious choir of apostles, there the number of exulting prophets, there the countless multitude of martyrs and holy virgins, crowned with victory, and enjoying their eternal reward. Thither let us hasten with strong desire. Let us wish to be soon with them; soon with Christ. After the earthly comes the heavenly; after the perishable things of time follows a blessed immortality."

Minutius Felix was a prominent jurist, of North African descent, and a contemporary of Tertullian, though several years younger. He embraced Christianity in adult life, and wrote an eloquent defence of the Christian faith in the form of a dialogue. The arguments on both sides are clearly stated. In the end, the advocate of Christianity carries his point, and convinces his friend. The dialogue is extant in a good English translation.

CHAPTER XIX.

DOCTRINES, HERESIES, CONTROVERSIES, AND STATE OF RELIGION.

THEOLOGY was not taught as purely in this period as in the preceding. There was more of the parade of learning, and more of the minglings of a false and corrupting philosophy.

The philosophy with which the Church was called chiefly to contend in the second century, we have seen, was the Gnostic: but being encountered by the Christians, and also by the promoters of another philosophy, — the Neo-Platonic, — it began to lose its credit; and we hear little of the old, troublesome Gnostic sects beyond the limits of the second century.

The founder of the Neo-Platonic theory, with which the Church came in contact in the third century and onwards, was Ammonius Saccus. This man was born and educated a Christian, and perhaps made pretensions to Christianity all his life. His plan was to bring all philosophies and religions into harmony; to propound a theory by which the men of all religions — the Christian not excepted — could unite together, and have fellowship. The principal means of effecting this object was the allegorical method of interpretation. By allegorizing the teachings of the old philosophers and their mythologies, and also the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, all might be brought to speak substantially the same language; and Christians, Jews, and Pagans might walk together in the same company.

Origen was taken with this philosophy, accepted the compromise which it proposed, introduced it into his school, and thought he derived much assistance from it in explaining the doctrines of Christianity. The great facts of the gospel Origen never suffered himself, or any one else, to call in question; but in explaining these facts, in assigning the grounds and reasons of them, and harmonizing them with the wisdom of the ancients, he sought the aid of the Neo-Platonic philosophy. It was in this way that his

theology was modified and corrupted; and, through the influence of his school and his pupils, the corruption was widely diffused.

As we have had occasion before to speak of the catechetical school at Alexandria over which Origen presided, it may not be amiss to give a brief account of it here. It is said to have been founded by the evangelist Mark, and was originally designed for catechumens,—to prepare them, by appropriate instruction, for baptism. But, in that city of scholars and philosophers, it ere long began to assume a learned character, and became a sort of theological seminary, where many of the clergy, both bishops and presbyters, were educated. It had at first only a single teacher, though afterwards there were two or three; but they had no salaries, nor were any buildings appropriated to their use. The teachers gave instruction on their own premises, after the manner of the ancient philosophers. The first superintendent of the school was Pantænus; the second was Clement; and the third, Origen; under whom it reached the height of its prosperity. Subsequently it was under the care of Origen's pupils,—as Heraclas, Dionysius, and the blind Didymus,—until, at the end of the fourth century, it was subverted amidst the commotions of the Alexandrian Church. From the first, it partook of a philosophical character, which it never lost. Of course, it favored the speculations of Origen, and was a means of diffusing them throughout the Eastern Church.

I have said already, that, while Origen admitted the leading facts of the gospel, he was in the habit of explaining them by means of his philosophy. This introduced a species of rationalism, and laid a foundation for the *scholastic* method of teaching, which in the ages following was so much in vogue. At the same time, there was that in the philosophy of Origen which favored seclusion,—an ascetic, monastic course of life,—and which led to the adoption of a *mystic* theology; for, in common with the Platonics, he held that there is something of the divine nature diffused through all human souls, which can be awakened, not by discussion and disputation, but by solitude, silence, internal reflection, the avoidance of all active scenes, and the mortification and subjugation of the body.

We have here the beginning of the two kinds of theology,—the scholastic and mystic,—which ran down through all the middle ages, and continue even to the present time: the former insisting that truth is to be elicited only by study, discussion, and the exercise of reason; while the latter abjures all such methods, and relies alone

upon meditation and seclusion. The rise of the mystic theology at this time gave a new impulse to the monastic spirit, which was already beginning to prevail in the Church.

The period before us was distinguished by its *spurious writings*, many of which were palmed off under the names of apostles and of apostolical men. The more remarkable of this class of writings were "The Apostolical Constitutions" so called, "The Recognitions of Clement," and "The Clementina." The Clement here spoken of was the Roman Clement, a companion of the apostle Paul (Phil. iv. 3). The mystics, too, must have high authority; and so they caused a book to be published under the name of Dionysius the Areopagite, who was converted at Athens through the instrumentality of Paul. This book was translated, and widely circulated in the subsequent ages, and tended mightily to promote the spread of monkery.

The principal heresy of the period before us was the Manichean. Manes, its author, was a Persian, educated among the Magoi, and instructed in all the sciences that were taught by those men. Manes (who was fanatical, if not delirious) undertook to combine the principles of the Magoi with those of Christianity, or rather to explain the latter by the former. He insisted that Christ did not profess to explain the way of salvation fully and perfectly; that he left much to be done by the Paraclete; and that he himself was the promised Comforter: accordingly, he propounded new doctrines, set up a new gospel, and, by his imposing exterior and rigid asceticism, induced many to become his followers. But, being convicted by the Magoi of corrupting their religion, he was put to a cruel death by Varanes I., king of the Persians, about the year 277. It is reported that he was flayed alive, and that his stuffed skin was hung up, *in terrorem*, at the gates of the city.

The religious system of Manes is a compound of Magianism and Gnosticism with Christianity. Manes differed from the Gnostics of the second century in phraseology, and in some points of speculation, as they differed variously among themselves; but I have always regarded him as belonging essentially to the Gnostic family. He agreed with them in tracing all the evils of life to the influence of matter; in regarding the soul in its present state as imprisoned in matter; and in teaching that Christ — who had no material body, but only seemed to have one — was sent into the world to aid in the deliverance of these imprisoned souls. Those who follow the teachings of Christ, and more especially of the Para-

plete whom Christ has sent into the world (i.e., of Manes himself), will be delivered from the contamination of base matter, and ascend ultimately to heaven; while those who neglect the appointed means of purification will pass at death into other bodies — perhaps the bodies of animals — until they become purified and cleansed.

When the greater part of the souls of men shall have been liberated, and restored to the world of light, then, at the command of God, infernal fire will burst forth from the caverns of the earth, and burn up and destroy the whole fabric of Nature. The Prince of Darkness, with all his adherents, and with such of the souls of men as have proved themselves incurable, will then be driven away to their own wretched place, where they will remain forever.

Like the Gnostics, Manes rejected nearly all our sacred books. With the Old Testament he was especially displeased. He pronounced it to be the work, not of God, but of the Prince of Darkness, whom the Jews worshipped in place of God. The Acts of the Apostles he wholly rejected. The Gospels and the Epistles of Paul contained some truth, but had been so adulterated, and stuffed with Jewish fables, as to be unworthy of credit. In place of our Scriptures, he published a gospel of his own, which he affirmed had been dictated to him by God himself.

The rules of life which Manes prescribed to his followers were peculiarly severe. The body must be macerated and mortified in every possible way, and all the instincts and propensities of nature must be subdued, that thus the soul may be redeemed from material corruptions, and prepared for the world of light. He did not expect all his followers, however, to observe these rigorous proscriptions, but only those who aspired to a perfect state. For the rest a more liberal rule was instituted. They might possess property, eat flesh, and live in the marriage state; though their liberty in these respects was subject to limitations.

There were those among the Manichees, as among the Gnostics, who so interpreted their religion as to give it a licentious character. They made so wide a distinction between their physical and their spiritual nature as to suppose that the former might have every indulgence, and yet the latter be not contaminated. So reasoned Augustine, and so he lived, as he himself confesses, during the nine years that he was a Manichee.

Unlike the Gnostics of the second century, the Manicheans were organized into a sort of hierarchy. At the head of the community

were Manes and his successors, occupying the place of pontiff; subject to the pontiff were the twelve apostles; and under these the seventy bishops. Still lower in the grade of office were the presbyters, deacons, and evangelists. In the congregations were two distinct classes, — the mere hearers, and the elect or perfect. The perfect were in the last stage of the process of liberation from the world of matter into the kingdom of light. They observed Sunday, in honor of the sun. They rejected baptism and the Church festivals, but partook of the Lord's Supper without the use of wine.

After the death of Manes, his principles spread much more widely than before. We find them, not only in Persia, but in Asia Minor, in North Africa, in Sicily, and Italy. They were embraced, not only by the ignorant and fanatical, but by some learned and distinguished men. But the sect was persecuted, first by Diocletian, and afterwards by the Christian emperors, until, in the sixth century, it disappeared.

In the period we are reviewing, the discussions which had been commenced in the second century respecting the Trinity were continued and extended. The problem was, to reconcile the persons of the Trinity with the unity of God; and, to solve the difficulty, various expedients were resorted to. Noetus held, as Praxeas had done before him, that the Eternal Father himself became personally united to the man Christ Jesus, and suffered in him. The same doctrine was taught, according to Hippolytus, by Calixtus I., bishop of Rome. He declared the Son to be a mere manifestation of the Father in human form; the Father animating the Son as the spirit animates the body, and suffering with him on the cross. "The Father," says he, "took flesh, and made it God: uniting it with himself, he made it one. Father and Son were, therefore, the name of the one God; and this one person cannot be two. Thus the Father suffered with the Son." Those who use such language cannot be offended when they are called *Patripassians*; nor can Romanists fail to see that at least one of their own pontiffs is chargeable with essential heresy.

Beryllus of Bostra is said to have denied the personal existence of the Son previous to his birth, but held that the Father dwelt in him during his earthly life. Beryllus was so solidly confuted by Origen at a council assembled in Bostra, A.D. 244, that he publicly renounced his error, and returned to the bosom of the Church.

Paul of Samosate, bishop of Antioch, was an ostentatious man, opulent and arrogant, who greatly disquieted the Eastern Church by his novel explanations of the Trinity and the person of Christ. He supposed the Son and Spirit to exist in God, as the *reason* and the *operative power* do in man ; that Christ was born a mere man, but that the reason, the *Logos* of the Father, entered into him, enabling him to teach, and work miracles ; and that, on account of this indwelling of the Divine Word in Christ, we may properly say that Christ is God. He managed for a long time to conceal his sentiments ; but at length they were drawn from him, when he was convicted of error, and divested of his office as bishop.

A heresiarch of the same class, who appeared in the latter part of the third century, was Sabellius. His system is known to us only by a few fragments, and these not altogether consistent with each other. Hence there has been much dispute, both in ancient and modern times, as to his real sentiments. According to some, Sabellius taught that a *divine energy* from the Father united itself with the man Christ Jesus, on account of which he was able to perform miracles, and might, in a modified sense, be called divine. In the opinion of others, the Trinity of Sabellius was but a three-fold *revelation* or *manifestation* of God. The Father is manifested in giving the law ; the Son, in the incarnation ; and the Holy Ghost, in inspiration : and as these peculiar manifestations will at length cease, so the process of Trinitarian development will at length close, and "God will be all in all."

It is obvious that each and all of these theories in regard to the Trinity and the person of Christ are but different forms of Unitarianism. The Trinitarian holds to three persons, or personal distinctions, in the Godhead ; the Unitarian, to but one person. According to this definition, Sabellius was as really a Unitarian as Arius. To be sure, their Unitarianism assumed different forms. Sabellius made no *real, essential* distinction between the Father and the Son : Arius made too wide a distinction. And the probability is that the opposition of the Church to the spread of Sabellianism prepared the way for the introduction of Arianism. In straightening himself up against the former error, Arius went over to the other extreme, and was led to deny the proper divinity of the Son.

The only remaining heresy to be noticed in the period before us is that of the *Novatians*. They did not corrupt the doctrines of Christianity, but, by the severity of their discipline, produced a

lamentable schism in the Church. Novatian, a presbyter of the Church at Rome, insisted that those who had fallen into gross sins, and more especially those who had renounced the faith during the Decian persecution, ought never again to be received to the Church. Cornelius and most of the other presbyters were of a different opinion. Hence, when, in the year 250, Cornelius was chosen bishop of Rome, Novatian withdrew from his communion. In a council held at Rome the next year, Novatian and his adherents were excommunicated. Novatian, therefore, established a new sect, of which he was the first bishop. The sect had many adherents, who were pleased with the severity of its discipline; and it continued to flourish in different parts of Christendom down to the fifth century.

Besides the controversies growing out of the heresies which have been mentioned, several others arose during the period we are reviewing. One was the old dispute respecting the millennium. Origen opposed the Millenarians, and brought them into disrepute; but Nepos, an Egyptian bishop, espoused their cause, and published a book against the *Allegorists*, as he contemptuously styled the followers of Origen. Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria, who had been a pupil of Origen, took up the matter, and, by his writings and oral discussions, succeeded in quelling the rising controversy.

A question arose in the third century as to the validity of heretical baptisms. "Were those who came over from the heretics to the Catholic Church to be received without a new baptism? or were they to be re-baptized?" By most of the Asian and African churches, reclaimed heretics were classed with the catechumens, and were received by baptism; but the Christians of Europe, in general, regarded the baptisms of heretics as valid, and received those who came over to them simply by the imposition of hands and prayer. This diversity of practice had long continued without giving rise to much contention; but, in the period before us, it became the occasion of sharp controversy. The Asiatic Christians attempted to force the whole Church into an adoption of their views. This, Stephen, bishop of Rome, strenuously resisted, and excluded the Asiatics from his fellowship. The controversy, which for a time seemed very portentous, was hushed, partly by the moderation of Cyprian and the other African bishops, and partly by the death of Stephen.

The controversies respecting Origen, which continued to trouble the Church for several centuries, commenced even before Origen's

death. Demetrius, his bishop, was displeased with him because he went out of his jurisdiction to be ordained. It is likely that this difficulty might have been healed had it not been for the *doctrinal* speculations of Origen. Demetrius laid hold of these, and brought them before a council at Alexandria, by which Origen was condemned, and deprived of his ministerial office. Their sentence, however, was disregarded by the Eastern bishops, among whom Origen labored until his death.

The general state of religious feeling and practice in the period before us was less satisfactory than in the second century. This was specially true during the last half of the third century. Persecution had subsided; and the churches were favored with outward prosperity and peace. The effect of this was to awaken ambition, more especially among some of the higher clergy; to beget a selfish, worldly spirit; to relax watchfulness; to induce negligence and sloth, and promote a sinful conformity to the world. Christians at all periods can bear affliction better than they can prosperity and ease.

Then the causes which commenced their deteriorating influence in the previous age continued to operate with increasing force. Rites and forms were multiplied, and in many instances substituted for true Christian spirituality. The philosophic spirit was applauded and cultivated, and its deleterious influence became more and more manifest. It not only corrupted the theology of the Church, but affected its religious life. Celibacy and monkery were much insisted on. Those who renounced a useful and active life, retired into the deserts, and moped away a miserable existence, were regarded with high honor, and held up as examples to the world. The work of missions, too, was not prosecuted in the third century as it had been in the first and second. Christianity made some visible progress, but not so much in heathen lands as in countries where it had before been planted.

Still, notwithstanding all these abatements, there was much earnest piety and holy living in the Church in the period before us. Of Origen and Cyprian I have already spoken; not perfect men, either of them, and yet eminent examples of some of the Christian graces and virtues. The piety of many who lived later was tried and proved in the furnace of the Diocletian persecution. The discipline of the churches was very strict, not only purging out and keeping out every species of immorality, but prohibiting many things which at other periods have been tolerated. Church-

members were forbidden, on pain of excommunication, to attend the popular gladiatorial shows, where murders were often perpetrated to gratify a cruel curiosity. Attendance was also prohibited at all kinds of public spectacles, — as theatres, tragedies, comedies, dances, mimic plays, and races, — because such things were regarded in themselves as unbecoming a Christian; and then they were so closely connected with other heathenish abominations, that to reform and elevate them was impossible. Certain callings, too, were strictly forbidden, — as that of the stage-player, the astrologer, the inn-keeper, and every species of magic; also every thing connected with the manufacture, the decoration, or the sale of images. All business of this nature was prohibited in the Church, and must be renounced by the candidate for baptism. We read of one Theodotus of Ancyra, who had been an inn-keeper; but, after his conversion, he made his house a refuge for the Christians, and a place of prayer, during the Diocletian persecution.

Christians had no power, in the times of which we speak, to abolish slavery in the Roman Empire; yet much was done to improve the intellectual and moral condition of the slaves, to lighten their burthens, and prepare the way for their liberation. There were frequent instances, too, of individual emancipation, especially in the case of Christian masters. There was a Christian by the name of Hermas, in the reign of Trajan, who at his baptism liberated twelve hundred and fifty slaves, and at the same time endowed them with munificent gifts. A wealthy Roman prefect, Chromantius, during the reign of Diocletian, became a Christian, and at his baptism emancipated fourteen hundred slaves. These facts show that the spirit of Christianity at this period — as it must be at all periods — was opposed to slavery, and that the two things could not long exist together. “God,” says Lactantius, “would have all men equal. With him there is neither servant nor master. As he is the same Father to all, they are all by the same right free. No one is poor before God but he who is destitute of righteousness. No one is rich but he who is full of grace.”

I need not say more as to the state of religious feeling and practice among Christians in the period before us. Although the third century was not so interesting in this respect as the second, or even as the fourth, yet the truth was not left without its witnesses. There were trees of righteousness on the earth, and they yielded much precious fruit.

PERIOD IV.

FROM THE REVOLUTION UNDER CONSTANTINE TO THE FALL
OF THE WESTERN ROMAN EMPIRE, A.D. 476.

CHAPTER XX.

EXTERNAL HISTORY OF THE CHURCH DURING THIS PERIOD.

THE revolution under Constantine may be said to have commenced with his accession to the government of his father,—in the year 306. He was at this time an idolater, but, like his father, had no part or sympathy with the persecutions which had been inflicted in other parts of the empire. He was soon engaged in war with Maxentius, one of his colleagues, who governed Italy and Africa. The two armies encountered each other at the Milvian Bridge, near Rome, in the year 312. Maxentius was defeated, and was drowned in the Tiber. It was on his march to this engagement that Constantine saw the sign in the heavens, of which an account was given in a previous chapter. The vision made a great impression upon him; and from this time he commenced carrying *the Labarum*—a standard with the sign of the cross upon it—in front of his armies. From this time he seems to have been intellectually convinced of the truth of the Christian religion, though not, perhaps, that it was the only true religion. His victory over Maxentius gave him entire command of the Western Roman Empire; and in the year 313 he published an edict giving full tolerance not only to the Christian, but to all other religions.

Constantine had still two colleagues in the East,—viz., Maximin and Licinius,—the first of whom was preparing to renew the persecution of the Christians; but, in a war with Licinius, he was defeated, and put an end to his life. The whole empire was now

held by Licinius and Constantine ; but in the following year, 314, Constantine succeeded in wresting Greece, Macedon, Illyria, and several other provinces, from the government of his colleague, and annexing them to his own.

For the next nine years, the two emperors reigned together ; and, although the objects of constant and mutual jealousy, they lived in peace. The two families were in fact connected ; Constantia, the sister of Constantine, being the wife of Licinius. During this interval, the mind of Constantine became more decided towards the Christians ; and he published several edicts in their favor. The punishment of crucifixion was abolished ; labor on the sabbath was in part prohibited ; permission was given to masters to release their Christian slaves ; and men were allowed to bequeath property to the Church.

But, while Constantine was thus showing favor to the Christians, Licinius oppressed them, and was manifesting in various ways his determination to renew the persecution. This, with other causes, led to an open war in the year 323, in which Licinius was defeated, and afterwards put to death.

Having by this victory become sole master of the Roman Empire, Constantine was more than ever decided in his attachment to the Christian faith. He indemnified the churches for their losses in the previous persecutions ; built for them splendid temples ; endeavored by all means to heal their divisions ; and bestowed high honors upon their ministers. He caused copies of the Scriptures to be written out for the use of the churches ; had daily prayers and the reading of the Scriptures in his palace ; and was respectful in his attendance upon public worship. He prescribed a form of prayer to be used by his soldiers ; delivered public addresses in favor of Christianity ; and enjoined upon the governors of provinces to do all in their power to further its progress. Still he prohibited a resort to force for the spread of the gospel, and tolerated all his subjects in the peaceable observance of their religious rites. We cite the following from one of his proclamations : " Let the followers of a false religion enjoy the liberty of sharing in the same peace and tranquillity with the faithful. The restoration of a common and friendly intercourse among men may lead these people in the way of truth. Let no one molest his neighbor ; but let each act according to the inclination of his own soul. The well-disposed only will live in holiness and purity, and find rest in observing God's holy laws. But let those who remain strangers to

them retain, since they wish it, the temples of falsehood. We have the resplendent house of truth, which God has given us in answer to our prayers. We could wish that they, too, might share with us the joy of a common fellowship; yet let no one trouble his neighbor by that which is his own conviction. With the knowledge which he has gained, let him, if possible, profit his neighbor; but, if this is not possible, he should allow his neighbor to go on in his own way: for it is one thing to enter voluntarily into the contest for eternal life, and quite another to force one to it against his will. I have entered thus far into an explanation of these matters, because I was unwilling to keep concealed my own belief of the truth, and because certain persons are affirming that the temple-worship and the power of darkness are to be destroyed."

Notwithstanding this manifesto, it appears, that, in some places, the heathen temples were destroyed, and the sacrifices abolished, during the remaining period of Constantine's reign; but this was done generally, and perhaps always, on account of some disturbance of the public peace, or because of gross and illegal impositions which were practised on the people by the priests.

As to the means employed for the religious instruction and benefit of the emperor we are not particularly informed. His mother, Helena, was an earnest Christian, who built many churches, and spent much time and labor at Jerusalem in searching for the holy sepulchre and the true wood of the cross; but it is generally thought that she was converted through the influence of her son, and not that he was converted by her influence.

It is stated by Zosimus, that, after the death of Licinius, a certain Egyptian came out of Spain to Rome, and was instrumental in the conversion of Constantine. This Egyptian was, undoubtedly, the venerable Hosius, bishop of Corduba, who from this time was held in high honor by the emperor. He became his chief counsellor in ecclesiastical affairs, and had much influence in the great Council of Nice. There is also a tradition, that when distressed for sin, and especially for the sin of blood-guiltiness, the emperor inquired of the pagan priests whether they knew of any way in which his sins could be expiated and his conscience relieved. They answered him in the negative; but Hosius took the matter up, and pointed him to the blood of Christ, which cleanseth from all sin. This thought is said to have had much weight with the emperor, and to have attached him immovably to the faith of Christ.

It is no evidence against the sincerity of Constantine that he

did not partake of the sacraments, and become formally a member of the Church of Christ, until near the close of life ; for so long as the opinion prevailed that baptism washed away all sin up to the time of its administration, and that sins committed after baptism were next to unpardonable, it was deemed a matter of prudence, especially among those who were much exposed to temptation, to defer their baptism as long as possible. This did many of those who were in public stations in the third and fourth centuries. This did Constantine ; and for the reason above stated. His baptism is thus described by one of the fathers : “ Being clothed in a white garment, and laid upon his bed, he was baptized in a solemn manner by Eusebius of Nicomedia.”

If it be inquired here whether Constantine was a *true* Christian, a regenerated person, I frankly acknowledge that I cannot tell. That he was the subject of a great change of religious opinion, of feeling, and of conduct, during his life, there can be no doubt. That he heartily renounced the idolatry of his fathers, and became a sincere believer in Christianity, regarding it not only as a true religion, but ultimately as the *only* true religion, is unquestionable. That he desired the diffusion of this religion, sought its interests, and did all in his power to promote them as he understood them, not only his words, but his *acts*, during the last half of his reign, abundantly declare. And yet his life was not altogether consistent with the rules of the gospel. Judged of according to our Puritan standards, his character would be found in many respects defective. Perhaps—considering the circumstances of his education, the temptations with which he was surrounded, the momentous public interests intrusted to him, and the stormy period and course of life in which he was called to move—these defects were no greater than might reasonably be expected. God knows how to make allowance for them, if we do not ; and the question of his piety, which has been so often mooted, must be left to the judgment of Him to whom all hearts are open, and “ by whom actions are weighed.”

I have said already that Constantine earnestly sought to advance the interests of religion *according to his understanding of them*. That in some of his endeavors he made great mistakes there can be no doubt. Thus the honors which he heaped upon the ministers of religion, and more especially upon the bishops, tended to foster a spirit of worldly ambition, and disqualify them for the right performance of their holy duties. Of the same tendency was the care

which he took to build splendid churches, to furnish them with costly ornaments, and endow them with almost unlimited wealth. Constantine thought in this way to show his regard for the new religion, and to advance its interests by making it respectable in the eyes of the world; but a spirit of pride was by this means infused into the body itself, and an injury was inflicted for which no outward embellishments could afford a compensation.

It was under Constantine, too, that the Church entered upon its new experiment of being united with the State. Before, it had encountered the whole power of the State, and had triumphed over it; but now—with the design to protect it, and advance its interests—it was taken into the embrace of the State, and incorporated with it. And the experience of fifteen hundred years has shown that the connection is an unnatural one,—damaging to both parties. Its influence upon the Church has been to stifle its energies, to corrupt its spirit, to induce a false dependence, and impregnate it with spiritual disease and death.

By the building of Constantinople, and making it the capital of his empire, Constantine effected a great change in the outward condition of the Church: for the new imperial city must have a bishop; and, in point of honor and authority, he must be equal to the bishop of Rome. And here commenced the strife between these two great prelates,—a strife which has continued for long centuries, and the results of which, in the separation of the Greek and Latin churches, remain to the present time.

Constantine was the instrument, under God, of bringing the Church into a state of great outward prosperity and glory: but the experience of ages has shown that prosperity is more dangerous to the Church of God than adversity; that it can better endure a Diocletian persecution than a long-continued course of worldly favor and honor. The former, by the grace of God, tends to promote humility, spirituality, a weanedness from the world, and holy trust; while the latter more commonly begets pride, self-sufficiency, forgetfulness of God, and thus prepares the way either for sore chastisements, or for speedy abandonment and ruin.

Constantine died in the year 337, and was succeeded by his three sons,—Constantius, Constantine II., and Constans; the first governing in the East, and the other two in the West. Constantine also left two brothers who had sons; but with the exception of two of the sons, Gallus and Julian, these were all put to death.

Constantine II. died in 340, only three years after his father; and, ten years later, Constans fell in a war with Maxentius, a usurper. From this time, Constantius ruled the whole empire until the year 361, when he died. The sons of Constantine all pursued their father's purpose of abolishing the ancient superstitions of the Romans, and propagating Christianity throughout the empire, but not with their father's moderation and wisdom. They resorted to harsh edicts and persecuting force. They commanded that the heathen temples everywhere should be shut up, and that no person should be allowed to visit them. All sacrifices, and consultation of the oracles and of soothsayers, were prohibited under penalty of confiscation and death.

It is refreshing to know that some eminent Christian ministers protested against these measures, and predicted that no good could come of them. Thus Athanasius remarks, "It is an evidence that men want confidence in their own faith when they use force, and constrain men against their wills. So Satan, because there is no truth in him, wherever he gains admittance, pays away with hatchet and sword: whereas the Saviour forces no one, but only knocks at the door; and, if the door is opened, he goes in; but, if any one is unwilling to open the door, he withdraws."

• The harsh measures of Constantius had paved the way for a re-action; and no sooner was he dead than reverses came. His successor was Julian, one of the spared nephews of Constantine, and a cousin of Constantius. He had been educated for the Christian ministry, and consecrated as a reader in the Church; but he had no taste or fitness for the sacred profession. There were many things to prejudice him against Christianity, not the least of which was the murder of his father and brothers that they might not stand in the way of the Constantine family. He had been secretly attached to the pagan rites for a considerable time before he came to the throne; and no sooner did his reign commence than he threw off all disguise, and proclaimed his purpose to re-establish the old heathen worship. He ordered the temples to be opened, those that were decayed to be repaired, and new ones to be built. Altars were everywhere set up, and the whole machinery of paganism was again put in motion.

His first act in the morning was to offer sacrifice; and by his presence and example he encouraged the same practice in others. He repealed the laws which had been enacted against idolatry, reformed its abuses, and did all in his power to make it respectable

and useful. With great importunity, he exhorted magistrates to correct the vices of men, and relieve their miseries; assuring them that the gods would reward them for all such endeavors. Priests, he said, should so live as to be an example to others; and dissolute ones should be expelled from office. He established schools for the education of youth, monasteries for devout persons, hospitals for the sick, and alms-houses for the relief of the poor and destitute. All these things he had learned from the Christians; and he endeavored to ingraft them upon his reformed idolatry.

Julian did not directly persecute Christianity. He was too politic to adopt such a measure, or rather he did not live long enough to attempt it with success; but he pursued a course in regard to the Christians which had all the effect of persecution without its obloquy. He ridiculed them and their divine Master; shut them out from all places of honor and authority; forbade them to be instructed in Gentile learning; and used every artifice to draw them into a compliance with pagan superstitions. He wantonly plundered their churches and ministers. He wrote books against them himself, and encouraged others to do the same. He patronized the Jews just because of their enmity to the Christians, and vainly undertook to rebuild their city and temple. In this attempt, however, he was defeated. Balls of fire, issuing from the ground with a tremendous explosion, scattered both his materials and his workmen. The fact of such explosions is well attested; but there is no reason to regard them as miracles. In removing the rubbish from the site of the old temple, phosphoric elements may have been encountered, or inflammable gases let loose in sufficient quantities to account for all the phenomena.

Had Julian reigned as long as Constantine, he might have inflicted incalculable injuries upon the Christian cause, and done much towards re-establishing idolatry in the vast Roman Empire. But Providence had ordered otherwise respecting him. Soon after he came to the throne, he madly engaged in a war with the Persians. At the head of his armies he marched into the East, where he was mortally wounded, and died in the thirty-second year of his age, when he had reigned only twenty months.

In his personal habits, Julian was grossly ascetic. He lived chiefly on vegetables, wore common clothing, slept on the floor, suffered his beard and nails to grow like the anchorites of Egypt, and neglected the rules even of decency and cleanliness. In one of his publications he boasts of his cynic coarseness, and describes

with great complacence his long nails, his ink-stained hands, and his uncombed hair and beard, filled — *horribile dictu!* — with insects.

To Julian succeeded Jovian; an excellent prince, who seems to have been a true Christian. He did what he could to reform abuses, to restore Christian worship, and to discountenance the pagan rites, though he would not resort to persecution. He died at the end of seven months, much to the sorrow of all good men.

Jovian was succeeded by two brothers, Valentinian and Valens. The former governed in the West, the latter in the East. Valentinian followed the plan of Jovian in the affairs of the Church; earnestly encouraging the cause of the Christians, but refusing to persecute the Pagans. He prohibited, however, divination and enchantment, and appropriated the revenues of some of the heathen temples for the support of the government.

Valens was a man of less capacity than his brother, and of far less principle. He fell in with the Arian party in religion; and, instead of persecuting the pagans, he persecuted his brethren of the Nicene faith. He drove Athanasius from Alexandria for the fourth time; and on one occasion no less than eighty Orthodox ministers were burned at sea with his connivance, if not by his order.* A little before his death, Valens repented of his persecutions, and recalled the bishops whom he had sent into exile. He perished in a battle with the Goths in the year 378, having reigned fourteen years. His brother Valentinian died three years before him.

Gratian, the eldest son of Valentinian, succeeded him in the West; and, after the death of Valens, Theodosius was appointed to the government of the East. Gratian seems to have been not only an upright, conscientious ruler, but a truly pious man. From conscientious scruples he refused the title of *Pontifex Maximus*, which had always belonged to the Roman emperors. He declared, that, as its whole nature was idolatrous, he could not, as a Christian, consent to assume it. At the very commencement of his reign, he wrote to the celebrated Ambrose, bishop of Milan, for instruction in divine things: "Come to me immediately, holy priest, that you may teach me the doctrine of salvation. I would not study for contention, but that the revelation of the Divinity may dwell more richly in my breast." Gratian labored assiduously, in connection

* See Milner's Ecc. Hist., vol. ii. p. 159.

with Theodosius, for the suppression of idolatry and the propagation of the truth, until the year 383, when, in attempting to quell a rebellion in Britain, he lost his life.

He was succeeded by his younger brother, Valentinian II., who reigned in the West until the year 392. In the first part of his reign he was very much under the influence of his mother Justina, who was an Arian, and who persuaded him to persecute Ambrose and other Orthodox men; but in the latter part of his life he became reconciled to Ambrose, and loved and honored him as a father. In the near prospect of death, he sent for Ambrose to baptize him; and the venerable bishop of Milan pronounced his funeral oration, which is still extant.

At this time, Theodosius, who had reigned for many years in the East, became sole emperor of Rome. He was one of the best of the Roman emperors, who, by the wisdom and energy of his government, secured for himself the title of *Theodosius the Great*. He exerted himself with great energy for the suppression of idolatry, particularly in Egypt and in the West. In the Temple of Serapis, at Alexandria, there was an image of the god, of which it had been affirmed, that, if any man touched it, the earth would open, the heavens be dissolved, and all things return to their original chaos. One of the soldiers of Theodosius was hardy enough to make the attempt. With his axe he cleft down the image; when, lo! a flock of mice ran out of it. The awful image had been converted into a mouse-nest, whence the little animals came forth, night by night, and feasted upon the sacrifices.

As the course of Nature was not interrupted by the violence done to the image, its votaries gave out that the Nile would never overflow again. But here, again, they were disappointed. The Nile returned to its course at the proper time; and its waters rose higher than usual.

Coming to Rome in the latter part of his reign, Theodosius sternly prohibited a further observance of the pagan rites. Men should no longer frequent the altars, or offer sacrifices or incense, or consult the entrails of beasts. This was a fatal blow to paganism, from which it never recovered.

Theodosius expired at Milan, in the year 395, at the age of sixty; having reigned sixteen years. He was succeeded in the empire by his two sons, Arcadius and Honorius; the former ruling over the East, and the latter the West. Both of these were feeble but well-meaning men, distinguished rather for the pomp and splendor in

which they lived than for the vigor or success of their administrations.

Honorius was continually annoyed by incursions of the barbarians, until, in the year 409, Rome was captured and pillaged by the Goths. At the same time, Gaul and Spain were overrun by the same people; and Britain — being abandoned by the Romans — was left to take care of itself. The native Britons, being unable to resist the incursions of the Picts and Scots, called over the Saxons to their assistance. The Saxons came, drove back the Picts and Scots, and the Britons with them, and established their government over the country. They annihilated the old British Church, and brought back paganism: so that England needed to be Christianized the second time, — a work which was not accomplished until the seventh century.

Honorius died in the year 423, after a turbulent but inglorious reign of twenty-eight years. He was succeeded by Valentinian III., — a weak, debauched, and wicked man, who reigned rather by the sufferance of his enemies than by his own valor and strength. — At the instance of Leo, bishop of Rome, he enacted some laws which tended greatly to increase the power of the Roman pontiffs. He prohibited all bishops from making any innovations without permission from the pope: he declared that the enactments of the see of Rome should be a law to all other bishops; and that, if any bishop should disregard the summons of the bishop of Rome to appear before him, he should be compelled to do so by the governor of the province. These were important stepping-stones towards that height of usurpation to which the popes of Rome at length attained.

During the twenty years next following the death of Valentinian III. (which occurred in the year 455), no less than eight persons claimed to be emperors of Western Rome; of the most of whom we know nothing but their names. The last of them was Romulus, surnamed Augustus, but more commonly called, in contempt, Augustulus. He was dethroned by Odoacer, a Gothic chieftain, in the year 476; and the Western Roman Empire came to an end.

The changes in the East during the same period were not so frequent as in the West. While Arcadius lived, he was constantly distressed by invading barbarians, and was governed chiefly by his eunuchs and ministers. He died in the year 408, leaving the empire to his son, Theodosius II., who was only seven years of age.

Theodosius was of weak understanding, like his father, and far less respectable in point of character; but he had a sister Pulcheria, older than himself, who took the chief direction of public affairs, and managed them with energy and wisdom. He carried on a war successfully against the king of the Persians, and rescued many Christians from persecution and death. He also caused a revision of the Roman laws, and published what is called the "Theodosian Code," which continued in force many years, both in the East and the West. Theodosius died in the year 450, after a reign of forty-two years. In this time, Genseric, king of the Vandals, had established himself in Africa; and Attila, "the scourge of God," had ravaged some of the fairest provinces of the Romans.

After the death of Theodosius, his sister Pulcheria became the wife of Marcion, whom she constituted emperor in place of her brother. Marcion was a wise and virtuous prince, who loved religion, and passed some very good laws in regard to it. He died after a reign of seven years; and the Greek Church has honored his memory by a festival.

Marcion was succeeded by Leo, who died in 474; and he by Zeno, who reigned almost to the end of the century.

There was little persecution from the heathen in the period before us, if we except one set on foot by the Persians in the fifth century. As the Persians and Romans were perpetual enemies, and as the Christians residing in Persia were suspected of being favorable to the Romans, they were constantly exposed to suffer for this cause. A vast number of Christians, we are told, perished in Persia in these troublous times.

But though the Christians in the Roman Empire were not exposed, as formerly, to persecution from the heathen, the different sects were engaged often in annoying and persecuting one another. The Arians and Donatists persecuted the Orthodox; and the Orthodox persecuted them. Each party saw the wrong of it when practised upon themselves, while each stood ready to practise the same so soon as it had the power. It was a shame for those who had so recently come out of the fires of heathen persecution to be seen inflicting the same cruelties one upon another.

The Christians also suffered dreadfully from the incursions of the barbarians, — the Goths, the Vandals, and more especially the Huns. The churches might, indeed, have been exterminated, but that the invaders after a time were induced to change their religion, and become nominally Christian. Their principal motive

seems to have been, that they thought the God of the Christians more powerful than their own.

But, notwithstanding these adverse circumstances, Christianity made some progress both in the East and in the West. Through the efforts of Constantine and his successors, churches were planted in Armenia and Abyssinia in the fourth century. Into Iberia (now Georgia) a captive Christian woman was the means of introducing Christianity. The king and queen were induced by her to send to Constantinople for teachers to instruct them and their people in the principles of the gospel.

In the fifth century, the inhabitants of Mount Lebanon applied to Simeon the Stylite to know how they might be delivered from the ravages of wild beasts. Simeon told them that their only remedy was to forsake the idolatry of their ancestors, and embrace the gospel. They listened to him, and became Christians; and the beasts, we are told, departed from them.

It was within the period under review, that Coelestine, bishop of Rome, sent Succathus, a Scotchman, on a mission to Ireland. He was very successful in his work; and, having converted many of the Irish to the faith, he, in 472, established at Armagh the bishopric of Ireland. His name was now changed to Patricius (St. Patrick); and he is regarded to this day as the Apostle of Ireland. Though not altogether free from the superstitions of the times, the veritable St. Patrick was an earnest, devoted Christian, — a very different person from what is generally supposed by Romanists at this day.

CHAPTER XXI.

CHURCH-ORGANIZATION, RELIGIOUS RITES AND TEACHERS, IN THIS PERIOD.

WITH the revolution under Constantine, the Church of Christ entered upon the new experiment of being united with the State. Though it had been previously a power *in* the State, it had been separate from it, and opposed and persecuted by it; but now it was formally taken up by the State, and connected, incorporated, with it.

This change, it must be allowed, was attended with some advantages. The clergy were exempt, not only from persecution, but from public burthens, and in most instances were liberally supported. Houses of worship were built, protected, and often endowed. Laws were enacted, too, for the observance of the Lord's day, which from this time began to be called *dies solis*,—Sunday. Numerous reforms were also effected in social and domestic life. Slavery, instead of being protected, was discountenanced; emancipation was made more easy; and legislation in general began to assume a more Christian aspect: but these advantages might have been as well secured without that close connection which was now established between Church and State,—a connection which has been continued, much to the injury of the Church, in most Christian countries, from the days of Constantine to the present time.

When Constantine undertook the government of the Church, he retained to himself the control only of its *external* affairs; leaving those of an *internal* nature to the direction of the bishops. But, as the distinction between external and internal was not in all cases obvious, he became virtually *the head of the Church*. He called councils, promulgated and enforced their decrees, deposed bishops, decided controversies, and did every thing, as occasion presented, which a temporal head could do; and his successors

continued to do the same down to the dissolution of the Western Empire. If there was any pope in the Church during this period, it must have been the emperor.

The government of the Church was Episcopal when Constantine took it; and so it continued to be afterwards. And yet its outward organization was somewhat modified, that it might the better conform to the civil divisions of the empire. As there were four *praetorian prefects*, so there must be four great prelates, called *patriarchs*, presiding over the churches in each prefecture; viz., those of Rome, Antioch, Alexandria, and Constantinople. Next to these were the *exarchs*, corresponding to the civil exarchs. Then came the *metropolitans*, who governed each a single province. After them were the archbishops, and then the bishops. Below these were the chorepiscopi, or rural bishops, the presbyters, deacons, and sub-deacons.

The first among these ecclesiastics was undoubtedly the bishop of Rome; and yet his primacy at this period was not one of order, but only of degree. He had no claim as yet, nor for centuries afterward, to that spiritual supremacy and authority which he at length assumed.

Several reasons concurred at this time to give to the bishop of Rome a sort of primacy among his brethren. In the first place, his was an *apostolic church*, nurtured by some one or more of the apostles, if not planted by them; and there (as was commonly supposed) the apostles Peter and Paul were buried. Then the bishop of Rome exceeded all other bishops in the amplitude and splendor of his church, in the magnitude of his revenues and possessions, in the number of his assistants or ministers, in the weight of his influence with the people at large, and in the sumptuousness and magnificence of his style of living. Also Valentinian III. had been induced to publish some decrees in his favor. He had prohibited all bishops from making any changes or innovations without his permission, and had decided that his enactments should be universally regarded. Still the bishop of Rome was no more than a *primus inter pares*, — a leader among his brethren, — subject, like all the bishops, to the control of the emperor, who, as I said, was the virtual head of the Church.

The churches enjoyed at this period, as they had done from the beginning, the privilege of electing their own pastors; but in the large churches these elections were in some instances shamefully conducted. They were even carried by bribery and violence.

Thus, at an election which took place at Rome in the year 366, when Damasus was created bishop, the contest issued in a bloody warfare, in which much property was sacrificed, and many lost their lives.

There had been synods or councils in the churches from about the middle of the second century ; but in this period the plan of councils was much extended, and there came to be held what were called *Œcumenical* or *General Councils*. The first of these was assembled at Nice, in Bythinia, in the year 325. It was called by Constantine, chiefly with a view to settle the Arian controversy, and restore peace to the Church. It consisted, as is generally supposed, of three hundred and eighteen members, collected chiefly from the Eastern churches, besides a great many spectators, who were drawn together, either from motives of curiosity, or to increase their knowledge of divine things. The council assembled in a vast hall, with no presiding officer, unless it was the emperor. The members came in, took their places round the hall, and continued standing until the emperor entered and took his place. When he was seated, the members of the council were seated also. An address was then delivered to him by some one of the bishops ; to which he responded, and bade the members proceed to business. A free discussion now followed. Individuals of different sentiments offered their opinions ; while the emperor heard, remarked, commended, or disapproved, and so influenced the whole proceeding as to bring about a good degree of unanimity. Yet he did not act as dictator or judge, but left the bishops to decide all questions of faith and discipline for themselves. He regarded them as the divinely-constituted judges in such matters, and only wished them to come to an amicable agreement. How many sessions were held by this council we are not informed ; but, when the business was ended, the emperor gave to the members a splendid banquet in his own palace.

Of the result of this great council I shall have occasion to speak in another connection. The members were brought to the place of meeting, and returned, in public conveyances ; and were supported, while together, at the public expense. Few councils in modern times have been so liberally provided for and entertained.

This first experiment of a general council was so well approved, that others followed it in frequent succession. The second was called by Theodosius the Great, at Constantinople, in the year 381, and consisted of a hundred and fifty bishops. The principal object

of this council was, still further to define and settle the doctrine of the Trinity, and guard it against the perversions of the Semi-Arians. The Nicene Creed was revised and enlarged; and that which is now commonly published as the Nicene Creed is more properly the Creed of the Council of Constantinople. This council also anathematized all the heresies then known. It assigned to the bishop of Constantinople a rank next after the bishop of Rome, and made such other regulations as the interests of the Church seemed to require.

The third general council was assembled by Theodosius II., at Ephesus, in the year 431. The subject in dispute still was that of the Trinity and the person of Christ. It was by this council that Nestorius, bishop of Constantinople, was condemned, on the charge of holding that in Christ there are not only two natures, but two persons.

The fourth general council, like the preceding, was assembled at Ephesus at the request of Eutyches, the chief promoter of the Monophysite heresy. The council was under the direction of Dioscorus, bishop of Alexandria; and came together in the year 449. In it Eutyches was acquitted of all error, and the Monophysite doctrine was confirmed. Such, however, was the violence with which every thing was carried in the council, that it has not improperly been called an "Assembly of Robbers."

The fifth general council was summoned by the emperor Marcion, and met at Chalcedon, in the year 451. At this, the decision of the "Assembly of Robbers" was revoked, and the Monophysite errors were condemned. And here we have the origin of the Monophysite heresy, which so long divided the Eastern Church, and which still divides it. The present Armenians, Copts, and Abyssinians are descendants of the ancient Monophysites, as the present Nestorians are of the ancient followers of Nestorius.

There were other general councils besides those here described; but they do not fall within the period under review.

I have spoken before of the tendency early manifested to add to the ritual of the Christian Church,—to multiply outward forms and ceremonies. This tendency continued in the period before us, until the saying of Augustine was fully verified, that "the yoke once laid upon the Jews was more supportable than that borne by many Christians in his time." These new rites were mostly borrowed from the heathen temples, under the impression that the heathen would more readily embrace Christianity if they found

the rites handed down to them from their fathers still in use among the Christians, and saw Christ and the martyrs worshipped in the same manner as their gods had been in former times. From this period there was little difference between the external worship of the Christians and that of the Greeks and Romans. In both there were splendid robes, mitres, tiaras, wax tapers, crosiers, processions, lustrations, images, gold and silver vases, and many other like things.*

Christian temples at this period were greatly multiplied and richly adorned. A part of them were intended for public worship; but others were *monumental* in their character. They were built at the tombs of the martyrs, and were called *Martyria*. Both were furnished with pictures and images, and consecrated with rites borrowed from the heathen. As an inducement to opulent families to build churches, they were endowed with what was called the right of *patronage*: in other words, it was permitted to these families and their descendants to say who should occupy the churches built by them, and be entitled to their revenues. This right of patronage has descended to our own times, and has been a constant source of corruption in the State churches of Europe.

Another custom came from the heathen to the Christian temples in the period before us. They were used as an *asylum* for fugitive slaves and criminals, where they were protected for a time from their masters and from the officers of justice. This custom, which may have been benevolent in its origin, degenerated into one of intolerable abuse. The vilest criminals were harbored and protected in the churches as servants of the priests, and were often employed by them for the basest purposes.

The public worship of the Christians still consisted, as at the first, in hymns, prayers, reading the Scriptures, a discourse to the people, and the celebration of the Lord's Supper. But all congregations did not follow the same order or rule; each bishop being left to prescribe to his flock such a form of worship as he judged expedient. The discourses at this period were not the simple exhortations of the first century, but had become *artistic*, and were better calculated, often, to win admiration than to impress the heart; and the people were allowed to express their admiration by cheering, clapping, and other noisy demonstrations of applause.

The first day of the week was observed as the weekly sabbath,

* See Middleton's Letters from Rome.

and was protected by the laws. In most congregations, five annual festivals were also observed; viz., those in honor of the Saviour's birth, of his sufferings and death, of his resurrection, of his ascension, and of the descent of the Holy Spirit. The Eastern Christians celebrated the Saviour's birth and baptism on the same day (the 6th of January), which was called the Epiphany; but, by the Western Christians, the 25th of December was consecrated to the memory of our Saviour's birth. This, however, was not fixed before the fifth century. One circumstance which decided the Western Christians in favor of the 25th of December was, that the heathen had a festival at this time, called *Yule*, to celebrate the birth of the sun, or its beginning to return from the winter solstice. It was with them a time of great merriment and rejoicing. The Christian fathers hoped to conciliate the pagans by celebrating the birth of Christ on the same day. From this time, Christmas became, like *Yule*, a season of merriment; and "A merry Christmas!" is still the first salutation of the day.

For the more convenient administration of baptism, *baptisteries* were erected near the churches, and furnished with fountains and cisterns. Some of these were spacious and elegant buildings, in which the catechumens were accustomed to assemble for instruction. The Lord's Supper was celebrated, not only in the churches, but at the tombs of the martyrs, and often at funerals. Hence arose the custom of saying masses for the dead. Previous to distribution, the bread and wine were elevated, so that they might be seen and revered by the people. From this practice originated what is called by Romanists the elevation and worship of the sacred symbols, — the host.

In the latter part of the period before us, the love-feasts, which had long been observed in connection with the sacred supper, were abolished. They were so grossly perverted and abused, that it was no longer possible to continue them.

Owing to the superior efficacy ascribed to fasting in repelling the assaults of evil spirits, the number of public fasts was increased. The most sacred of these fasts was that of *Lent*, although the number of days was not yet definitely fixed. In the sixth century, it was made to continue, as it does at present, for forty days. In these long fasts, however, the people did not abstain from food and drink, but only from wine and flesh.

The church-fathers of the period under review were more distinguished for talents and learning than those of any previous age.

Among the more eminent of them were Eusebius Pamphilus, the church-historian, and the particular friend and counsellor of Constantine ; Athanasius, bishop of Alexandria ; Basil, surnamed the Great ; Cyril, bishop of Jerusalem ; John Chrysostom, the most eloquent preacher in the ancient Church ; Gregory Nazianzen and Gregory Nyssa ; Ephraim the Syrian ; Hosius, bishop of Corduba ; Hilary of Poitiers ; Lactantius, who has been styled the Christian Cicero ; Ambrose, bishop of Milan ; Jerome, the learned monk of Palestine ; Augustine, bishop of Hippo ; Rufinus ; Leo the Great, bishop of Rome ; and Paul Orosius, the historian. Of each of these I shall give a brief notice. To write fully respecting them would require volumes.

Eusebius, surnamed Pamphilus, bishop of Cæsarea in Palestine, is to be distinguished from Eusebius of Nicomedia, as being a far more learned and respectable man. He was born about the year 270, at Cæsarea ; and here he resided ever afterwards. During the first half of his life, he was in great intimacy with the martyr Pamphilus, — a learned, wealthy, and devout man of Cæsarea, who established an extensive library, from which Eusebius drew his vast stores of learning. In the persecution under Diocletian, Pamphilus was seized and cast into prison, where he remained two years. Eusebius was constantly with him during his long confinement, endeavoring to console and strengthen him, and ministering to his wants. After the martyrdom of his friend, Eusebius fled, — first to Tyre, and afterwards into Egypt, where he remained till the close of the persecution. Upon his return to Cæsarea, about the year 314, he was constituted bishop of his own city. In the year 325 he attended the great Council of Nice, where he was appointed to address the emperor on his entering the council, and had the honor to be seated at his right hand. The first draft of the Nicene Creed is said to have been written by him ; to which the term *ὁμοουσιον* and the anathemas were afterwards added, and not without some scruples on the part of Eusebius. He has been denounced by his enemies as an Arian, but certainly without sufficient reason. He believed in the proper divinity of Christ ; regarding him as an eternal emanation from the Father, and consequently as in eternal subordination to him, — “ God of God, Light of Light, very God of very God.” If he was not a strict Trinitarian on the ground of the Bible, he was so in the philosophic sense of the age in which he lived. Still he was a liberal, moderate man ; belonged to a moderate party in

the Church ; and could not go all lengths on either side. About the year 330, he was offered the patriarchal chair at Antioch ; which he declined, on the ground that the ancient customs of the Church forbade the transfer of bishops from one see to another. He died about the year 340, — some three years after the death of his great patron and friend, Constantine.

Eusebius wrote many books, the more important of which are the following : A chronological work, entitled “ The Chronicon ; ” his “ *Preparatio Evangelica*,” in fifteen books ; his “ *Demonstratio Evangelica*,” in twenty books ; his work against Hierocles, in defence of Christianity ; his “ *Life of Constantine* ; ” and his “ *Oration in Praise of Constantine*.” But the work by which he is chiefly known and valued is his “ *Ecclesiastical History*.” His was the first proper Christian history that was written after the Acts of the Apostles. He had access to the best helps for composing his history ; and it is a thesaurus of facts and documents respecting the early state of the Church, which, but for him, must in all probability have been lost.*

Athanasius was born at Alexandria about the year 298. He had a good education, and early displayed great strength of mind, and uncommon sagacity as a disputant and a man of business. He was ordained a deacon at the age of twenty-one. He became the confidant and chief counsellor of his bishop, Alexander, whom he accompanied to the Council of Nice in the year 325. In the business and discussions of the council he was very active, and acquired much reputation. Upon the death of Alexander, the following year, Athanasius became bishop of Alexandria when but twenty-eight years old.

For half a century, he was the head of the Orthodox party in the Arian controversy. This rendered him extremely odious to the Arians, and involved him in disputes and sufferings for the greater part of his life. False accusations were raised against him ; and a council was held at Cæsarea in the year 334, before which he was summoned, but did not appear. The next year, he was commanded by Constantine to appear before a council at Tyre, and answer to various charges against his moral character. As his trial proceeded, charge after charge was shown to be unfounded ; and the prosecution appeared evidently to be the result

* The History of Eusebius comes down to the year 421. It was continued by Theodoret, bishop of Cyrus, to the year 427 ; by Socrates and Sozomen to 439 ; and by Evagrius to 594.

of malice. Socrates has recorded one article of charge which is too clearly characteristic of Arian management and iniquity to be omitted. Athanasius was said to have murdered a person by the name of Arsenius, to have cut off his hand, and to have preserved it for magical purposes. In proof of this, a box was produced, out of which a dead hand, dried and salted, was taken, and exhibited to the council. It providentially turned out that Arsenius, who had been profoundly secreted by the Arians, was discovered at Tyre just before this affair was introduced. He was taken immediately into the custody of Athanasius; and no sooner had the hand of the murdered victim been exhibited to the council, than the victim himself, with both his hands, was exhibited alive!

But, nothing daunted by this defeat, the enemies of Athanasius despatched commissioners into Egypt to hunt up new charges and witnesses against him. Fully satisfied that no justice was to be expected from such a tribunal, Athanasius now left it, and repaired directly to the emperor at Constantinople. The account which he gave of the transactions of the synod so excited the emperor's indignation, that he ordered the bishops to depart immediately from Tyre, and to appear before him. But a small portion of them, however, dared to comply. Only Eusebius of Nicomedia and a few others came to the emperor; but these, waiving all their former charges, endeavored to persuade the emperor that Athanasius had threatened to stop the fleet which brought corn from Alexandria to Constantinople. The credulous Constantine listened to the report: intrigue and falsehood prevailed, and Athanasius was banished to Trèves, in Gaul; and here he remained in exile until the death of Constantine.

Upon the death of the emperor, Athanasius returned to Alexandria. He was again banished by a council at Antioch, in the year 341; his see was declared vacant; and one Gregory, an Arian, was appointed to succeed him. He now fled to Rome, where he was fully justified and protected; and the proceedings of the council at Antioch were annulled. In the year 347, through the influence of Constans, one of the sons of Constantine, he was permitted to return to his see: but, upon the death of Constans, Constantius, who was an Arian, instituted proceedings against him; and, in 355, he was for the third time driven away. He now took refuge among the recluses of Egypt until the death of Constantius, — in the year 361. This seems to have been the most quiet and happy part of the good man's life. He was greatly beloved by the

devout religionists among whom he dwelt, and spent his time in writing letters and some religious treatises, which are still extant.

Upon the accession of Julian, Athanasius once more returned to his flock; but his stay among them was short. Julian, though averse to persecution, was persuaded to send Athanasius away. He was in exile, however, only a few months, when Julius was slain in battle, and Jovian succeeded him. Jovian immediately took Athanasius under his protection, restored him to his flock, confirmed him in office, and made him his counsellor in religious things; but Jovian died in less than a year, and Athanasius was again left to the fury of his enemies. The Roman Empire was now divided; and Valens, a man of weak mind and of Arian principles, became the emperor of the East. Not long after his accession, Athanasius was for the fifth time expelled; and the governor of Alexandria undertook to drive him from the city. But the venerable bishop had prudently retired; and for several months he lay concealed in his own father's sepulchre. No wonder he should thus seem to desire and to anticipate the quiet of the tomb.

Valens found it necessary at last, in order to appease the people, to recall their bishop; nor could any exertions of the Arians induce him to disturb Athanasius more. After the continued changes and sufferings through which he had passed, the good old man was allowed to spend the remainder of his weary life in peace. The many storms which had beat upon him were blown over; and the sun of prosperity shone forth to gild the evening of his days. He was spared to his people for several years to enlighten them by his wisdom, benefit them by his experience, and confirm them by his holy and upright example. He died in the year 373, at the age of seventy-five; having been a bishop forty-six years. His works are chiefly controversial, consisting of numerous letters, discourses, and tracts, several of which are still extant. Many spurious works have been ascribed to him, one of which is the so-called Athanasian Creed.

I have dwelt so long upon the checkered life of Athanasius, that I shall be under the necessity of proceeding more summarily with the remaining fathers of this period.

Basil, surnamed the Great, was born at Cæsarea, in Cappadocia, about the year 329. He had a thorough education, and was employed several years as a teacher of rhetoric in his native place. He then retired to a monastery for thirteen years, and, from that period onward, was a rigid ascetic and monk. In the year 363 he

was called to Cæsarea, and ordained presbyter; and in 370 he was created archbishop of the province. He still dressed and lived like a monk, but was a most active and efficient bishop. He corrected the morals of the clergy, established discipline in the churches, promoted orthodoxy and harmony in that jarring age, and built hospitals for the sick and the poor. His works that remain are very numerous. He died triumphantly, on the 1st of January, 379.

Cyril of Jerusalem was born there about the year 315, and was constituted bishop of Jerusalem near the middle of the century. He was thrice deposed and expelled by the Arians; but was restored to his charge by Theodosius, and continued in it till his death in the year 386. His "Catechetical Lectures" are highly valued; being the most complete system of theology, and the most circumstantial account of the rites of the Church, which have come down to us from so early a period.

John Chrysostom, the eloquent bishop of Constantinople, was born at Antioch, in Syria, about the year 354. He lost his father in early life, and is one of those distinguished men who owe almost every thing to their mothers. His mother, Arethusa, was his guide and instructor in religion; and she secured for him the best literary education which the age afforded. He became pious in early life; and, following an example which then prevailed, he spent six years as a recluse in the deserts and mountains. Worn out by his austerities, he returned to Antioch, and was ordained presbyter in 386. During the next twelve years, he wrote and delivered many discourses; and his reputation as a preacher was very high. In the year 398, he was made patriarch of Constantinople; but his life was too austere, his preaching too pungent, and his discipline too strict, for that corrupt metropolis. He soon raised up enemies,—at the head of whom was the wicked empress Eudoxia, — who were intent upon his destruction. They procured his banishment in the year 404; and in three years afterwards he died. His works are contained in thirteen folio volumes.

Gregory Nazianzen and Gregory Nyssa had a high reputation among the theologians and controversialists of this age. Their works are numerous both in poetry and prose. They were attached to Origen, as most of the monks were; and their eloquence, though admired at the time, is too wordy and grandiloquent for modern ears.

Ephraim the Syrian was of Nisibis, in Northern Syria, where he

spent the most of his life. To avoid being made bishop of the place, he feigned himself crazy, and absconded. He was a great promoter of monkery, but a man of genius and a prolific writer. It is said that his hymns and prayers are still used in the Syrian churches.

Hosius, bishop of Corduba in Spain, was born about the middle of the third century, and lived to be more than a hundred years old. He is thought to have been chiefly instrumental in the conversion of Constantine, and had great influence with him so long as he lived. Hosius assisted in many councils; and would have left an untarnished reputation, but that he was over-persuaded by the Arians, in extreme old age, to sign an artfully-written Arian creed. Little or nothing of his writing remains to us.

Among the Latin writers in this period, *Augustine of Hippo*, in Northern Africa, stands pre-eminent. He was the great luminary of the age in which he lived; and his influence is felt even to our own times. Augustine was born at Tagaste, an obscure village in Numidia, A.D. 354. His father remained a Pagan till near the close of life; but his mother was an eminently devoted Christian. He is to be classed, therefore, with many other excellent Christians who have owed not only their usefulness, but their salvation, to the influence of a pious mother.

Augustine's advantages of education were good, and his talents of the highest order; but his early life was one of continued debauchery and wickedness. In philosophy he was a Manichee, and by profession a teacher of rhetoric and oratory. In the exercise of his profession, after visiting several other cities, he came to Milan; and here, under the searching ministry of Ambrose, his heart was touched, and he was brought to consideration and repentance. His convictions of sin were deep, painful,—I had almost said terrible,—and abiding. His conversion was eminently satisfactory,—very like to those which sometimes occur in our best modern revivals. Old things passed away with him; all things became spiritually new; and he was prepared at once to renounce his flattering worldly prospects, and devote his cultivated and brilliant powers to the service of God in the gospel of his Son.

Augustine was thirty-three years of age at the time of his conversion. Subsequent to this, he lived more than forty years, and was, as I have said, the great luminary of the Church. He was specially instrumental in reviving and diffusing spiritual, evangelical religion. His controversy with Pelagius was no other than a

struggle for evangelical truth against one who impugned it and was laboring to subvert it.

Augustine lived to see Northern Africa overrun, and his beloved Hippo besieged, by the ruthless Vandals. In the prospect of approaching trials and sufferings, it was his daily prayer, either that God would deliver the city, or that he would give to his servants grace to endure all that might be inflicted, or that he might himself be taken out of the world. In the last particular certainly, — we hope in the second, — his prayer was heard. In the third month of the siege, which lasted fourteen months in all, Augustine was seized with a fever, which terminated his life. He died in the year 429, in the seventy-sixth year of his age and in the fortieth of his ministry. He was engaged in most of the controversies of the times, — against the Manichees, the Arians, the Origenists, the Donatists, and the Pelagians. His works are published in eleven folio volumes; the more important of which are his “Confessions,” and his great work “*De Civitate Dei*.” Perhaps no man has lived since the days of the apostle Paul, the influence of whose writings upon the religious world has been so great, so enduring, and, on the whole, so happy, as those of the renowned bishop of Hippo.

Hilary, bishop of Poitiers in France, was a native of that country, and had a thorough literary education. He was consecrated bishop about the year 350. He was the great opponent of Arianism in the West, as Athanasius was in the East. He was banished by Constantine, but was afterwards restored. His principal work is on the Trinity, in twelve books.

Lactantius, the Christian Cicero, was a native of Italy; was never a bishop, but was the private tutor of Crispus, the eldest son of Constantine the Great. His principal work is entitled “*Divine Institutions*.” It may be called a *guide to true religion*; being designed to enlighten the pagans, remove their prejudices, and bring them to the knowledge of the truth.

Ambrose was nobly born, was liberally educated, and for several years was governor at Milan. In the year 374, the bishop of Milan died; and there was much contention between the Arians and Orthodox as to a successor. In the Church, the two parties became tumultuous, and Governor Ambrose came in to quell the disorder. A little child, seeing him, spoke out, as if by inspiration, “Let Ambrose be bishop!” The crowd caught it, and repeated the cry; and Ambrose was chosen by acclamation. He felt constrained to submit to what seemed to him to be a call from God, gave up his

property and his worldly honors, received baptism, and became a laborious and self-denying bishop. It was under his instructions that the great Augustine was brought to repentance. He had much controversy with the Arians, and was frequently employed in the service of the emperors after he became a bishop. He was strict and impartial in his discipline, and had the courage to debar Theodosius the Great from Christian ordinances for what he deemed his excessive cruelty in punishing the Thessalonians. His genuine works are not numerous; but many spurious productions are ascribed to him.

Jerome was born about the year 331, of Christian parents, who gave him the best advantages for education. During the first half of his life, he was a laborious student, and a great traveller; having visited nearly every part of the Roman Empire. He was at this time very fond of classical studies, from which he was weaned by a vision of the Saviour, who sharply reproved him, and gave him a terrible flagellation. He now addicted himself to monkery, and had the faculty of inspiring others with the like spirit. In the year 382, he came to Rome, and infused this spirit into some noble Roman ladies. Paula and her daughter were induced to accompany him to the East. In the year 386, they came to Bethlehem, where Paula erected four monasteries, — one for monks, and three for nuns. In the first of these, Jerome passed the remainder of his days, in reading, composing books, and contending with all who presumed to differ from him. He was the greatest biblical scholar of the age; was familiarly acquainted with the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew languages; and did much to promote a correct knowledge of the Bible. The Latin Vulgate is but an amended copy of Jerome's translation. His greatest fault was his choleric temper, which scorned all restraint, and rendered him one of the most caustic and abusive controversial writers that ever bore the Christian name. He has been proverbially called "the foul-mouthed Jerome." His works have been published by the Benedictines in five folio volumes.

Rufinus is chiefly known from his translations of Origen and other Greek fathers into Latin, and from his bitter contests with Jerome.

Leo the Great was bishop of Rome from the year 440 to the year 461. He was a good writer, an indefatigable bishop, and very successful in promoting the usurpations of Rome. He has been said to have possessed every virtue that was compatible with an

unbounded ambition. His works are published in two volumes folio.

Orosius was a Spanish presbyter, who came into Africa in the year 413, and was ever after the particular friend of Augustine. It was Augustine who put him upon writing his history in refutation of the pagans, who charged all the calamities of the Roman Empire upon the decline of idolatry, and the consequent anger of the gods. Augustine himself had the same object in view in writing his great work entitled "The City of God."

Prosper of Aquitaine was not a clergyman, though he was a learned theologian. He was a great admirer and an able defender of the doctrines of Augustine respecting original sin, predestination, and grace. His writings were chiefly in opposition to Cassian, the author of the semi-Pelagian heresy.

CHAPTER XXII.

DOCTRINES, HERESIES, AND CONTROVERSIES. — STATE OF RELIGION.

IN treating of the doctrines and errors of this period, let us first consider those errors which crept into the Church itself, and became incorporated with it; and, secondly, those which led to schisms and separations, and were regarded as heresies.

The doctrine of the Trinity, though firmly held and manfully contended for in this period, was not held in precisely the sense of the apostles. The emanation doctrine, which prevailed in both the Gnostic and Platonic philosophies, and with which the Eastern world was filled, had crept into the theology of the Church, and appeared even in the Nicene Council. The fathers of that council believed in the *consubstantial* divinity of Christ, and condemned Arius, who denied it; but the Christ in whom they believed was “God of God, Light of Light, very God of very God,” — an eternal *emanation* from the Father, essentially subordinate to the Father, and dependent on him, as light is dependent on the sun, or the stream on the fountain. Clearly, this view or explanation of the Trinity was not derived from the Scriptures, but from the philosophies of the times.

Another doctrine which had been corrupted was that of *justification by faith alone*. This was incontestably the doctrine of Paul. Thrusting aside the works of the ceremonial law, on which, in his youth, he had rested and gloried, he came to see that the blood of Christ, and that alone, was the foundation of the sinner's hope, and that this could be appropriated only by faith. But, in the age of which we speak, — an age of multiplied rites and forms, and of abounding superstitions, — a system of formalism grew up, which was as fatal to the true doctrine of justification as was that of the Judaizing teachers. Men macerated their bodies, and went on pilgrimages, and made costly sacrifices, and hunted and worshipped relics, and toiled through a burthensome round of rites and forms,

and then *trusted* to what they had done, and gloried in it, as the foundation of their hope. This, to be sure, cannot be said of *all* who lived in the period before us. Doubtless there were many true and faithful Christians; but such were the tendencies of the times, and such the current of superstition, which was rolling in like a flood to engulf the great doctrine of salvation by Christ.

An undue efficacy began early to be ascribed to the Christian sacraments; and this tendency increased with years, until they were regarded as of a saving nature. Baptism, instead of being the *sign* of regeneration, was *regeneration itself*, and washed away all sin up to the time of its being administered. And the sacrament of the Supper had come to be an awful mystery, without which no one could hope to be saved. The declaration of Christ was understood literally: "Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you" (John vi. 53).

Another great doctrine, or class of doctrines, in the corruption of which the whole Church participated, were those pertaining to the state of the dead. The early Christians believed that the righteous, at death, went directly to heaven, and the wicked to hell; and that the states of both classes were fixed for eternity. But in the period of which we speak, and at an earlier period, the doctrine prevailed, that while only the martyrs and more eminent saints went at once to heaven, and only the more outrageously wicked to hell, the great majority of both classes passed, at death, into an *intermediate state or place* (a kind of *purgatory*), where they would remain under discipline for a time,—perhaps till the general resurrection. This doctrine, it is well known, has continued in the Romish Church to our own times, and, through all the intervening ages, has been a perpetual source of imposition and corruption.

There was no system of theology published in the times of which we speak; nor had there been at any previous period. The best connected account of the theology of the age, which has come down to us, will be found in "The Catechetical Discourses" of Cyril of Jerusalem. These are plain, didactic treatises, and well adapted to the age in which they were written.

We have spoken, in a former chapter, of the theological school at Alexandria, and of its influence upon the Church. About the end of the fourth century, another school grew up at Antioch, a preparation for which had been long in progress, under the direction of the learned presbyters of that Church. This school was

particularly useful in diffusing among the clergy a taste for the thorough study of the Scriptures ; nor did it follow implicitly the allegorical method of interpretation which was so prevalent in the Alexandrian school, but labored to exhibit the real, grammatical meaning of the inspired Word. Consequently, some of the best interpreters of the age, as Eustathius, bishop of Antioch, Eusebius, bishop of Emesa, and especially Theodorus, bishop of Mopsuestia, had been connected with this school. The greatest biblical scholar of the age, as I have before remarked, was Jerome. He had the honor of preparing the Latin Vulgate translation of the Scriptures, which has so long been used in the Romish Church.

In the third century, there were those in the Eastern Church who denied any proper distinctions in the Godhead, and received only a modal, official Trinity. Such were Theodotus, Artemon, Paul of Samosate, Sabellius, and some others. In opposing this error of *no* essential distinctions in the Godhead, some went to the other extreme. They made wider distinctions than the Scriptures warrant. They were aided in this movement by the *emanation* doctrine which I have before described. Prominent among this class of heretics was Arius, the founder of the Arian heresy.

Arius was a presbyter of the Church at Alexandria, in the early part of the fourth century. His peculiarity consisted in teaching that our blessed Saviour was a *creature*, though the first and greatest of all creatures. Even in his highest nature, which was his only nature (for, according to Arius, he had no human soul), he had a *beginning*. There was a time when he *was not*. The Gnostics and Platonics, who professed belief in Christ, were agreed in regarding him as an *emanation* from God ; but Arius represented him as a mighty *created spirit* (literally “the first-born of every creature”) who, in the fulness of time, became incarnate in the person of Jesus, and died on the cross for sinners. Arius had no difficulty in applying to our Saviour the names of God, in attributing to him the works of God, and in ascribing to him divine honors. Still he did not believe him to be properly divine or human, God or man. He had no human soul, though he had a human body.

After various fruitless attempts to settle the disputes respecting Arianism, Constantine convened for this purpose the *first* general council, and probably the *most* general council, that ever was convened. It was held at Nice, in Bythinia, A.D. 325. By this great council, Arius was condemned and deposed ; and, by the authority of the emperor, he was banished to Illyricum. His books

were also burned ; and it was made a capital offence to read or retain them.

It might have been supposed that the ruin of Arius was now complete ; but the event was far otherwise. The character of the heresiarch was not yet fully developed ; nor was his race of dissimulation and error run. His courtly, intriguing friends, whose pliant consciences would permit them to subscribe any thing when their interest required it, were still retained in the imperial palace and family ; and by their means Constantine was induced, after a five-years' banishment, to re-admit Arius to his presence. This was all that the artful man desired. He professed to retract some of his former expressions ; and had no difficulty in satisfying the emperor, who is represented as a child in religious discernment, that his opinions had been misrepresented, and he abused, and that he was really an asserter of the Nicene faith. Constantine was so far persuaded, that he sent him back to Alexandria, and even wrote in his favor to the churches.

But although Arius returned to the place of his former residence, fortified with letters from the emperor and others, he came thither to no purpose. Athanasius, who now filled the Alexandrian see, was not a man to be trifled with. He knew the character of his visitant, saw through his designs and artifices, and absolutely refused to admit him to the Church. Nor was his resolution shaken by the subsequent commands and threats of the emperor. He persisted in his refusal, and, after a severe struggle against absolute power and disguised heresy and impiety, was himself banished from his people and country.

Arius remained at Alexandria for a time in a kind of triumph ; but it soon became so apparent that he was acting a double part, — that, while pretending to support the established faith, he was laboring to overthrow it, — that the emperor summoned him to Constantinople to give an account of his conduct. He came as required, prepared to practise new impositions. When asked whether he agreed to the Nicene faith, without hesitation he answered in the affirmative. He readily subscribed to the creed ; and when, to remove all doubt, he was required to swear that he believed as he had written, he solemnly swore that he did. That there was some mental reservation here, there can be no doubt ; and Socrates has told us what it was.* At the time of the oath, Arius had concealed under his arm a paper on which he had just

* Lib. i. cap. 38.

written his real sentiments; and the purport of the oath was, in his intention of it, that he believed as he had written on that paper.

The emperor now could doubt no longer. He appointed a day on which the bishop of Constantinople was required, under severe penalties, to admit Arius to communion in that city; but the excellent bishop, Alexander, was not wanting to himself or his charge on this occasion. He renounced all dependence upon human aid, resolved not to dispute, but gave himself to prayer. He shut himself up in the great church of Irene, prostrated himself under the holy table, and prayed, that, if Arius' opinions were true, he might not himself live to see the day the emperor had appointed; but, if his own sentiments were true, that Arius might suffer the punishment due to his crimes. At length, the day of trial came. The Arians paraded through the city in triumph, with their champion in their midst, and drew the attention of all the citizens; but the hour of retribution was hastening on. When they came near to Constantine's forum, a sudden terror, with a disorder of the bowels, seized upon Arius. He was obliged to hasten to an outhouse (*latrina*) that was shown him, where, with a vast effusion of blood, his very bowels gushed out. He fainted and expired.

With regard to the *manner* of Arius' death there can be no dispute: respecting the *cause* of it there were two opinions in ancient times,—that of the Arians, who ascribed it to magic; and that of their opponents, who regarded it as a special judgment of God. It was reserved to modern ingenuity to assign a third cause; viz., *poison*. Of this it is enough to say, that it is improbable in itself; and it rests on mere suspicion, without a particle of proof.

The cause of Arianism was destined to outlive its founder. Constantine was succeeded by his three sons; the second of whom, Constantius, ruled the East, and eventually obtained the whole empire. He was a superstitious and bigoted Arian; and during his whole reign a contest was carried on between the Church and the heretics by arms, and other resources suited to the genius of the parties: those of the former were prayers, treatises, and preaching; of the latter, policy, intrigue, persecution, and the friendship of the great. Some of the most eminent and godly men were scourged, banished, put in irons, and, in some instances, put to death.

During the short reigns of Julian and Jovian, the Arian controversy was less agitated than it had been before. It was re-

sumed, however, under Valens, with whom Valentinian divided the empire; the former ruling in the East, and the latter in the West. Valens was an Arian, who imprisoned and banished the friends of truth, and revived the persecuting measures of Constantius.

Arianism next made its appearance in the West under the younger Valentinian and his mother Justina, but was in a measure suppressed and driven out of the empire by Theodosius the Great. It was driven out, however, only that it might gather strength, and return in a form more terrible than it had ever assumed. The dispersed Arians took refuge among the Goths, Vandals, and other barbarous nations; and, when these commenced their ravages upon Rome, among all the other miseries which they inflicted were mingled the horrors of an Arian persecution. The Vandals in a special manner, who ravaged Africa, surpassed all the other barbarous nations in their cruelty to the orthodox. They pulled down the churches of those Christians who acknowledged the divinity of Christ, sent their bishops into exile, and in various ways tormented those who were nobly inflexible in the profession of their faith.

It would be wrong to omit mentioning the miracle which is said to have been wrought during these persecutions, by which God was pleased to show favor to his suffering people. The miracle consisted in his enabling those persons whose tongues had been cut out by the Vandal king Huneric to speak distinctly, and to proclaim aloud the divine majesty of the Saviour. The fact of such speaking can hardly be denied, since it is supported by the testimony of the most credible witnesses; * but that it amounts to a proper miracle is not so clear.

Arianism, which so cruelly triumphed during these persecutions, was crushed almost at once when the Vandals were driven out of Africa, and the Goths out of Italy, by the arms of Justinian, in the sixth century. It revived again in Italy, under the protection of the Lombards, in the seventh century; and was not extinguished till near the end of the eighth.

The great opponent of Arius in the early part of this protracted controversy was Athanasius, bishop of Alexandria. Next to him in the progress of the discussion may be reckoned Basil, Ambrose, and Hilary of Poitiers.

The creed established by the Council of Nice, which was some-

* See Spirit of Pilgrims, vol. iv. p. 427.

what modified and enlarged by the Council at Constantinople, and which continued to be the creed of the Church general down to the time of the reformation from Popery, is as follows: "We believe in one God, Almighty, Maker of all things visible and invisible. And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, begotten of the Father, the only-begotten, i.e. of the substance of the Father; God of God, Light of Light, very God of very God; begotten, not made; of one substance with the Father; by whom all things in heaven and earth were made; who for us men, and for our salvation, came down from heaven, and was incarnate, and made man, and suffered, and the third day rose again, and ascended into heaven, and shall come again to judge the quick and the dead. Also we believe in the Holy Ghost. And those who say there was a time when the Son of God was not, or that he did not exist before he was made, because he was made out of nothing, or of another substance or essence, or that he was created or mutable, — the Catholic and Apostolic Church anathematizes such."

In the progress of the Arian controversy, there arose another sect, usually denominated the semi-Arian. These men regarded the Son, not as a created, but a *derived* Being; *begotten* of the Father from himself; an *emanation* from the Father in something like the Gnostic and Platonic sense; partaking of the very *substance* of the Father. They ascribed divine names and attributes to the Son; and believed, that, with respect to his *substance*, he was self-existent and eternal. Still, as a distinct person, he was not eternal: there was a time when his generation, or derivation, took place. It is likely that many of those who lived and died in a profession of the Nicene faith were in reality semi-Arians.

Other and smaller sects and disputes grew out of the long-protracted Arian controversy. Thus Apollinaris the younger, bishop of Laodicea, while contending manfully for the divinity of Christ, was led almost to set aside his human nature. He may have had an animal nature; but the place and office of an intellectual spirit was supplied by the incarnate Logos.

Marcellus, bishop of Ancyra, taught that the Son and Spirit are distinct *emanations* from the Father, which, having performed their respective offices, will return into the substance of the Father again. Photinus, a disciple of Marcellus, perverted the doctrine of the Trinity much as *he* did, except that he denied the personality of the Spirit, regarding what is called the Holy Ghost as but an energy, or influence, proceeding forth from God.

With him agreed Macedonius, bishop of Constantinople, whose error was condemned by the second œcumenical council, convened at Constantinople in the year 381.

The disputes which originated in the third and fourth centuries respecting the Trinity and the person of Christ continued into the fifth, though not in precisely the same form. The inquiry now was as to the union of the two natures in Christ. Nestorius, a learned, pious, and eloquent man, and bishop of Constantinople, was charged with holding, not only two natures in Christ, but two *persons*. His real offence, however, was his unwillingness to adopt a phraseology then in common use, and call Mary *the mother of God*. He believed that she was *χοιροτοχος*, the mother of Christ; but not *θεοτοχος*, the mother of God. For this he was anathematized by Cyril, bishop of Alexandria, in a provincial council held at that place in the year 430. To be even with his adversary, Nestorius called a council shortly after, which anathematized Cyril in return. To heal the breach between these two great prelates, Theodosius II. called the third general council, which convened at Ephesus in the year 431. Cyril presided, and insisted on having the question settled before the Eastern bishops should arrive. Nestorius objected to this, and, when the matter was pressed forward, refused to appear before the council. The result was, that Nestorius was condemned, deprived of his office, and sent into banishment, where he ended his days.

But this rash and inconsiderate council was far from putting an end to the controversy; for when John, bishop of Antioch, and the other Eastern prelates, for whom Cyril would not wait, had come together, they passed upon Cyril as severe a sentence as he had passed upon Nestorius.

The commotions produced by this controversy continued long in the East; and the results of them remain even to this day. The followers of Nestorius were exceedingly active, propagating their faith, and gathering churches which rejected with abhorrence the Ephesine decrees. They established a famous school at Nisibis, from which issued teachers, which, in this and the following centuries, carried the gospel, as interpreted by themselves, into Egypt, Syria, Arabia, India, Tartary, and even into China. For the next three hundred years or more, no class of Christians so much distinguished themselves for missionary effort and success as the Nestorians.

In resisting the alleged error of Nestorius in giving to Christ

not only two natures, but two persons, a class of Christians in the East ran into the opposite extreme. They held, that in Christ there is not only one person, but *one nature*. The leader in this movement, which issued in what was called the Monophysite heresy, was *Eutyches*, a monk of Constantinople. Having been condemned by a provincial council held at Constantinople, and cast out of the Church, Eutyches appealed to a general council; and, to gratify him, the Emperor Theodosius II. convened one at Ephesus in the year 449. This was entirely under the influence of Dioscorus, bishop of Alexandria, — a restless and ambitious man, who fully sympathized with the error of Eutyches. The consequence was, that Eutyches was cleared, and the doctrine of *one nature incarnate* triumphed. This conclusion was not reached, however, but by threats and violence; and the council that promulged it has not inappropriately been called an “Assembly of Robbers.”

But in a very little time the scene was changed. At the instance of Leo the Great, bishop of Rome, the Emperor Marcion was induced to call another general council, which assembled at Chalcedon in the year 451. Here Dioscorus was condemned, deposed, and banished; Eutyches was also condemned; the decrees of the “Assembly of Robbers” were revoked; and all Christians were required to believe — what all Orthodox Christians still believe — that our Lord Jesus Christ subsisted “in *two distinct natures* and *one person* forever.”

But this council, so far from healing the divisions in the East, seemed rather to increase them. The Monophysites were exceedingly active: they got possession, for the time, of the sees both of Alexandria and Antioch; and the Church seemed likely to be rent asunder by them.

To allay these dissensions, the Emperor Zeno, in the year 482, published a *formula of concord*, commonly called “The Henoticon,” and invited the leaders of both parties to subscribe to it. The more moderate among them did subscribe; but the more violent on either side denounced them for doing so, and did not hesitate to denounce the Henoticon itself. The paper, therefore, served rather to increase the strife than to allay it. Nevertheless, it tended to weaken the Monophysites; since it was a means of dividing them among themselves. Their disputes went over into the next century, where we shall hear from them again.

We now pass from the controversies relating to the Trinity and

the person of Christ to notice several others, not so directly doctrinal, which prevailed in the period before us. And, first of all, there was the standing controversy between the bishops of Rome and of Constantinople. No sooner was Constantinople built, and the seat of empire transferred there, and a bishop appointed, than a rivalry between the bishops of old and new Rome commenced, each endeavoring to outstrip the other in the extent of his powers and prerogatives, and in the race of ambition. The bishop of Constantinople was at once constituted a *patriarch*, like those of Rome, Antioch, and Alexandria. Then it was decreed in the second general council, A.D. 381, that the bishop of Constantinople should take the first rank *next after* the bishop of Rome. From this period, the bishop of Constantinople was constantly enlarging his spiritual domain by the annexation of new provinces, until, in the year 451, the Council of Chalcedon decreed that the bishop of new Rome ought to enjoy *the same* honors and prerogatives with the bishop of ancient Rome, on account of the equal dignity and rank of the two cities. Leo the Great, bishop of old Rome, strenuously resisted this decree, but in vain; for the Greek emperors supported the cause of their bishops. And thus the rivalry and strife went on from century to century, until the Greek and Roman churches became permanently separated, as they are to this day.

Among the schisms and controversies not relating directly to points of doctrine, we may next notice the *Meletian*. This sprang up in Alexandria near the commencement of the fourth century. Meletius was bishop of Lycopolis, but subject to the patriarchal jurisdiction of Peter, bishop of Alexandria. Meletius disputed some of the claims of Peter, and found fault with his discipline, as being too lax. For this Peter censured and deposed him. Meletius disregarded the sentence of Peter, and continued to exercise his functions as before. Many adhered to him, more especially the monks; and a strong party was raised in his favor. The sect continued till the fifth century.

Not long after Meletius, Eustathius, bishop of Sebaste, in Armenia, excited great commotions in Armenia, Pontus, and the neighboring countries, by his rigorous ascetic notions and injunctions. He prohibited marriage, the eating of flesh, love-feasts, &c., and recommended immediate divorce to all married persons. He was condemned by the Council of Gangra.

Lucifer, bishop of Cagliari in Sardinia, though apparently a sincere and godly man, was separated from the Church, on account of

the strictness of his discipline, about the year 363. Like Eustathius, he continued to exercise his functions as before; and a schism was created in the body of the Church.

But the most important schism in the period before us, growing out of differences not directly doctrinal, was that of the Donatists. The main question in this protracted controversy was simply this: *Who is the proper bishop of Carthage?* This question assumed the more importance because Carthage was the principal city of Northern Africa, and its bishop was thought to hold a sort of *primacy* in the African Church. Cæcilian was chosen bishop of Carthage in the year 311, and was hastily consecrated, without waiting for the assent and co-operation of the Numidian bishops. At this the Numidians were highly offended; and, assembling at Carthage shortly after, they appointed Majorinus bishop. Here, now, were two bishops of Carthage; and the North African Church was about equally divided,—some holding to the one, and some to the other. Among the Numidian bishops, none were more zealous in this matter than Donatus, bishop of Casæ Nigræ; and from him the controversy is said to have taken its name.

The Donatists having brought their cause before Constantine the Great, he submitted it to three successive tribunals; in each of which it was decided against the plaintiffs. The Donatists then appealed to the emperor personally, and desired him to look into the question, and decide it for them. He did so; but his decision also was against them. The enraged Donatists now cast reproaches on the emperor himself, and complained that Hosius, bishop of Corduba, had prejudiced his mind against them. This moved the indignation of the emperor; and he now (A.D. 316) ordered their temples to be taken from them, and the seditious bishops banished, and some of them, who had offended personally against him, to be put to death. This was the first example among Christians of attempting to quell religious disputes by force,—an example which was terribly imitated in the Arian disputes which followed, and in the carrying-out of which the Roman-Catholic Church has since made herself drunk with the blood of saints and martyrs. It was during these inflictions upon the Donatists that armed bands were organized among them, called *Circumcelliones*, for their defence. These roamed through the province of Africa, filling it with rapine, burnings, and slaughter, and committing the most atrocious crimes against the adverse party. These violent proceedings furnished an

excuse, and created a necessity, for much of the violence which was afterwards inflicted upon the Donatists.

Constantine subsequently repealed his laws against the Donatists, and suffered the people of North Africa to follow either of the contending parties as they thought best; but neither lenity nor force nor argument nor persuasion could overcome the obstinacy of the leading Donatists. They continued to multiply; and the controversy continued to rage down to the end of the fourth century, and far into the fifth, — more than a hundred years in all. But at length the Donatists became divided among themselves; the authority of the emperors was brought to bear heavily upon them; and, more than all, they were obliged to encounter the arguments and influence of the great Augustine of Hippo. For the most part, Augustine treated them kindly and tenderly, and exhausted all mild means to bring them to a reconciliation; and yet it must be said, that, in some of his letters, he justified a resort to violent measures to an extent which good men have found occasion to regret.

CHAPTER XXIII.

DOCTRINES, HERESIES, AND CONTROVERSIES. — STATE OF RELIGION.

IN the previous chapter, I gave some account of the controversies in the period before us relating to the Trinity and the person of Christ; also of some minor controversies, particularly that of the Donatists. We are now to consider an important doctrinal controversy, — *the Pelagian*, — relating to the subjects of *depravity* and *grace*.

This controversy commenced at Carthage about the year 412; but, looking back upon it in the light of history, we see that the public mind had been preparing for it through a long period. On the subjects embraced in this controversy, there had not been for centuries an entire unanimity in the Church. In the Western Church, these doctrines had been inculcated more strongly than in the Eastern. Origen in particular, whose influence in the East was very great, had leaned so strongly to the side of free-will, as almost to forget, that, without the aids of omnipotent grace, the human will had been enslaved forever.

Pelagius was an inhabitant of Britain; but, as the ancient British Church received its teachers from the East, he seems to have been early indoctrinated in the Oriental peculiarities. The natural temperament of Pelagius, and the course of life which he pursued, tended also to favor the views which he entertained. His disposition was mild and amiable; and instead of mixing with the stormy world, and engaging in the rough conflicts of life, he had been accustomed only to the retirement and the exercises of the cloister. Of course, he hardly knew in his own experience what it was to grapple with strong passion, or to feel the indomitable power of sin.

Of the particulars of the early life of Pelagius we know but little. He never aspired to the clerical office, but was a monk and a layman to the day of his death. He visited the monasteries in

the different parts of the empire previous to the disclosure of his peculiar sentiments, and was everywhere esteemed, not only for his intelligence, but for the excellence of his moral character.

As to the real doctrines of Pelagius, there has been little or no dispute. He held that the sin of Adam affected only himself. It exerted no injurious influence upon the natural state and character of his posterity. Men came into the world as innocent as Adam in paradise,—as innocent as they would have been if he had never sinned. They are not only free from sin, but have no natural *proneness* or *tendency* to sin: so that the sin which is in the world may all be traced to bad examples, to injurious moral influences, to external temptations, and not to any inherent or inherited corruption. Pelagius acknowledged, in terms, our need of divine grace, and our obligations to God for bestowing it; but by divine grace he understood only divine instructions, outward means and influences, and not a divine influence exerted directly upon the heart, exciting it to the exercise and practice of holiness.

How early Pelagius came to entertain opinions such as these it is impossible now to ascertain. It is certain that he did not divulge them till late in life, and then not openly, but with the utmost precaution. It was his custom to start *queries* concerning the doctrines of the Church; and these, not as having originated with himself, but with others.

Near the beginning of the fifth century, Pelagius came to Rome, where he found an advocate, by name Celestius, who was easily led to the adoption of his peculiar views. Celestius was much younger than Pelagius, and more bold and decided in the expression of his opinions. He was a native of Ireland, and, ever after his acquaintance with Pelagius, was his devoted follower and friend.

When Rome was taken by the Goths, about the year 410, great numbers fled into Africa; and, among the rest, Pelagius and Celestius. Pelagius soon retired into Palestine, leaving Celestius at Carthage. It was during his stay at Carthage that the Pelagian controversy may be said to have commenced. Celestius wished to become a presbyter, and proposed himself as a candidate for ordination. As he labored under some suspicions as to his orthodoxy, he was brought before a council at Carthage; and Paulinus, a deacon of the Church at Milan, appeared as his accuser. Six heretical propositions were charged against him, all growing out of the first and leading one; viz., that the sin of Adam had injured only him-

self, and not his posterity. The answers of Celestius were evasive and unsatisfactory, and he was excluded from the fellowship of the Church.

Meanwhile Pelagius had arrived in Palestine, where the tone of feeling on these subjects was very different from that prevailing in North Africa, and where some of the leading ecclesiastics were not unwilling to receive him. There was one, however, with whom he could find no favor. This was the monk Jerome, who was now residing at Bethlehem, and pursuing with diligence the study of the Bible. Whatever may be said of Jerome in other respects, he seems to have rightly apprehended the natural state and character of man, and his need of the gracious influences of the Holy Spirit. Of course, he could not endure the theology of Pelagius; and it was through his influence that the latter was brought before a synod at Jerusalem in the year 415. But John, bishop of Jerusalem, was little better than a Pelagian himself. He paid little regard to the charges brought against Pelagius; accepted his excuses; and so far was he from condemning him, that he was disposed to treat him with peculiar honor.

The accusers of Pelagius at length proposed, that as he was of Western origin, and had been a resident at Rome, the case should be referred to Innocent, bishop of Rome; and to this the synod and the bishop of Jerusalem gave their consent.

Little satisfied with the issue of this first trial, the opposers of Pelagius resolved to make another attempt. A council was convened at Diospolis, under the presidency of Eulogius, bishop of Cæsarea, before which the heresiarch was summoned to appear. But here he came forward again with his old evasions. He believed, not only in the freedom of the will, but in the necessity of *divine grace*,—*in his sense of the term grace*; and this was enough to satisfy his judges. The result was, that Pelagius was acquitted, and accepted as a faithful member of the Catholic Church.

As, by the decision of the first council, the matter was to come before the bishop of Rome, both parties now undertook to justify themselves to him, and to prepare his mind for a favorable issue. Three letters were addressed to him in the year 416 by the North African Church, in which the bishops accuse Pelagius of maintaining free-will in a way that *excludes* grace, at least in the proper Christian sense of the term. In connection with these letters, they also sent to Innocent one of Pelagius' books, in which several passages were marked for his consideration.

Pelagius and Celestius also sought to justify themselves before the Roman bishop. Pelagius wrote him a long letter, and sent on a full confession of faith, setting forth his orthodoxy, more especially on points not connected with the controversy; but, before a decision could be had, Innocent was removed by death.

He was succeeded by Zosimus, whose doctrinal predilections were with the Pelagians. At this juncture, Celestius himself appeared at Rome. He had several interviews with Zosimus, in which he endeavored to persuade him that the matters in dispute touched no important point of doctrine; that they were questions of speculative controversy, relating to the propagation of sin and the origin of souls; that himself and Pelagius held firmly to the doctrines both of free-will and grace; and that differences of opinion respecting the nature of divine grace, and the mode of its operation, belonged only to the schools.

These explanations were enough to satisfy Zosimus. Accordingly, he wrote to the North African bishops, charging them with having decided the matter too hastily, and giving the most unequivocal testimony to the orthodoxy of Celestius and Pelagius. Of Pelagius' letter, he said, "How surprised and rejoiced were all the pious men who heard it! Scarcely could some refrain from tears, to find that one so thoroughly orthodox had been made the object of so much suspicion." The new pontiff sternly rebuked the African bishops for their too great zeal and officiousness in this matter, and entreated them, in the name and authority of the apostolic see, that they would restrain their curiosity, and submit their reason to the decisions of the Bible and the Church.

It will be readily supposed that the African bishops—at the head of whom was the great Augustine—would not sit down very submissively under such a rebuke. They were conscious of understanding the matter far better than the new-made bishop of Rome; and the time had not come when his letters carried with them any special spiritual terrors. They returned him a respectful answer; and, without waiting for a more formal decision on his part, they summoned a council at Carthage, before which all the points in the controversy were thoroughly examined; and Pelagianism was decidedly condemned. Meanwhile, the emperor thought it time for him to interpose his influence; and from the year 418, and onwards, there appeared several rescripts, couched in a style more theological than political, censuring Pelagius and his adherents.

Against such an influence the infallible bishop of Rome could not long maintain his ground. He summoned Celestius to appear before him, and submit to another examination; but the heretic, foreseeing the result, hastily left the city. Upon this Zosimus issued a circular letter, in which (in express contradiction of his former views) he pronounced the condemnation of Pelagius and Celestius. By the authority of the emperor, his letter was circulated through the whole Western Church; and all bishops were required to subscribe to it. Those who refused (and there were some such) were banished from their churches, and deposed.

I have said that Celestius fled from Rome previous to his condemnation by Zosimus. We next hear of him at Constantinople, where he was opposed by Atticus the bishop, and where he was again condemned.

Pelagius, who had remained all this while in Palestine, complained of the treatment he had received, and, by evasive answers and ambiguous statements, continued to impose upon those around him. It was under these circumstances that Augustine wrote his treatise on original sin and the grace of Christ, which opened the eyes of many as to the real nature and importance of the subjects in dispute.

About the year 420, Celestius appeared again at Rome; but he was not suffered to remain. The probability is that both he and Pelagius retired into Britain, and spent the remainder of their lives in obscurity.

The Pelagian heresy did not die at once when its original promoters had retired from the scene: the controversy was continued for a time, and especially by Julian, the deposed bishop of Eclanum. He tried to provoke a quarrel with Augustine, calling him the great Goliath of Hippo, and styling himself the little David; but Augustine took very little notice of him. Finding no encouragement in the West, Julian passed over into the East; but here no favor was extended to him. That same Council of Ephesus, which condemned Nestorius in the year 431, condemned also the Pelagians. From this period, pure Pelagianism passed into comparative obscurity. Little more was heard of it in the Church for a long course of years.

Still there were some in the Western Church, who, as they could not accept the system of Pelagius on the one hand, so neither would they embrace the doctrines of Augustine on the other. They sought to compromise the matter, — to split the difference, —

and between the two to construct a theory which should be more nearly in accordance with the truth than either. Hence the origin of what has been called *semi-Pelagianism*.

The principal supporter of this doctrine in the ancient Church was John Cassian. He was a Scythian monk, who came from the country bordering on the Black Sea, and, after many travels in the East, settled at length at Marseilles, where he was the founder of a famous cloister. He recognized the universal corruption of human nature in consequence of the first transgression, and also the necessity of grace and justification, but held that the bestowment of grace is conditioned on the free self-determination of the human will. And yet, strange as it may seem, he taught, that in some cases, though not in all, grace is *prevenient*. "The question," he says, "has been much discussed, whether free-will depends on grace, or grace on free-will; but this question does not admit of an answer which will apply to all cases. In some instances, the first incitements to goodness are from the grace of God; in others, they are from the will of man, which divine grace meets, supports, and strengthens, till renovation and recovery are secured." Thus taught Cassian in the fifth century; and his doctrine found acceptance with many of the Gothic monks and bishops. There were others, however, who elung to the entire system of Augustine, and regarded the new explanations as heretical and dangerous. Foremost among these were Prosper of Aquitaine, and Hilary, bishop of Arles. At length, a synod was held in the south of France, — the very seat and focus of the semi-Pelagian errors, — in which these doctrines were formally condemned, and the system of Augustine, so far as relates to depravity and grace, was fully approved. This decision was re-affirmed by a subsequent council, and afterwards by the Roman bishop, Boniface II. The pontiff, in his letter, describes the followers of Cassian as "*offshoots from Pelagianism*, who refuse to acknowledge grace as the cause of faith, and consider that to be a work of corrupted nature which can only be a work of Christ."

Of remaining doctrinal controversies in the period before us, we shall notice only two; viz., those with the followers of Priscillian and of Origen.

The Priscillianists were the last issue of the Gnostic family with which the Church of Christ has been troubled. The heresy appeared in Spain, having been introduced into that country from North Africa and Egypt. Priscillian, the founder of the sect, was

a nobleman of fortune and eloquence, who, having imbibed the error, exerted all his influence to promote it. He was constituted by his followers bishop of Avila. He was banished from Spain by the Emperor Gratian, but soon returned. He was condemned and executed by the usurper Maximus in the year 385.

The sentiments of the Priscillianists were very like those of the ancient Gnostics. They denied that Christ had any real, material body. They held that the material universe is not from God, but the production of some inferior evil demon. They taught the existence of *Æons*, or emanations from God; declared human bodies to be the prisons and corrupters of celestial minds; condemned marriage; denied the resurrection of the body; and inculcated a severe, ascetic course of life. These doctrines spread extensively in Spain and Gaul, and were not entirely suppressed before the seventh century.

Origen was a source of controversy in the Church, even before his death; and, after his death, his opinions were controverted more or less for several centuries. In the fourth century, Origen was denounced by Epiphanius, Jerome, and Theophilus, bishop of Alexandria; and was defended by Rufinus, the translator of many of his works, and by the whole army of the monks. In the year 399, Theophilus of Alexandria convened a council, which condemned the Origenists; after which he proceeded with an armed force to drive away the monks from their cells in the mountains of Nitria. The exiled monks fled to Constantinople, where they were favorably received by John Chrysostom, the bishop. Thus a foundation was laid for the quarrel between Theophilus and Chrysostom; and this, with other things, led on to the banishment of Chrysostom from Constantinople. The controversy was revived at Constantinople during the reign of Justinian, in the sixth century; and the errors ascribed to Origen were condemned by a general council in the year 553. Among the errors mentioned and condemned at this time were the following: The pre-existence of the human soul; the pre-existence of Christ's human soul; the animation of the heavenly bodies; the crucifixion of Christ for the devils; and the final restoration of the devils to their pristine state in heaven. These opinions, so far as they belonged to Origen, were held by him as mere matters of speculation, and were not inculcated in his discourses to the people.

Having spent so much time upon the controversies of this period, it may be well to say a few words as to the manner in which these

controversies were often conducted. The ancient simplicity had in great measure passed away; and, in place of it, dialectical quibbles and subtilities, invectives and other disingenuous artifices, had succeeded, indicating a desire of victory rather than a love of truth. New sources of argument had also been invented. Particular doctrines were thought to be proved by the number of martyrs or of ancient apostolic men who had received them; or they were substantiated by prodigies, or by the confession of those who were possessed with devils. Thus the great Ambrose undertook to confute the Arians by bringing forward persons possessed with devils, who were constrained to cry out, in the presence of certain relics, that the doctrine of the Nicene Creed was true. The Arians, we are told, ridiculed the prodigy, insisting that Ambrose had bribed the infernals to bear testimony in his favor. The attempt to establish doctrines by the number of ancient apostolic men who had received them, led, with other things, to the multiplication of spurious writings, to which the names of such men were prefixed.

We close with a few remarks respecting the state of religious feeling and life in the period which has been reviewed.

Notwithstanding the multiform corruptions of the period over which we have passed, it cannot be doubted that there was still much true piety and godliness in the Church of Christ. Some of the *rulers* of the Church were godly men, who exerted a strong influence, according to the light they had, to sustain and extend the kingdom of Christ. Such were Athanasius and Basil, and Cyril of Jerusalem, and Chrysostom and Ambrose, and especially Augustine. This great man seems to have been raised up in a dark and declining period for the purpose of reviving the work of God, and restoring to their place and influence some of the more important truths of his Word; and nobly did he fulfil his mission. He lifted up a voice which resounded through the ages of darkness down to the times of the Reformation, and which has not ceased to reverberate at the present day. Still it was probably in the lower walks of life that some of the brightest examples of holy living were exhibited. The histories of this humble class of Christians have never been written. Their works of benevolence have not been recorded, and will not be known until the book of God's remembrance shall be opened in the final day.

The Christians of this period were certainly a self-sacrificing class of people. They bestowed of their substance liberally for

what they regarded as works of piety and benevolence: they not only built churches and endowed schools, but they furnished institutions for the reception of strangers, and hospitals for the sick, and asylums for orphans, and almshouses for the aged, the helpless, and the poor. They subjected themselves, too, to all sorts of privations and austerities, in obedience to what they conceived to be the calls of duty.

Still their consciences, as a general thing, were not well enlightened; and their piety ran out into various forms of superstition and extravagance. It was at this time that *monasticism* became an institution in the Church, and spread itself over the greater part of the Christian world. There had been monks in Syria and Egypt in the previous centuries: they multiplied until the deserts literally swarmed with them. Still they were without any prescribed rule or form of government; herding together, or living apart, as seemed to them good.

Paehomius and Anthony were the first who gave to the monks of Egypt a rule, and formed them into regular communities. The rules which they gave were soon carried into other countries; and; from this period (the early part of the fourth century), monasticism assumed an organic form.

The monks of this period are divided by Cassian into three classes, — the *cœnobites*, the *anchores*, and the *sarabaites*. The former of these classes lived in communities, having buildings and gardens, and all that was necessary for their support. The mode of life pursued by the second class was much more rigid and revolting. They occupied the rudest and most secluded recesses of the deserts; fed upon roots; and had their dwelling among the wild beasts: they suffered their beards and nails to grow, and their bodies to become hirsute and weather-beaten, till they could scarcely be distinguished from the beasts themselves. The *sarabaites*, or third class of monks, were no better than vagrants. They roamed about the cities and provinces, and procured a subsistence without labor, by pretended miracles, trafficking in relics, and by various other impositions.

There was yet another class of monks, denominated *stylites*. They mounted upon high pillars, and on the tops of them spent the greater portion of their lives. Simeon, for example, is said to have spent thirty-seven years on the tops of five different pillars, of six, twelve, twenty-two, thirty-six, and forty cubits' elevation. He took food, it is said, but once in a week, and never slept; he

wore a long sheepskin robe, and a cap of the same material; his beard and nails were very long, and his frame exceedingly emaciated; he spent most of his time in prayer, and in addressing the multitudes who thronged his pillar. He died on his pillar, in a praying attitude, in which no one ventured to disturb him until after three days.*

If it be asked what could have led human beings to pursue such absurd and monstrous courses of life, I answer, *Many things*. Their conduct is not to be ascribed to any one cause, but to *many*. It was induced, in part, by *example*. There had been recluses among the heathen and the Jews long before the coming of Christ; and many Christians thought it a shame to be outdone by such characters in self-mortification, and deadness to the world. Then the *philosophies* of the times—the Gnostic and Neo-Platonic—insisted on the necessity of neglecting and macerating the body, that so the soul might be delivered from its contaminating influence. The *mystic theology* too, which was popular in these times, and which taught that a knowledge of God and divine things can be attained only in meditation and seclusion, exerted a strong influence in the same direction.

From the operation of these and other causes, monasticism, with all its fooleries of superstitions, became immensely popular. Admiring multitudes flocked after the monks, and thronged around their pillars and their cells. Their words were listened to as the reponses of an oracle. The refuse of their garments, and the very offal of their persons, were regarded as treasures of the greatest value.

By the middle of the fourth century, monasticism was transported from the East into the West, and spread with astonishing rapidity through Italy, France, Spain, Britain, and some parts of Germany. Its growth was greatly promoted by the translation into Latin of a spurious mystical work ascribed to Dionysius the Areopagite. The first to organize the Western monks into communities was Benedict of Nursia; and for long ages the Benedictines were almost the only order of monks to be found in Europe.

But the superstition of the age did not show itself alone in monkery and its connected observances: it appeared in other forms. The celibacy of the clergy,—that source of untold clerical

* We read of another Simeon who lived on a pillar sixty-eight years; and of Daniel the Stylite, who pursued the same course of life thirty years.

abominations, — though not yet enjoined, was warmly encouraged ; while second marriages were held in abhorrence. The churches were ornamented with pictures, and, in some places, with images of the saints, which were held in the greatest reverence, if not religiously worshipped. Pilgrimages were undertaken to the Holy Land, and relics were hunted and hoarded up as the richest treasures. The zeal for bones and relics of the saints gave rise to endless impositions. Graves of saints and martyrs were alleged to be where they were not ; and even robbers were converted into martyrs.

There were some, indeed, who undertook to withstand this tide of superstition and corruption which was setting in upon the world. There was Acrius, who disapproved of alms and prayers for the dead, and strove in vain to bring back the religion of Christ to its primitive simplicity and purity. There was Jovinian, an Italian monk, who taught, that if persons keep the vows which they make to God in baptism, and lead holy, obedient lives, they have an equal title to the rewards of heaven as those who macerate their bodies, and toil through a round of unmeaning and unauthorized ceremonies. There was Vigilantius too, a Spanish presbyter, who, after having made a pilgrimage to Palestine, came back and denounced and ridiculed the senseless superstitions which he saw prevailing around him. But such efforts were but the work of individuals : their voices were quickly silenced ; and the current of superstition rolled on as before.

I have spoken already of the tendency of the age to a dead *formalism*, — a trusting to multiplied rites and forms, rather than to the blood of Christ, for pardon and salvation ; thus bringing back the identical error of the scribes and Pharisees, which Christianity was intended to supplant. There was also a tendency to one of the worst forms of *Antinomianism*, — the separation of religion from morality ; the holding that men may be good Christians, and yet violate some of the plain precepts of the moral law. We trace the workings of this error in the pious frauds which were continually practised, — the false pretences to prodigies and miracles, and the palming-off of books under forged names. In short, the Jesuitical principle had begun already to show itself, — that it is right to deceive and lie for a worthy object, and that the end sanctifies the means.

But after all these abatements, which we are bound in fairness to

make, it still remains a truth, that God did not leave himself without witness in the fourth and fifth centuries. There was still much life and goodness in the Church, and many examples of holy living and patient suffering, and earnest contending for the faith, and persevering labor in the cause of Christ, which the Church in every age would do well to imitate.

PERIOD V.

FROM THE SUBVERSION OF THE WESTERN ROMAN EMPIRE, A.D. 476,
TO ITS RESTORATION UNDER CHARLEMAGNE, A.D. 800.

CHAPTER XXIV.

EXTERNAL HISTORY OF THE CHURCH DURING THIS PERIOD.

THE preceding period closed with the overthrow of the Western Roman Empire, in the year 476. The last who bore the name of emperor was Romulus Augustulus. He was dethroned by Odoacer, a Gothic chieftain, who reigned in Italy for the next sixteen years. He retained the same laws, offices, and form of government, to which the Romans had been accustomed; was nominally subject to the Eastern emperor; and, though himself an Arian, was not disposed to persecute other Christians. At this time, the different tribes of Goths were in possession, not only of Italy, but of Spain and Gaul; the Vandals had ravaged Northern Africa; while Britain had been overrun by the Anglo-Saxons, its churches destroyed, and the whole of what is now England had been reduced to paganism. The Huns, too,—the most dreaded of all the barbarians,—had ravaged both the East and the West. During this trying period, the churches, of course, suffered greatly; and might have been utterly destroyed, but that the conquerors, after a time, were induced to change their religion, and become nominally Christians.

The distresses of the times were referred, as usual by the Pagans, to the prevalence of Christianity, and the consequent anger of the gods: “Every thing went well with us in former years; but now the altars are forsaken, and the gods have turned against us.” To refute this cavil, Augustine wrote his great work, entitled

“The City of God;” and Orosius wrote his seven books of history. Both writers endeavored to show historically, that as great calamities had befallen the empire during the prevalence of Paganism, and that the gods in whom they trusted had no power either to protect or injure them.

The Eastern Roman Empire, though assailed on every side, still remained, and continued to drag out a precarious existence for almost a thousand years. It fell when Constantinople was taken by the Turks in 1453. The reigning emperor in the East at the commencement of the period under review was Zeno, — the same who endeavored to reconcile the Orthodox and the Monophysites by his famous concordat styled the *Henoticon*. He died in the year 491, and was succeeded by Anastasius, who married his widow, and reigned until the year 518. He was succeeded by Justin I., and he by Justinian, who reigned from 527 to 565, — almost forty years. These were times of great dissension in the East, and of earnest theological discussion. The churches did not suffer so much from palpable persecution as from internal divisions and controversies.

During the period before us, the external state of religion in some parts of what had been the Western Empire was much improved. As remarked already, many tribes of the invaders renounced their idols, and became nominally Christian. Various motives led them to do this. Some thought that the God of the Christians was more powerful than their own, and could better protect them against their enemies; others had married Christian wives, and by them were induced to forsake their old superstitions, and put their trust in Christ. It was this motive which led to the conversion of Clovis, king of the Franks, and founder of the French monarchy. In the year 496 he had a battle with the Allemanns, a tribe of Germans; and, when his situation had become almost desperate, he implored the aid of Christ, whom his Christian wife, *Clotildis*, had often recommended to him, and made a vow, that, if he came off victorious, he would thenceforth worship Christ as his God. He gained the victory, and he stood to his promise. He was soon after baptized; and thousands of his followers were baptized with him. It is said that at his baptism a dove descended from heaven, bringing a phial of oil for his anointing. If the story is entitled to any credit, the dove must have been a carrier-pigeon which had been trained for the purpose.

The kingdom of Odoacer in Italy was overthrown by Theodorio,

king of the Ostro-Goths,* in the year 494. Theodoric was one of the best monarchs that ever reigned in Italy. He cultivated the friendship of the Romans, and governed them according to their own laws. Though unable to read or write, he showed himself the friend and promoter of learning and of learned men. He was an Arian in religion, as were most of those who subverted the Roman Empire; yet he forbore persecution himself, and discouraged it in others, insisting that, in matters of conscience, men should be free. He professed a nominal subjection to the Eastern emperors, as did also his successors; but in reality the government was independent. He died in the year 526, after a prosperous reign of thirty years. The kingdom of the Ostro-Goths in Italy continued until the year 554, when it was overthrown by Narses, one of Justinian's generals.

The reign of Justinian was long, and prosperous to the Church. By his missionaries, he succeeded in the conversion of several barbarous tribes who resided on the shores of the Black Sea; also in the conversion of the Heruli and other tribes of Goths. In his reign, too, it is said that a great many Jews made a profession of Christianity, induced to it, probably, by the promise of rewards. Though not himself a military man, Justinian was peculiarly fortunate in the selection of his generals. Under the direction of Belisarius, the Vandals were driven out of Africa, which they had held in possession almost a hundred years. By Belisarius and Narses the kingdom of the Ostro-Goths in Italy was overthrown when it had subsisted about sixty years. By these great conquests, the Roman power was re-established in a considerable part of what had been the Western Empire.

Though represented as a weak and superstitious man, Justinian accomplished another great work for the Romans. He caused to be prepared and published a *digest* of Roman laws. This was a prodigious undertaking. It was to collect and arrange in methodical order all that was useful in the works of the ancient lawyers, amounting to more than two thousand volumes. This great work, entitled "The Pandects of Justinian," is studied and valued at the present day.

I have before spoken of the disaster which came upon the ancient British churches from the invasion of the Anglo-Saxons. In the

* Ostro-Goths, i.e. Eastern Goths, to distinguish them from the Visi-Goths, or Western Goths. The Suavi, Heruli, Alans, Allemanns, &c., were only names of different tribes of Goths.

greater part of what is now England, Christianity was extirpated, and German Paganism took its place. Thor and Woden were worshipped instead of God, and Christian pastors were succeeded by Druidical priests. The war between the Britons and Saxons continued for more than a hundred years, during which time vast multitudes of the native Christians were destroyed; and what remained were driven into the fastnesses of Wales, or into foreign lands. Many of them fled into France, and settled the province which is still named for them, *Brittany*. The government of England was entirely changed. In place of the ancient monarchs, seven Saxon chieftans ruled over as many provinces; and the government of the whole was styled a heptarchy.

Near the close of the sixth century, Christianity was again introduced into England, and from two opposite quarters at the same time. Augustine, with forty other monks or missionaries, was sent by Gregory, bishop of Rome, to publish the gospel in the south of England. He succeeded in the conversion of the king of Kent; and the greater part of his kingdom — at that time the most powerful branch of the heptarchy — was soon persuaded to embrace the religion of Rome.

Meanwhile Oswald, king of Northumberland, — the northernmost branch of the heptarchy, — applied for teachers to another source. A missionary school or convent had been for some time established at Iona, one of the Hebrides Islands, under the direction of Columba, an Irish monk, from which proceeded, for a long course of years, a most valuable class of missionaries, called Culdees. For one of these, Oswald made application; and Aidan was sent to instruct him in the faith. The character of this missionary would have done honor to the purest times. He gave to the poor whatever presents he received from the rich, and diligently employed himself with his associates in the study of the Holy Scriptures. He strictly avoided every thing luxurious, and every appearance of secular avarice and ambition. He redeemed captives with the money that was given to him, and afterwards instructed them, and fitted them for the ministry. He labored under a disadvantage, indeed, in not being able to speak the language of the English; but King Oswald, who perfectly understood both languages, acted as his interpreter, and did what he could to assist him in his labors. The zeal of this monarch was extraordinary. He was a nursing father to the infant Church. Encouraged by his protection, more missionaries came from Iona; and churches in considerable numbers were gathered.

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

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

Controversies on these points, as might be expected, soon sprang up in England. Various synods and conferences were held with a view to reconciling differences; but in vain. The emissaries from Rome were bigoted and overbearing. The missionaries from Iona had learned their religion from the Bible, and could not be convinced on any other authority. The kings, however, rather inclined to the customs of Rome, as being the more fascinating and imposing; and the Scots were obliged, after a time, to give way. Colman, the third bishop from Iona, left his charge in the year 662, and returned, with many of his adherents, into Scotland. Bede informs us, that, "the Catholic institution daily increasing, all the Scots who resided among the Angles either conformed to it, or returned to their own country."

But, though the Culdees were shut out of England, they did not relax their exertions to propagate the gospel. They labored with great earnestness in Scotland, Ireland, Wales, and in Batavia, or what is now Holland. In Scotland, the influence of the Culdees continued, with little abatement, until the beginning of the thirteenth century.

While these good men were laboring in England, Columbanus,

another Irish missionary, was spreading the light of truth in Gaul and in some parts of Germany. Indeed, Ireland at this period—owing to the previous efforts of St. Patrick and his followers—was more noted for religion than any other part of Europe. It was styled, not improperly, *insula sanctorum* (an island of saints).

The most successful missionaries in the East, at this time, were the Nestorians. From their home in Persia, they were extending their labors all through what is now Tartary, or Central Asia, filling it with churches, and with at least a nominal Christianity. As early as the seventh century they reached China, and commenced operations there. A monument was discovered in the year 1625 at Si-an-fu, in the province of Schen-si, the genuineness of which is generally admitted, which records the introduction of Christianity into China by the Nestorians in the year 636. This monument is a marble slab, ten feet long and five feet broad, the top of which is a pyramidal cross. The caption to the inscription is thus translated: “This stone was erected to the honor and eternal memory of the Law of Light and Truth, brought from Tacin” (i.e., Judæa or Syria), “and promulgated in China.” The principal inscription is in Chinese characters, and consists of twenty-eight columns, each containing sixty-two words. It first states the fundamental principles of Christianity; and then mentions the arrival of missionaries in the year 636, their gracious reception by the king, their labors and success, and the principal events of the mission, until the year 780. During this time, there were two persecutions: Soon after the second persecution, some new missionaries arrived. The monument was erected in 782. At the time of its discovery, this stone had fallen, and was covered with earth. Of its genuineness I think there can be no reasonable doubt; and, if genuine, it certainly is a monument of the zeal and faithfulness of the Nestorian missionaries in the ages of which we speak.*

One of the most successful missionaries in these times was Boniface, sometimes called “the Apostle of Germany.” He was an English Benedictine monk, of noble birth, whose proper name was Winifrid. He commenced his labors among the Frieslanders, Thuringians, and Hessians, in 719, and continued them for more than forty years. In 723, he was ordained a bishop at Rome; and in 746 he was constituted archbishop of Mentz, and primate of Germany and Belgium. He was supported by the pope of Rome,

* Fac-similes of this monument are now common in some parts of North China. The tablet itself has been seen and examined by American missionaries.

and by Charles Martel and his sons Carloman and Pepin; and seems to have relied more on an arm of flesh than would be deemed proper by modern missionaries. He was attended frequently by soldiers as his body-guard. Still Boniface was an indefatigable man, who encountered many dangers and hardships, and served God and his generation according to the light he had. He was very earnest in subjecting to Rome those Christians who had been previously instructed by Columbanus and the Culdees. He was finally murdered by the barbarous people for whose good he had so long and so faithfully toiled. He was assisted in his labors by Corbinian and Pirmin, monks of France.

The Saxons of Germany had proved themselves incorrigible as to all missionary influence until near the close of our present period, when they were taken in hand by Charlemagne. At first he sent missionaries to instruct and persuade them; but these met with no success. He next invaded them with his armies, and left them no alternative but to receive the gospel, or be exterminated. They now reluctantly ceased to resist, and consented to be baptized by the teachers whom the conqueror had sent. We may well doubt as to the value of such conversions; and, in respect to the characters of those converted, they were probably of no value. Still a degree of importance is to be attached to them in their influence on future generations. Idolatry, with all its hideous abominations, was abolished; a nominal Christianity was introduced; and the way was prepared for a more thorough spiritual work in future than at the time was possible.

Most of the conversions occurring in the period of which we speak were probably of no more value than those ascribed to Charlemagne. They were brought about by sinister motives, and consisted in little more than a change of heathen rites for those of the Christians. The converts were taught to commit to memory some Christian formulas, and to worship the images of Christ and the saints in place of those of their former divinities. Miracles were continually appealed to in support of Christianity; but these were no better than tricks or fables. Of *fabulous* miracles, the following may be taken as examples: While Corbinian, a French missionary, was journeying through Bavaria, a huge bear attacked one of his pack-horses, and killed it. Corbinian caught the bear, gave him a sound whipping, and compelled him to serve in place of the horse. St. Winnoek had a hand-mill, which, when he let go of it to say his prayers, would turn of itself; and, when an

inquisitive monk looked through a crevice to see the wonder, he was instantly struck blind for his presumption. Let any one look into the "Acta Sanctorum," written at this period and a little later, and he will find them stuffed with marvels and miracles such as these.

Among those who persecuted the Christians during this period, we may mention, first of all, the Persians. Chosroes, king of Persia, exceeded all others in barbarity; for he publicly declared that he would make war, not upon Justinian only, but upon the God of the Christians. A great number of Christians were put to death by his hands. The Britons also, previous to the conversion of the Anglo-Saxon kings, suffered from them the most distressing calamities. In a war of more than a hundred years, vast multitudes of Christians were destroyed; while those that remained were driven from their homes, and obliged to seek refuge in foreign lands.

Of books written against the Christians in these times, the most considerable were "The Eighteen Arguments" of Proclus, a Neo-Platonic philosopher. His principal object was to prove, in opposition to the sacred writers, that this world had no beginning,—that it was eternal. His work was widely circulated, and was solidly confuted by John Philoponus of Alexandria in his commentary on the creation.

But the great adversary of the Church in the seventh century and onward was Mohammed. He was a native of Mecca, in Arabia; of a poor but noble family; and was brought up in comparative ignorance. Whether he could read or write is still matter of dispute among his followers. Having acquired some knowledge of Christianity by his intimacy with a Nestorian monk, he conceived the design of forming a new religion, and founding a new empire. He set himself up as a prophet about the year 612, and, like Montanus and Manes, pretended to be the *Paraclete*,—the promised Comforter from heaven. His religion is a compound, in about equal proportions, of Christianity, Judaism, and Oriental heathenism, inculcating the unity of God and many precepts of charity, but filled up with fables and ridiculous superstitions.

The new prophet at first met with opponents, and, being obliged to flee from Mecca, took refuge in Medina, where he was protected by some Jews and Christians. From the *Hegira*, or flight of Mohammed, which took place in the year 622, his followers date the commencement of their era.

The religion of Mohammed is contained in the Koran, which, it is pretended, was composed by God in the highest heaven, and sent down to the lower heavens by the angel Gabriel, who communicated it by parcels to Mohammed during the twenty-three years of his prophetic ministry. The parcels, when revealed, were written down by the prophet's scribe, and communicated to the people. The original manuscripts were thrown promiscuously into a chest; whence they were taken, after Mohammed's death, and published in their present form, without any regard to dates or a classification of subjects.

The religion of Mohammed was admirably calculated to make warriors; for he promised paradise to every believer who fell in battle, and taught that the duration of human life was so fixed by fate, or the divine decrees, that no precautions to preserve it were of any avail. His followers soon became an army of the most enthusiastic and determined warriors. During the life of the prophet, they had swept over several of the surrounding countries; and, after his death, they rapidly conquered Syria, Persia, Egypt, all Northern Africa, the Islands of Sicily and Sardinia, and a considerable part of Spain and Gaul. Their conquests were indeed checked by Charles Martel, who gained a great victory over them at Poitiers in the year 732; and afterwards by Charlemagne, who attacked them in Spain in the year 778. Still they continued to extend their conquests, and for a time seemed to threaten all Christendom.

They had an argument for their religion which was invincible. They carried the Koran in one hand, and the sabre in the other, and proclaimed everywhere to those whom they conquered, "We bring you either paradise or hell: you must either embrace Islamism and pay a tribute, or be cut in pieces by our swords."

Mohammed died in the year 632, in the sixty-third year of his age. A dispute immediately arose among his followers as to a successor,—one part choosing Abubeker, his father-in-law; and the other part Ali, his son-in-law. This controversy has been handed down to posterity, and has divided Mussulmans into two great parties, the *Sonnites* and the *Shi-ites*. The followers of Abubeker are called *Sonnites*,—embracing the Turks, Tartars, Africans, and the *Mohammedans* of India,—because, in connection with the Koran, they hold to the *Sonna*, or oral law, which the *Shi-ites* reject. The *Shi-ites* include the Persians, the Mogores, and some other tribes.

We have heard of the success of Justinian's generals, Belisarius

and Narses, in subverting the kingdom of the Ostro-Goths in Italy about the middle of the sixth century. By this conquest, Italy fell again under the control of the Eastern Roman emperors; but it was subject to them for only a little while. In 568, the Lombards, a warlike German tribe, broke into Italy, and, having possessed themselves of the whole country except Rome and Ravenna, founded a new kingdom at Pavia. Under these heathen barbarians, the Italian Christians, for a time, suffered severely; but, in process of years, the Lombards became more civilized, and made a profession of Christianity. At the same time, also, they became more grasping and ambitious. They were not satisfied with what of Italy they already possessed, but strove to become masters of the whole country. In these circumstances, Stephen II., bishop of Rome, applied to Pepin, the newly-constituted king of the Franks,* to come with an army into Italy, and aid him against the Lombards. In compliance with this request, Pepin invaded Italy; wrested from Aistulphus, king of the Lombards, the provinces which he had taken; and made a donation of them to the bishop of Rome.

After the death of Pepin, Desiderius, king of the Lombards, collected an army, and retook the provinces which had been given to the pontiff. Adrian I., who was now pontiff, had recourse at once to Charlemagne, the son of Pepin. He crossed the Alps with a powerful army in the year 774; overturned the empire of the Lombards; and took their king, Desiderius, with him into France. He also confirmed the donation which his father had made to St.-Peter, — i.e., to the Roman pontiff, — and added to it several more cities.

And here we have the beginning of what are called the *temporal* possessions of the pope of Rome. He governed the city of Rome before, and held some towns and villages round it, which were called his *patrimony*; but now he received — subject nominally to Charlemagne — the exarchate of Ravenna, and the greater part of what had been the kingdom of the Lombards. He became, at this period, a *temporal sovereign*, — a *beast*, a *horn*, in the sense of the prophets; and this dominion the popes have held (with some changes and revolutions) almost to the present time. This, therefore, is an important era in the history of Popery.

* Zecharias, bishop of Rome, had recently dethroned Childeric, king of the Franks, and given the kingdom to Pepin, son of Charles Martel. Thus ended the Merovingian dynasty, the descendants of Clovis; and the Carolingian dynasty commenced.

To reward Charlemagne for his assistance and donations to the pope, he was solemnly declared, in the year 800, *emperor of Rome*. To this office he was elected by the senate and people of Rome, and to it he was set apart and consecrated by the pontiff himself. In him, therefore, — so far as the altered circumstances of the times would allow, — was restored the *Western Roman Empire*, more than three hundred years after its subversion by Odoacer, king of the Goths.

CHAPTER XXV.

CHURCH ORGANIZATION. — RELIGIOUS RITES AND TEACHERS.

THE government of the Church in the period before us was Episcopal, as it had been for two hundred years. In Europe, during the latter part of this period, it was more than Episcopal: it was coming to be Papal. The higher clergy were becoming rich and powerful, and proportionally extravagant and corrupt: many of them affected a show of royalty, and formed around themselves a kind of sacred court. In the eighth century, when the notion came to prevail, that, by gifts for religious purposes, persons might make amends for sin, and secure absolution, presents flowed in to the bishops, the churches, and monasteries, as they never had done before. Not only did prelates receive private donations, but whole provinces, cities, and castles, with all their rights of sovereignty, were made over to them; and those persons whose business it was to teach contempt for the world suddenly became dukes, counts, marquises, legislators, and sovereign lords, and not only administered justice, but, at the head of armies, marched out to war.

This great aggrandizement of the clergy commenced with the Roman pontiff, and from him extended to inferior bishops and priests. The conversion of the barbarous nations which overturned the Western Empire contributed largely to the increase of popish and priestly power: for these people had been, time immemorial, in the most abject subjection to their Druidical priests, and especially to the high priest or pontiff; and now they readily transferred to the Roman pontiff the fear, the reverence, the honor, the submission, which they had been accustomed to render to their former lords. They had before been terribly priest-ridden, and hence they the more readily submitted to be priest-ridden still.

It was in the eighth century that the bishop of Rome first assumed the power of making and unmaking kings. Pepin, viceroy

of Childeric, king of the Franks, wished to divest his sovereign of the title and the honors of royalty, and take them to himself. He conferred with his nobles on the subject; and they demanded that the Roman pontiff should be first consulted as to the right of yielding to his wishes. Pepin, therefore, despatched an envoy to Pope Zecharias with the question. The pope, at that time, needed the aid of Pepin and the Franks against the Lombards, who were troubling him; and so he answered the question in Pepin's favor. His reply being known in France, no further objection was made. The unhappy monarch was divested of his royal dignity; and Pepin mounted the throne of his king and lord.

Still the pontiffs of Rome did not accomplish their usurpations without resistance. There was the old rivalry between the bishops of Rome and Constantinople, which continued to rankle, and engender strife, through the whole of the period under review. In the year 451, the council of Chalcedon had decreed that the bishop of new Rome ought to enjoy the *same* honors and prerogatives with the bishop of ancient Rome; but neither party was quite satisfied with this decision. Both wished and intended to be first; and so the former strife was continued. In a council held at Constantinople in 587, John, the patriarch, assumed to himself the title of *Universal Bishop*; and the assumption was acquiesced in by the council. At this, Gregory the Great, bishop of Rome, was greatly scandalized: for several years he labored by entreaties and threats, and by frequent applications to the Eastern emperors, to divest the patriarch of Constantinople of a title which he declared to be "*profane, anti-Christian, and infernal, by whomsoever assumed.*" And yet, in a very short time (A.D. 606), Boniface III., bishop of Rome, prevailed on the Emperor Phocas to take from the Constantinopolitan patriarch the offensive title, and confer it on himself, — a title which — "*profane, anti-Christian, and infernal*" though it be — the bishops of Rome have not been ashamed to wear ever since. From this period, — owing to causes which have been already mentioned, and to the fact that Pepin and Charlemagne always favored the claims of the Roman bishop, — he had little difficulty in maintaining the priority which he so much desired.

Still the popes had not yet put forth all their claims; nor would they have been admitted if they had. The ancient Britons and Scots would not be moved for a long time, either by the threats or the promises of the papal legates, to subject themselves to the government of Rome. The Gauls and Spaniards attributed just

so must authority to the pontiff as they supposed would be for their own advantage, and no more. Nor in Italy itself could he make the bishop of Ravenna, and some others, bow obsequiously to his will.* It is also clear, that, in both the East and the West, supreme power over the clergy and the churches was still vested — as, from the time of Constantine, it ever had been — in the emperors and kings. In proof of this, I may refer to the contention between Symmachus and Laurentius, in the sixth century, as to which of them was the true pope of Rome. After three councils had in vain tried to settle the dispute, it was taken up by Theodoric, the Gothic king of Italy, and decided in favor of Symmachus. And, even in the time of Charlemagne, a council at Rome conferred on him and his successors the power of appointing and confirming the Roman pontiffs. The pontiffs were also subject to the laws of the sovereigns, and liable to be punished for crimes and misdemeanors, like other citizens.

In the latter part of the fifth century, a new *patriarch* was added to the four already existing; viz., the patriarch of Jerusalem. These patriarchs had great prerogatives. They consecrated the bishops in their respective provinces; convoked councils to settle difficulties and regulate ecclesiastical affairs; and, if any of the bishops were charged with offences, they were obliged to abide by the decision of the patriarch. But this constitution of things, so far from contributing to the peace of the churches, was rather the source of very great evils. The patriarchs encroached on the rights of the bishops, and they on the rights of the inferior clergy and the people. In some cases, the patriarchs actually excited dissensions and controversies, that so they might have the more frequent occasion to exercise their authority, be much appealed to, and have a multitude of clients round them. Then the patriarchs were in perpetual controversy among themselves. They would curtail one another's provinces, encroach on each other's rights, and render the interposition of the civil power of frequent necessity to put an end to their broils and contentions.

In the period before us, the monks had come to be a numerous and powerful body. The original monks were a noiseless though useless class of men, who retired from the world, each seeking salvation in his own way. They were not clergymen, and aspired to no office or honor in the Church; but as their number, wealth,

* See Mosheim's Ecc. Hist., vol. i. p. 514.

and reputation increased, they became more ambitious, and fond of show. Numerous and costly edifices were erected for them; and, when church-officers were to be elected, they were frequently chosen from the monasteries. Previous to the sixth century, they were not all subject to the same regulations. Some followed the rule of Augustine, others that of Basil, and others those of Anthony, Athanasius, and Pachomius. They were under the protection and control of the bishops where their houses were situated. But subsequent to the year 529, when Benedict of Nursia established his new order on Mount Cassino, this gradually swallowed up all the rest. The monks of Europe, for several centuries, were almost universally Benedictines. His rule is still extant; and it may not be improper to give the substance of it: "The monks were to rise in winter at two o'clock, A.M., and in summer at such times as the abbot might direct; repair to the place of worship for vigils; and spend the remainder of the night in reading and committing psalms, and in private meditation. At sunrise, they assembled for matins; then spent four hours in labor; then two hours in reading; then dined; and read in private until half-past two, P.M.; when they met again for worship, and afterwards labored till their vespers. In their vigils and matins, twenty-four psalms were to be chanted each day, so as to go through the Psalter every week. They ate twice a day at a common table. Both the quantity and quality of their food were limited. To each was allowed one pound of bread per day, and a little wine. On the public table no meat was allowed, but always two kinds of porridge. While at table, all conversation was prohibited; and some one read aloud the whole time. They all served as cooks and waiters by turns. Their clothing was coarse and simple. Each one had two suits, together with a knife, a needle, and other necessaries. They slept—from ten to twenty in a room—in single beds, without undressing, with a light burning, and an inspector in each room. No conversation was permitted after they retired; nor were they ever permitted to talk for mere amusement. The gate was kept locked night and day; and none could go out or come in without permission of the abbot. A school for children in the neighborhood was kept without the walls. For admission to the society, a probation of twelve months was requisite."

So long as the Benedictines observed these rules, they were a virtuous and useful people. In consequence of the labor enjoined upon them, wherever they set up their establishments, they con-

verted the wilderness into a fruitful country. They pursued agriculture, raised cattle, drained morasses, and cleared away forests. They cultivated the sciences, taught schools, and did much in the way of transcribing and preserving ancient works. Indeed, the monasteries embodied almost all the learning of the age; and through them have come down to us nearly all the great works, both classical and religious, which the ancients have left us.

But, as the Benedictines increased in reputation and honor, they increased in wealth; and this engendered indolence, voluptuousness, and every form of vice. Repeated endeavors were put forth to reform them; but a permanent reformation was to them impossible. They continued, however, under different names, and constituted almost the only order of monks in Europe down to the rise of the Mendicants in the thirteenth century.

As before remarked, the monastic establishments were at first subjected to the bishops where they were located; but, owing to their frequent quarrels with the bishops, they were at length taken under the direct supervision of the Roman pontiff. This change went to link the monks to the pontiff, on the one hand, and thereby to increase his power: while, on the other, it was a source of corruption to themselves; for the pontiff, being far removed from them, and deeply engaged in his own affairs, could exercise but little supervision over them, and they were left to do very much as they pleased.

The great corruption of the whole sacred order, both monks and priests, led, in the eighth century, to the formation of an intermediate class, called *canons*. They adopted, in part, the mode of life pursued by the monks; yet they did not take upon themselves monastic vows, and they performed ministerial services in the churches. The institution of this new order is attributed to Chrodegang, bishop of Mentz.

I might have said at an earlier period, that monks and nuns made their appearance in the Church at about the same time; and their establishments, for the most part, grew up together. Wherever there were convents for males, there would be nunneries for females, subject, in general, to the same rules. So, when the order of canons was instituted, it was followed very soon by that of canonesses.

I have spoken before of the constant increase of rites and ceremonies in the Church. These had multiplied to such an extent in the sixth century, that a class of men was set apart expressly to

interpret them; nor would this have been a useless class if they had interpreted correctly. Instead of searching for the origin of the added rites in reason or Scripture, or in their own fancies, they should have traced them to the Jewish and heathen temples; from which, undoubtedly, the most of them were copied.

A multitude of temples were erected in this age, both in the East and in the West,—not so much as places of worship, as in honor of departed saints. The impression prevailed that the saints were pleased, and could be propitiated, by such offerings, and took the places where the temples were located under their special care.

In the latter part of the period before us, a reverence for the eucharist, and for the elements employed in celebrating it, had become excessive and absurd. The idea did not yet prevail that these elements were transmuted into the veritable body and blood of Christ: still it was believed that Christ was somehow *with* them and *in* them, so that those who partook of them literally received the Saviour. Hence the elements, after being consecrated, were held in great veneration, and were strictly guarded by ecclesiastical law. Thus it was decided by Pope Gregory III., that “if the bread be injured through the negligence of any one, let him do penance one year. If he lets it fall on the ground, he must sing fifty psalms. If, by neglect, worms shall get into the sacrifice, or it lose its color or taste, the guilty person must do penance thirty days, and the sacrifice must be burned. Whoever turns up the cup at the close of the mass must do penance forty days. If a drop from the cup shall fall on the altar, the minister must suck it up, and do penance three days; and the linen cloth on which the drop fell must be washed three times over the cup, and the water in which it was washed must be cast into the fire.”

In proportion as the eucharist came to be revered, exclusion from it was deprecated. Excommunication was more dreaded in the West than in the East, owing to the fact that those who had been recently converted from heathenism confounded Christian excommunication with that of the Druidical priests, which was supposed to bring with it the most intolerable evils, both temporal and eternal. In Europe, from the eighth century onward, an excommunicated person was an outlaw and a monster. He was no longer a king, a ruler, or a citizen; he was no longer a husband, a father, or a man, but was considered as a brute, and even below the brutes.

But, if excommunication was made so terrible, the methods of avoiding it were made more easy, especially to the rich. Private

confessions were substituted in place of those which had been public, and severe penances were allowed to be commuted for money. In these innovations we have the origin of *auricular confession* and of priestly *indulgences*,—both of them sources of immense influence and wealth, and also of corruption, in the Romish Church in the following ages.

The teachers and writers of this period were not so numerous or eminent as those of the preceding; yet with the more distinguished of them we ought to be acquainted.

One of the best men of the age was Columba, principal of the convent school at Iona, and leader of that noble band of Scottish missionaries commonly called Culdees. Columba was of royal descent, and was born at Donegal, in Ireland, about the year 521. He came into Scotland to preach the gospel to the northern Picts in the year 563. He is to be distinguished from Columbanus, another Irish missionary, who rose a little later, preached the gospel in France and Germany, and finally died in Italy. His success among the Picts was very great, many of whom were converted through his instrumentality. To reward him for his disinterested labors, the king of the Picts put him in possession of the little Island of Iona, lying on the outer shore of Mull, which is one of the principal of the Hebrides, or Western Islands. Columba now returned to Ireland, and, having secured twelve assistants, came back, and established himself at Iona. The first object of these adventurers was to prepare themselves huts, and to erect a little church; but as the fame of their enterprise spread, and numbers resorted to them for instruction, these rude structures gave place to others of a more commodious and permanent character. In a few years, Iona was covered with cloisters and churches, and became the residence of a numerous body of teachers and students. The institution was supported, partly by charitable contributions, and partly by the inmates themselves; a certain portion of each day being devoted to labor.

The school at Iona had a valuable library. Its government was vested in a principal and twelve assistants. The office of principal was held by Columba till his death in the year 597. Himself and his assistants were all presbyters; there being no higher ministerial office among them. To them pertained the business of instruction, and the general oversight of the concerns of the institution. They judged of the qualifications of those under their care; gave them ordination when prepared for it; sent them forth to

their respective fields of labor; and still continued them under their direction and control. Even those of them who were constituted bishops still considered themselves amenable to the teachers at Iona, and might be removed or recalled whenever they should think it proper.

The course of study at Iona was eminently scriptural. It is recorded of Columba, that "he was much devoted to the study of the Holy Scriptures." He taught his pupils to confirm their doctrines by the Bible, and to receive that alone as of divine authority which was so established. The consequence was, that the students at Iona were simple Bible Christians, uncontaminated with the superstitions which were then beginning to prevail in other parts of the Christian world.

After the commencement of the establishment at Iona, Columba did not desist entirely from missionary labors. We hear of him, at a certain time, in the neighborhood of Inverness, in the north of Scotland, where he preached to the rude inhabitants by means of an interpreter; but his principal influence, from this time, was through the medium of his pupils. They penetrated into every part of Scotland; so that, before the close of the sixth century, the great mass of the people were nominally converted. They preached also in Ireland, in Wales, in the north of England, in some parts of the Belgic provinces, and also in Germany.

In process of time, several other establishments grew up, constituted substantially after the model of Iona. One was founded at Abernethy, another at Dunkeld, another at St. Andrew's, and others at Dunblane, Monimusk, and Scone. The whole number of their schools in different countries is said to have been eighty-nine. The missionaries from these establishments were *the Culdees*. They were found in every part of the British Islands, and beyond them; and constituted a numerous and powerful body of preachers and teachers. They were distinguished for their love of the Bible, for the simplicity of their faith and worship, and for their steady and persevering opposition to the usurpation and superstitions of the Church of Rome. In Scotland, their influence continued, with little abatement, until the beginning of the thirteenth century.

Gregory the Great, bishop of Rome, was of senatorian rank, and was born at Rome about the year 540. He was made governor of the city before he was thirty years old. The death of his father put him in possession of a vast estate, which he devoted to pious and charitable uses. He built and endowed six monasteries in Sicily,

and a seventh at Rome, in which he himself lived, under the control of the abbot. He resided several years at Constantinople as Papal legate; and then returned to his monastery with a rich treasure of relics, of which he was excessively fond. He was raised to the Papal chair in 590, much against his own inclination; and for the next thirteen years was an indefatigable bishop, a zealous reformer of the clergy and the monasteries, and a strenuous defender of the rights of his see. He was instrumental in converting the Arian Lombards to the Orthodox faith, and in restraining the ravages of that warlike people. It was he who resisted the claim of the bishop of Constantinople to be styled *Universal Bishop*. It was he who sent Augustine with his forty monks into England to attempt the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons. Gregory was a learned man: and his works are more voluminous than those of any other pontiff. Still he discouraged secular learning, more especially in the clergy. Writing to one of his clergy, he says, "The praises of Christ and of Jupiter cannot have place in the same mouth. If it shall appear that you do not study vanities and secular literature, I shall praise God, who has not permitted your heart to be defiled with the blasphemies of the horrible ones." Gregory seems to have been a truly pious man, and a well-wisher to the cause of Christ; but his character was much marred by superstition, and his devotion to the extravagant claims of Rome.

Evagrius Scholasticus was one of the continuators of Eusebius' "Ecclesiastical History." Eusebius brought it down to the year 421. It was continued by Theodoret, bishop of Cyrus, to the year 427; by Socrates and Sozomen to 439; and by Evagrius to 594. It makes us acquainted with many important facts, but is much disfigured by monkish legends and other fabulous tales.

Benedict of Nursia is chiefly distinguished as the founder of the numerous order of Benedictine monks. He has left almost nothing in writing, except his monastic regulations.

Dionysius Exiguus was a Scythian monk, who flourished at Rome from about the year 533 to 556. He gave attention to chronological studies, and was the first to propose that Christians should commence their era from the birth of Christ. But Dionysius miscalculated the time of Christ's birth, placing it about four years too late.

The most learned man of the sixth century was *Bæthius*. He was educated at Athens, and was at once a philosopher, orator, poet, and theologian. He was counsellor and *major domus* under

Theodoric, king of the Goths, whom he served faithfully more than twenty years. At length, he was falsely accused to the king, and by him banished, and afterwards put to death. He left many works, — classical, scientific, philosophical, and theological, — which have been published in three volumes folio.

I conclude my notice of authors with a few words on the life and character of the *Venerable Bede*. He was an Englishman, born at Farrow, near the mouth of the Tyne, in Northumberland, in the year 673. He spent nearly his whole life in a monastery and in the prosecution of various studies. His works fill no less than eight folio volumes. The most valuable of them is his “*Ecclesiastical History of England*,” commencing with the invasion of Julius Cæsar, and terminating in the year 731. Notwithstanding its many blemishes, it is invaluable to the student of English church-history. Bede was not a man of much originality and genius, but truly pious and orthodox according to the standard of the age. He was a diligent compiler and collector of facts and legends. He died in the year 735.

A revolution in philosophy took place during the period of which we speak. The first philosophy with which Christianity came in contact was the Oriental, or Gnostic. This culminated in the second century, and gave place to the Neo-Platonic philosophy in the third. This philosophy had its principal schools at Athens and Alexandria; and flourished (more particularly in the East) for several hundred years; but, in the sixth century, Justinian broke up the schools of the Platonics, forbade the teachers to continue their instructions, and required them to embrace Christianity. These orders scattered the teachers, and sent many of them into Persia and other places, from which they did not return. From this period, Neo-Platonism soon passed away; and Aristotelianism came into its place. The dialectics of Aristotle were thought to be peculiarly calculated to sharpen the intellect, and prepare it for the controversies of the times. The reign of the Stagirite now commenced; and continued, with little interruption, for the next thousand years, — until it encountered, in the first half of the seventeenth century, the more popular systems of Bacon and Descartes.

CHAPTER XXVI.

DOCTRINES, HERESIES, CONTROVERSIES, STATE OF RELIGION, IN THIS PERIOD.

THE great facts of the Christian system were held and taught in the period before us ; and some points of doctrine were more accurately defined and better understood than they had been before. This was a natural result of the controversies which were had respecting them. Still these facts and doctrines were so mixed up with superstitious errors and additions as to mar their excellence, and divest them of their saving power. Thus the Christians, in these times, believed in one God, and rendered him religious worship ; but they also worshipped various other things, — such as the wood of the cross, and the images and relics of the saints. They believed that Christ had died to make expiation for sin ; but they did not trust in him alone for salvation : so far from this, they trusted chiefly to their penances, their free-will offerings, their meritorious performances, and the intercession of the saints. They believed in the existence of heaven and of hell : but they also believed that none but martyrs and the more rigid recluses went to heaven at death ; while the rest of mankind, and even of Christians, were doomed to undergo a purification in purgatorial fire. They believed in the necessity of holy living in order to a good hope of heaven ; but what was holy living according to the standard of the seventh and eighth centuries ? What must a man be and do in order to be esteemed a good Christian ? “He is a good Christian,” says St. Eligius, “who comes often to church, and brings his offering to be laid on the altar ; who does not taste of his produce till he has first offered some of it to God ; who, as often as the holy solemnities return, keeps himself for some days pure even from his own wife, that so he may come to the altar with a safe conscience ; and who has committed to memory the creed and the Lord’s Prayer.” “Redeem your souls from punishment,”

says the same St. Eligius, “while ye have the means in your power; present oblations and tithes to the churches, bring candles to the holy places, according to your wealth; come often to the church; and beg suppliantly for the intercession of the saints. If ye do these things, ye may come with confidence before the tribunal of the eternal God, and say, ‘*Give, Lord; for we have given.*’”

These extracts show how entirely the religion of the gospel had been perverted and changed by the superstitions of the times. The main facts were held, as before stated; but they were held to little purpose. The sole object of worship, the foundation of hope, the nature of religion, the conditions of salvation,—all were changed.

The interpreters of Scripture in this age may, in general, be divided into two classes: first, those who collected the interpretations of the fathers, and combined them into what were called *catene*, chains. These, of course, were mere compilers; but their compilations were often of considerable value, embodying a synopsis of patristical interpretation. The other class followed Origen, and busied themselves in searching out mystical, allegorical meanings. Their works, so far as they have come down to us, are of little importance. If there were any commentators, aside from these two classes, they will be found among the Nestorians, who, following the example of Theodore of Mopsuestia, sought for the true meaning and intent of the sacred writings.

The theologians of the times may be divided, as before, into two classes,—the *scholastics* and the *mystics*. To these may be added, towards the close of the period under review, a third class; viz., the *positives*. The scholastics sought to elicit and establish truth by reason and discussion; the positives, by the authority of Scripture and the fathers; the mystics, by seclusion and meditation. To the last class belonged the more rigid of the monks; and it is incredible what severe laws they imposed upon themselves in order to stir the divinity within them, and deliver themselves from the corruption of the gross body. To live among wild beasts, and after the manner of beasts; to roam about naked, like madmen, in desert places; to feed their emaciated bodies with roots and grass; to stand motionless in one place for years; to shut themselves up in confined cabins or caves till life could endure no longer,—these they thought the true methods of eliciting the spark of divinity from the recesses of their souls, and bringing them into a oneness with the Deity.

In the period before us, several attempts were made to produce

systems of theology. In the latter part of the sixth century, Isidore of Seville published three books of "Sentences," collected from the writings of Augustine and of Gregory the Great. These were followed up by Scripture proofs and illustrations, and may be regarded as constituting a manual of theology. Still it was but a naked compilation, and very poor at that. In the next century, Antiochus, a monk of Palestine, composed a short summary of Christian doctrine, entitled "Pandects of the Holy Scriptures." At the close of the Pandects we have some verses, in which the author deploras, in mournful measure, the loss of the true wood of the cross, which he believed the Persians had carried away.

Following this, there was a summary of the theology of the times, prepared by Ildefonsus, bishop of Toledo, called "De Cognitione Baptismi." As the title imports, this was designed chiefly for the benefit of catechumens.

Still another work of the kind was prepared in the seventh century by Tajo, bishop of Saragossa. It contains five books of "Sentences," taken chiefly from the writings of Gregory the Great. Though a dry and insipid performance, it was so greatly valued by the other bishops, that they did not hesitate to pronounce it "the very salt of the earth," and its author "a divine luminary in the Church."

In the eighth century, we have a more full and perfect system of theology than any which had before appeared. It was prepared by John of Damascus, an eminent divine of the Eastern Church. It is divided into four books, and unites what are called the *positive* and *scholastic* theologies. The author employs a subtle ratiocination in explaining doctrines, and then confirms them by quotations from Scripture and the fathers.

In his first book, John treats of the being and attributes of God and of the Trinity. In the second book, he speaks of the work of creation, — of the world, angels, and demons, of heaven and earth, of paradise and man. He speaks also of divine providence, pre-science, and predestination; affirming that the latter does not reach to the free actions of men. God *permits* their actions, but does not decree them. He concludes his second book with a consideration of Adam's fall, and its consequences to his posterity.

John's third book is on the doctrine of Christ, and his method of salvation. He asserts the twofold nature of Christ, and his two wills; and holds that the sufferings of Christ were confined to his human nature. The fourth book is chiefly occupied with the

external rites and ordinances of the Church. He speaks of the sacraments much after the manner of the Romanists. He says there are eight distinct kinds of baptism; viz., that of the Deluge, that of the cloud and sea, the purifications under the law, that of John, that appointed by Christ, the baptism of tears, that of blood or martyrdom, and that of eternal fire.

I have given a more full account of this work because it is the first which really deserves to be called a system of theology; and because of the high estimation in which it was long held in the Eastern Church, and is, perhaps, to the present day.

The Donatists, who had so long been a terror and trouble to the churches in Africa, kept up their separate existence until near the close of the sixth century; but from this time they gradually dwindled away, and became extinct.

The Arians, as has been before remarked, when driven out of the Roman Empire by Theodosius, near the close of the fourth century, took refuge among the Goths and Vandals. When these nations came into power, and the Western Empire was overthrown, the Arians rose and flourished with them, and terribly repaid the Orthodox for any hard treatment which they had before received. But, in process of time, the Vandals were driven out of Africa, and the Goths out of Italy, by Justinian's generals; and several other of the Gothic kings embraced the Orthodox faith. These events were fatal to the spread of Arianism. The heresy ere long disappeared; and we hear little more of it until subsequent to the Reformation of the sixteenth century.

The Nestorians and Monophysites, after their formal separation from the Catholic Church and their establishment in the East, enjoyed a large measure of peace and prosperity. The Nestorians were specially active in the missionary work, and established churches in Persia, in India, in Armenia, Arabia, and Syria, among the tribes of Tartary and Scythia, and even in China. The Monophysites were less devoted and active as Christians, and their state was not one of such continued prosperity. Still they spread themselves far and wide in the East, and were a numerous and powerful body of Christians. The Persians were less hostile to these sects than they were to the Greek Catholic Christians; and when the Saracens came into power, in the seventh century, they treated the Nestorians and Monophysites with much favor. Indeed, there is an instrument extant, purporting to have come from Mohammed himself, in which he promises to the Nestorians and Monophysites

his protection; and they promise him loyalty and obedience. He promises them entire religious freedom; and they promise him support against his enemies. The authenticity of this written covenant has indeed been called in question; but it is not disputed by the Mohammedans. It is certain, too, that the Mohammedans of Persia, in these times, employed the Nestorians in the most important affairs both of the court and the provinces; nor would they suffer any patriarch but that of the Nestorians to reside in their kingdom of Babylon.

The eagerness of the Eastern emperors to conciliate the Monophysites, and by paper compromises to bring them back to the Church, involved both parties in new controversies. The Emperor Justinian was made to believe, that, if the acts of the Council of Chalcedon (by which council the Monophysites were condemned) were purged of three offensive chapters, the Monophysites would return to the communion of the Church. Accordingly, it was ordered, in the year 544, that these three chapters should be expunged, but without prejudice to the authority of the Council of Chalcedon. But this edict was violently opposed by the Western bishops, and especially by Vigilius, the Roman pontiff, who insisted that great injury was done by it, both to the Council of Chalcedon and to deceased worthies who died in the communion of the Church. Justinian summoned Vigilius to Constantinople, and compelled him to condemn the three chapters: but the African and Illyrian bishops, on the other hand, compelled Vigilius to revoke that condemnation; for no one of them would own him for a bishop or a brother until he had approved of those three chapters. By a new edict, Justinian again condemned the three chapters, in the year 551.

After much contention, it was thought best to refer the controversy to the decision of a general council. Justinian, therefore, assembled at Constantinople, in the year 553, what is called the fifth general council. In this council, the three Chalcedonian chapters were judged to be erroneous, and pernicious to the Church. Yet this was a decision of the Eastern bishops, as very few from the West were present. Vigilius, then at Constantinople, would not at first assent to the decrees of the council: he was therefore sent into banishment, and not allowed to return until his assent was gained. Here we have the infallible bishop of Rome changing his opinion back and forth in two instances on this question of the three chapters. Pelagius his successor, and several subsequent pontiffs,

agreed in receiving the decrees of this last council; but neither their authority, nor that of the emperors, could induce the Western bishops generally to follow their example. Many of them seceded from the communion of the Roman pontiff: the contention continued; nor could this great wound be healed but by the great healer, Time.

In the next century, another ill-timed effort to produce peace resulted in prolonged contention and war. The Emperor Heraclius was told by some of the leading Monophysites that the believers in the one nature of Christ might be induced to accept the decrees of the Council of Chalcedon, and come back to the Church, provided the Church would admit, that, after the union of the two natures in Christ, he had *but one will* and *one voluntary operation*. The bishop of Constantinople expressed the opinion that this explanation might be adopted without prejudice to the truth or to the Council of Chalcedon. Heraclius, therefore, issued a decree that this faith should be received and taught. At first, the affair seemed to go on well. The statement was acquiesced in by the patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch; and many of the Monophysites returned to the Church. Even Honorius, bishop of Rome, was induced to decide in favor of the *one will* and *one operation* in Christ; but Sophronius, patriarch of Jerusalem, could not be brought to acquiesce in the doctrine. He assembled a council in the year 633, which condemned the *Monothelites*, and maintained that their statement was but a new phase of the old error of one nature in Christ. The consequence was a severe controversy, which divided both Church and Commonwealth into two parties.

To quiet these dissensions, Heraclius published in the year 639 a formula of faith, called *the Ecthesis*, in which, while he asserted the one will in Christ, he forbade all further discussion or agitation of the subject. Some acquiesced in this decree; while others despised it. In particular, John IV., who had succeeded Honorius in the see of Rome, called together a council, which condemned both the Ecthesis and the Monothelites.

As the controversy continued, the Emperor Constans, in the year 648, published a new edict, called *the Typus*, by which the Ecthesis was revoked; but silence was still enjoined on both the contending parties. The monks, however, would not keep silence; and Martin, bishop of Rome, in the year 649 assembled a council, which anathematized both the Ecthesis and Typus, and likewise all who befriended the Monothelites. For this offence, Martin, the next

year, was arrested, and banished to the Island of Naxia. From this time, the controversy slept for several years; but as it was only a concealed fire burning in secret, and as new commotions were constantly to be feared, the Roman pontiff, Agatho, in concurrence with the emperor, summoned a general council in 680, by which the Monothelites and the deceased pontiff Honorius were both condemned. The decision of the council was confirmed by the emperor, and enforced by penal laws. The condemned Monothelites took refuge in Mount Lebanon, and were afterwards called Maronites, — a name which they still bear.

From the controversies with the Monophysites arose a sect which went to the other extreme, and became *Tritheists*. Its author, John Aseunage, believed that there were in God three numerically distinct natures, all perfectly alike, and connected by no common vinculum of essence. This was tritheism; but the sect did not spread far, or continue very long.

In the eighth century, there was a controversy between the Greek and Latin churches respecting *the procession of the Spirit*. The Greeks held, according to the promise in our Bibles, that he proceedeth only from the Father; while the Latins insisted that he proceedeth from the Father and the Son (see John xv. 26). The controversy was slight in itself, but important in its consequences, as it tended, with other things, to bring about an entire separation between the Greek and Latin churches.

The great controversy of the eighth century, and the last which I shall have occasion to notice, was that respecting the worship of images. Pictures and images had been gradually introduced into the churches, partly as a matter of taste, but chiefly as remembrancers of the deeds and sufferings of the martyrs and other holy men. By degrees, the images had been converted into objects of worship; and, in point of idolatry, the churches of the Christians were likely soon to rival the heathen temples. Unable to endure the scandal which such worship brought upon the Christians, especially among the Jews and Saracens, the Emperor Leo III., the Isaurian, in the year 726 published an edict commanding all images of the saints to be removed out of the churches, and the worship of them to be wholly discontinued. This produced a great commotion among the superstitious people, and more especially among the priests and monks, to whom the images were a source of gain. They denounced the emperor as an apostate from the true religion, and declared his subjects free from all obligations of obe-

dience. In Italy, the Roman pontiffs, Gregory II. and Gregory III., were the principal instigators of rebellion. They induced the people of Italy to throw off their allegiance to the Eastern emperor, and to kill or expel the governors which he had set over them. Exasperated by these proceedings, Leo deposed Germanus, bishop of Constantinople, who favored images; and put Anastasius in his place. He commanded that the images should be burned, and, in some instances, punished those who worshipped them. In consequence of this severity, the Christian Church was rent into two parties, the *Iconodules* and *Iconoclasts*, who assailed each other with mutual invectives, abuses, and assassinations.

Leo died in the year 741, and was succeeded by his son Constantine Copronymus, who labored, as his father had done, for the extirpation of image-worship, though with more of method and moderation. He convened a council of Eastern bishops at Constantinople in the year 754, which decided according to the views of the emperor, and condemned images. But the great horde of monks which swarmed the East were not to be silenced by a council. They continued to stir up the people, and excite sedition; while the emperor pursued them with more rigorous laws and punishments.

Leo IV., who succeeded Constantine in the year 775, entertained the same views with his father and grandfather; and, when he saw that the abettors of images were not to be moved by gentle means, he coerced them by penal statutes. But this prince was put to death in the year 780 by his perfidious wife Irene. And now the cause of image-worship triumphed; for this guilty woman, entering into a league with Adrian, the Roman pontiff, convened a council at Nice, in Bythinia, in the year 786, by which the laws of the emperors, and the decrees of the late council at Constantinople, were abrogated; the worship of images and of the cross was established; and severe penalties were denounced against those who should maintain that worship and adoration were to be given only to God.

This wicked woman, Irene, not only poisoned her husband, but procured the death of her own son Constantine in order that she might reign alone. But the judgments of God at length overtook her. In the year 802 she was banished to the Isle of Lesbos, where she died most miserably the following year.

In these contests respecting images, the British, French, and German churches, with Charlemagne at their head, took a mid-

dle ground. They decided that images might be retained in the churches, but that no religious worship could be offered them without dishonoring the Supreme Being. Charlemagne caused a book to be written against image-worship, which he sent to Pope Adrian, and which the pontiff condemned. Charlemagne also convened a council of three hundred bishops at Frankfort-on-the-Main for the purpose of deciding this protracted controversy. The council approved the sentiments of his book, and determined that images were not to be worshipped.

It is remarkable, that in this whole controversy, which lasted more than a hundred years, the bishops of Rome were, from first to last, the open, decided abettors and advocates of image-worship; and this I deem a very important fact in the history of the Papacy. In the imagery of the Old Testament, idol-worship is set forth as *harlotry*; and from this time, perhaps, the Church of Rome became, in the language of the Apocalypse, "the mother of harlots and abominations of the earth" (Rev. xvii. 5).

In estimating the state of religion in the period which has been reviewed, we must distinguish between the rulers of the Church and those in the humbler walks of life. The character of the Church dignitaries was, for the most part, very bad. The Oriental bishops and doctors wasted their lives in controversies and quarrels, disquieting both Church and State; while those in the West gave themselves up to various kinds of profligacy,—such as hunting, gluttony, lust, sensuality, and war. The laws enacted at various times with a view to reclaim them show plainly enough what were their characters. Among the "Capitularia" of Charlemagne, as cited by Harduin, are laws against clergymen's "haunting taverns, practising magic, and receiving bribes to ordain improper persons;" also against "clerical drunkenness, concubinage, and profane swearing." "Bishops, abbots, and abbesses are forbidden to keep packs of hounds, or hawks, or falcons." To be sure, not all the clergy, nor even the higher clergy, were such as these laws would seem to indicate. There were some honorable exceptions, and the more honorable because they were few.

But, when we turn from church dignitaries to those in the humbler walks of life,—missionaries, private laborers in the cause of Christ, and the multitudes for whom they labored, whose histories will never be written on earth, but whose names are in the Lamb's book of life,—we are presented with a much more agreeable prospect. Such were the *Culdees*, of whom we have before spoken, who

were silently traversing the greater part of Western Europe, circulating the Scriptures, preaching to the people, and holding their little private meetings for prayer and praise. Such, too, were the *Paulicians* and the *Cathari*, who were privately laboring in both the East and the West, and who only become visible as they are reproached and persecuted. Previous to the close of the period before us, we begin to hear of the Vallenses, afterwards called Waldenses, who had fixed their residence in the valleys of Piedmont, and dared to confront the arrogant claims of Rome. In fine, we may be sure that God had in this age, as he has in every age, witnesses for his truth and for the power of his gospel: and though unknown to earthly fame, and choosing to be unknown, yet saith God, "They shall be mine in the day when I make up my jewels; and I will spare them as a man spareth his own son that serveth him."

PERIOD VI.

FROM THE RESTORATION OF THE WESTERN EMPIRE UNDER CHARLEMAGNE TO THE CULMINATION OF POKERY AT THE BEGINNING OF THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

CHAPTER XXVII.

EXTERNAL HISTORY OF THE CHURCH DURING THIS PERIOD.

WHEN our last period closed, A.D. 800, the Eastern Empire was ruled by the perfidious Irene, the patroness of images, who had poisoned her husband, and betrayed her son. But her sins soon found her out; and in the year 802 she was banished to the Isle of Lesbos, where she died. She was succeeded by her treasurer, Nicephorus; and, between him and the end of the thirteenth century, more than forty different individuals ruled over the Greeks. These all reigned at Constantinople, with the exception of three or four, who in the time of the Crusades, while the Latins held Constantinople (from A.D. 1204 to 1261), had the seat of their empire at Nice. They were, in general, a pusillanimous succession of monarchs, who accomplished little that is worthy of note in history; and who only lived to see the empire gradually broken down by the Saracens and Turks, preparatory to its final overthrow, — about the middle of the next century.

Egypt and Northern Africa, where had been so many hundreds of Christian churches, and where religion had flourished for ages, under the auspices of such men as Athanasius, Cyprian, and Augustine, was entirely overrun by the Saracens a hundred years before the close of our last period; and Christianity did but linger there, if it existed at all.

In the year 800, as stated in the last chapter, Charlemagne was

made emperor of Rome; and the old Western Roman Empire, so far as the altered condition of things would permit, was restored. He lived fourteen years subsequent to this, and reigned over all France and Germany, together with a part of Hungary, of the Netherlands, of Italy, and of Spain. He was a remarkable man, — *the great man of his age*, — a friend and promoter of learning, and of religion too, as he understood it, though not always in ways which to us would seem the most desirable. His successors inherited none of his great qualities: his vast empire was divided among them; and they kept up the succession through six or seven generations, constituting what is called the Carlovingian dynasty of France. But, in the year 987, the last of the Carlovingians was dethroned by Hugh Capet; and the Capetian dynasty commenced. This dynasty continued through a long line of generations, — the most of them weak, inglorious princes, — until the close of our present period, and beyond it. At the end of the thirteenth century, Philip the Fair was on the throne of France. He contended successfully against the usurpations of Boniface VIII., one of the most vigorous of the pontiffs; and was the means of removing the seat of the Papacy from Rome to Avignon, in France, where it remained seventy years.

At the commencement of the period before us, England was still governed by the Saxon kings; but the heptarchy was brought to an end by Egbert, king of Wessex, in the year 827. The great Alfred was one of his descendants, and reigned from 871 to 901. The Norman and Danish pirates were now prowling and plundering everywhere. They overcame the feeble successors of Alfred; and Canute the Dane began to reign over England in 1017. But his sons soon lost the kingdom, which reverted to Edward II., a descendant of Alfred, and passed over from him to William the Conqueror in 1076.

The condition of Spain through the whole period under review was deplorable. The Saracens, who had crossed over from Africa, possessed about three-fourths of the country: the remaining fourth was divided into four petty kingdoms; viz., Castile, Leon, Navarre, and Aragon, which were perpetually contending, one with another, and with the Saracens. The Saracens also were frequently quarrelling among themselves.

The empire of Germany passed from the Carlovingians on the death of Louis IV., — in the year 912. The Germans elected for their sovereign Conrad, duke of Franconia; who was succeeded

by Henry the Fowler; who was succeeded by Otho the Great. Otho was crowned emperor of Rome and Germany, by the pontiff John XII., in the year 936. He was the next great monarch in Europe after Charlemagne, whom in many respects he resembled. Like Charlemagne, he was the promoter of learning and religion; and did much for the civilization and conversion of the rude Germans, as we shall see. He was succeeded by a son and grandson who bore the name of Otho, and by a long line of sovereigns, among whom were Henry IV. and Henry V., who had the memorable quarrel with Pope Gregory VII. on the subject of investitures.

I have presented this brief sketch of the civil state of Christendom that we may the better understand the condition of the Church. It was in the countries, and under the governments, of which we have spoken, that the Church lived through all this dark period; and how can its external state be sketched without some knowledge of its civil relations?

It should be added, that, through the greater part of the period before us, the feudal system was in vigorous operation; which tended much to weaken the power of the respective governments, and promote contention and confusion. The great lords and barons were well-nigh independent in their respective domains. They were continually quarrelling among themselves, and could not be relied on to aid the sovereign except in cases of the most imminent common danger.

But, notwithstanding the infelicities of the times, Christianity made some progress in the period before us. In the ninth century, it was propagated in Jutland, Denmark, and Sweden, by the indefatigable Ansgarius, who was one of the best missionaries in all the middle ages. By Lewis the Meek, son of Charlemagne, he was constituted archbishop of Hamburg, Bremen, and all the north country; but the profits of his high station were small, while the perils of it were great, and its labors immense. He took frequent journeys among the Danes, the Cimbrians, the Swedes, and other nations; and labored, though at the peril of his life, to plant new churches, and to strengthen those previously formed, until death overtook him, in the year 865.

The good work thus begun in Denmark was continued in the next century, though with various success, under the auspices of Otho the Great of Germany. Christianity was also extended to Norway, Iceland, Greenland, and the Orkney Islands.

Some praiseworthy efforts were made by the Greeks to propa-

gate the faith in the ninth century. Two Greek monks, Methodius and Cyril, were sent from Constantinople by the Empress Theodora, who taught, first the Mœtians and Bulgarians, and afterwards the Bohemians and Moravians, to renounce their false gods, and embrace Christianity. In the year 867, the Slavonic nations who inhabited Dalmatia (now a part of Austria) voluntarily placed themselves in subjection to the Greek Empire, and professed a willingness to embrace Christianity. Greek priests were therefore sent among them, who instructed and baptized them. At the same time, Christianity was introduced among the Russians inhabiting the Ukraine,* who received an archbishop appointed by the patriarch of Constantinople. This was the commencement of Christianity in Russia. In the following century, Wlodimir, duke of Russia and Muscovy, having married the sister of the Greek emperor, she did not cease to importune and exhort him, until he consented to receive baptism. Most of the Russians followed the example of their duke, and became Christians, at least in name.

In the West, Rollo, a Norwegian pirate, who had taken possession of a part of Gaul in the ninth century, embraced Christianity, with his whole army, about the year 912. He did this at the instance of Charles the Simple, king of France, who offered him an extensive territory on condition that he would marry his daughter Gisela, desist from war, and embrace the Christian religion. Rollo accepted the condition, and received what has since been called *Normandy* in France. From him were descended the celebrated dukes of Normandy, and William the Conqueror of England.

In the year 965, Micislaus, duke of Poland, was persuaded by his Christian wife, Dambrowka, to renounce the idolatry of his ancestors, and embrace Christianity. His people were induced to follow his example; and Poland became a nominally Christian nation. In the twelfth century, another Duke of Poland introduced the gospel into the ancient Pomerania, now a part of Prussia, where a new bishopric was established.

Some knowledge of Christianity had reached the Hungarians as early as the times of Charlemagne; but, after his death, it was chiefly lost. In the latter part of the tenth century, the conversion of the Hungarians was seriously undertaken by Stephen, their king. He established bishops in different parts of the country; provided for their support; built churches; and by promises, threats,

* The frontier between what is now Poland and Russia.

and punishments, brought the whole nation into his views. For his zeal and success in this matter, he was afterwards canonized, and became a saint.

In the twelfth century, new efforts were made by the kings of Denmark and Sweden to propagate Christianity in North-western Europe. The Slavonians, the Wends, the Finns, and some other barbarous nations, were compelled by force of arms to forsake their idolatries, and embrace the religion of their conquerors. The same thing was acted over in Esthonia and Livonia, now belonging to Russia. Troops were marched into these countries from Saxony and other parts of Germany, under the lead of men calling themselves bishops; by whose arms the wretched people were subdued and exhausted, and at length compelled to substitute, in place of their idols, the images of Christ and the saints. The only importance to be attached to such conversions lies, not in their inherent nature or character, but in the preparation which they sometimes make for better things in time to come.

During the former part of the period before us, the Nestorians were busily engaged, as they had long been, in propagating their religion among the Tartars of Central Asia, — even unto the borders of China. In the tenth century, we have an interesting account of a Tartar king, who, while hunting in the wilderness, lost his way, and was utterly unable to extricate himself. A venerable man, probably some Nestorian hermit, appeared to him, and promised to show him his way out on condition that he would become a Christian. The king accepted the condition. On returning to his camp, he received baptism; in which he was followed by a multitude of his people.

Other modes of promoting Christianity were in some instances adopted by the Nestorians. Thus, in the beginning of the twelfth century, we hear of a Nestorian priest, whose name was John, who made war upon a horde of Tartars, conquered them, and became their king. This was the famous Prester John, whose country was for a long time deemed by Europeans the seat of all felicity and opulence. He was succeeded by his son or brother, who also took the name of Prester John. He continued to reign till near the close of the century; when he was vanquished and slain by the renowned Tartar general, Genghis Khan.

This Genghis was a Mogul prince, who, being obliged to escape from Delhi, took refuge among the Tartars of Central Asia. After various conquests, he became one of the greatest generals and

monarchs of this or of any age. He carried his victorious arms from the Chinese Sea to the Euphrates and the Euxine, and from the frozen north of Asia to the borders of India. His empire was extended and consolidated by his sons, till in the East it included all Northern China and Thibet; and, in the West, Persia, Mesopotamia, Armenia, Georgia, and the southern part of what is now Russia in Europe. For a course of years, Genghis and his successors were tolerant towards all religions. Hence in their courts and camps were found Christians, Mohammedans, Jews, and Pagans. Genghis himself married a daughter of Prester John; and several of his descendants had Christian wives. But, towards the close of the thirteenth century, the Mohammedan religion gained the ascendancy, especially in the western parts of the Mogul Empire. The Khans themselves leaned towards it, and in some instances allowed the Christians to be persecuted. From this period we date the decline of Nestorian Christianity in Central Asia and China; and it continued to decline, till but a remnant of it is left.

We have previously spoken of the conquests of the Saracens in Southern Europe. They took Sicily in the ninth century, and held it till about the middle of the tenth. But, in the year 1059, Robert Guiscard, the Norman duke of Apulia, assisted by his brother Roger, attacked them with great vigor; nor did he relinquish the war till he had gained possession of the whole island. This was an important acquisition for the Christians; for the conquerors drove out the Saracens, and firmly established the Christian religion.

The period before us was that of the *Crusades*, of which some account will now be given. Jerusalem had been captured by the Saracens in the seventh century; when the religion of the Prophet succeeded to that of Moses, of Jesus, and of God. For more than three centuries, the Mohammedans continued to rule undisturbed in the Holy Land. But though this state of things was acquiesced in by the Christians of Europe as a matter of necessity, still it was to them a grievous necessity. It was thought to be a disgrace to all who bore the Christian name, that the country in which the Saviour lived and taught, and made expiation for sin, should be left under the dominion of his enemies. Add to this the indignities and cruelties which were continually practised upon pilgrims to the Holy Land, and upon Christians who still resided there, and it was thought that abundant cause was furnished for the raising of a powerful army in Europe, and marching at once to the deliver-

ance of Jerusalem. Fired with such sentiments, a crusade began to be talked of in the latter part of the tenth century; and yet, for various reasons, nothing effectual was done.

But, near the close of the following century, the work was undertaken in sober earnest. Peter the Hermit, a native of France, had visited Palestine in the year 1093, and had seen with the intensest sorrow the oppressions which were there inflicted upon the Christians by their enemies. He returned to Europe filled with an enthusiasm which he took to be a divine revelation. He carried with him an epistle on the subject, which he said came from heaven, and was addressed to all Christians. He traversed the country in every direction, and preached with an energy which has never been exceeded. Pope Urban II. fell in with his views; and the Greek emperor was understood to favor them. The result was, that a vast multitude, of all ranks and ages, were ready at once to engage in a military expedition to Palestine. We are assured that not less than eight hundred thousand persons marched from Europe in the year 1096, pursuing their way to Constantino-ple, that, after receiving instructions from the Greek emperor, they might pass over into Asia.

This host might seem to be a very formidable army, sufficient to overcome almost any obstacle: but in reality it was a very weak one; for it was composed chiefly of monks, mechanics, farmers, persons without any regular occupation, spendthrifts, speculators, prostitutes, servants, malefactors, and the lowest dregs of an idle populace, who hoped, in some way, to make their fortunes. They were called *Crusaders*, not only because they went to fight for the cross, but because each one wore upon his right shoulder a white, red, or green cross, made of woollen cloth, and solemnly consecrated.

Of this vast army, Peter the Hermit, girded with a rope, led on a band of eighty thousand through Hungary and Thrace. But this company, after committing innumerable base deeds, were nearly all destroyed by the Hungarians and Turks. Nor did better fortune attend some other armies of these crusaders, who roamed about like robbers under unskilful commanders, and plundered and laid waste the countries over which they passed.

But other portions of the army, under brave and skilful leaders accustomed to discipline and war,—the chief among whom were Godfrey of Bouillon and his brother Baldwin,—proceeded in a more orderly and successful manner. They passed over into Asia

in 1097, and, the same year, captured Nice, the capital of Bythinia. The next year, they took Antioch and Edessa; and, in the following year (1099), they conquered Jerusalem. And here they set up their new Christian kingdom, the crown of which they first offered to Godfrey; but, upon his declining it, they gave it to his brother Baldwin.

That these wars were ill advised and ill conducted, and of most injurious influence upon both Church and State, there can be no doubt. They drained Europe of its population and of immense sums of money. Many families before opulent and powerful either became extinct, or were reduced to extreme poverty. At the same time, the power and greatness of the Roman pontiffs, and the wealth of the churches and monasteries, were greatly increased. Property made over to them by those who lost their lives in Palestine never reverted to its right owners; and those who returned, instead of bringing back their money, generally exchanged it for worthless relics which they had purchased of the fraudulent Syrians and Greeks.

By some of the best Christians in Europe, — such as the Cathari, the Albigenses, and Waldenses, — the wars of the crusaders were condemned at the time. They said that Christians had no right, for the causes assigned, to invade the Saracens, and put such multitudes of them to death. But to this it was replied, quoting their own words, “The Church does not intend to harm the Saracens, much less to kill them. Christian princes have no such design; and yet, *if they will stand in the way of the swords of the princes, they will be slain!*” A rare argument this, truly! What war was ever more ingeniously defended?

But, though the nations of Europe had set up a Christian kingdom at Jerusalem, they found it no easy matter to sustain it. For a time, it seemed to flourish and to stand strong; but this prosperity was soon succeeded by adversity. When most of the crusaders had returned home, the Mohammedans, recovered from their sudden consternation, attacked their forces, and harassed the Christians with perpetual wars. They took the city of Edessa, and were preparing to attack Antioch. The Christians in Palestine were constrained, therefore, to cry to the princes of Europe for help. This cry reached the ears of St. Bernard, abbot of Clairval, in France, — a man of immense influence in the religious world. He commenced preaching the cross, as the phrase was, in the year 1146; and succeeded in persuading Louis VII. of France, and Con-

rad III., emperor of the Germans, to enter upon a second crusade. Both collected great armies, and proceeded by different routes towards Palestine. But the most of their men perished miserably on the road; and, after an absence of two years, they were obliged to return to Europe with the few that remained, having accomplished nothing.

In the year 1188, the Christians in the East were vigorously assailed by the celebrated Mohammedan general, Saladin. He was a Persian by birth, but had been promoted, on account of his valor and success in arms, to be viceroy of Egypt and Syria. He soon captured the king of Jerusalem, and reduced the city under his power. To the Christians of Europe there was now no alternative: they must fly to the succor of their friends in the East, or give up every thing as lost.

The third crusade was commenced by the Emperor Frederic I., surnamed Barbarossa, in the year 1189. He raised a large army of Germans, crossed over into Asia, vanquished a Mohammedan king at Iconium, and penetrated into Syria. But the next year, while bathing, he lost his life; and most of his soldiers returned into Europe. The few that remained were commanded by his son; but the plague swept off the most of them, and only a remnant escaped to their own country.

The Emperor Frederic was followed the next year by Philip Augustus, king of France, and Richard the Lion-hearted, king of England. These went to Palestine by sea, and reduced the city and fortress of Acre; after which the king of France returned. The king of England prosecuted the war with vigor, vanquished Saladin in several battles, and took the cities of Jaffa and Cæsarea; but, being under the necessity of returning to England, he entered into a truce with Saladin for three years, three months, and three days, and so left the ground.

The fourth crusade was got up by the French and Venetians in the year 1203. But the crusaders, instead of going to Palestine, directed their course to Constantinople, where they dethroned Alexius Ducas, who had usurped the imperial crown, and constituted Baldwin, Count of Flanders, emperor of the Greeks. From this time, the Latins kept possession of the throne at Constantinople for about sixty years; the Greeks, meanwhile, having appointed another emperor, who reigned at Nice. But, in the year 1261, the Greek emperor, Michael Palæologus, recovered Constantinople, and obliged the Latin emperor, Baldwin II., to flee into Italy.

The fifth crusade was undertaken by the united forces of the Italians and Germans, and was conducted by several able generals. They went with a fleet, and in the year 1220 captured the strongly-fortified city of Damietta, in Egypt. But their successes did not long continue. In the following year they lost both their fleet and the city which they had taken, and were obliged to return to Europe in disgrace.

Still the pontiff and his legates were not discouraged. They enlisted a new army of crusaders from almost every country in Europe, which was to be commanded by Frederic II., emperor of Germany. After long delay, Frederic consented to follow the army which was already in Palestine; but, instead of carrying on the war, he suddenly terminated it. He formed a truce with the Mohammedan sultan for ten years, and, as part of the conditions of it, was crowned king of Jerusalem. Having effected this arrangement, he hastened back into Italy to quell a disturbance which the pontiff had excited there.

After this, several crusades were undertaken with no better success. In the first part of the thirteenth century, an army of children was collected in Germany and France for the purpose of invading the Holy Land. They expected that the Mediterranean Sea would open to give them a passage. About seven thousand of them reached Marseilles, and were taken up by shipmasters to carry them to their destination; but a part of them were lost on the voyage, and the remainder were sold into slavery.

The last crusade was undertaken by Louis VII., king of France. He had made a vow in sickness, that, if he recovered, he would fight for the cross in Palestine. In fulfilment of his vow, he got together a great fleet and a powerful army in 1248, and set sail for Egypt. At first, he was successful; for he captured Damietta. But the issue of the war was most disastrous. The Mohammedans cut off his supplies; famine and pestilence raged in his camp; one of his brothers was slain in battle; while himself, two other brothers, and the greater part of his army, were taken prisoners. He was ransomed for a hundred and ninety thousand pounds sterling, and, after several years spent in the East, returned to France, with a few followers, in the year 1254. Still his invincible spirit was not discouraged, nor his vow satisfied. He collected another fleet, and set sail for Northern Africa, intending to establish an advanced post there. He attacked and carried the fortress of Carthage, but was soon after visited with a pestilential disease,

which swept off the greater part of his army, and to which himself became a victim in the summer of 1270.

After him, no sovereign of Europe dared venture again on an expedition of so much toil and peril; and the kingdom of the Latins in the East became extinct in the year 1291, having been held up at arm's-length, by the efforts of the pontiffs and by the deluded sovereigns of Europe, for about two hundred years.

During the wars of the crusaders, there arose three orders of knights in Palestine; viz., those of St. John of Jerusalem, the Knights Templars, and the Teutonic Knights. Their object was partly *charitable*, — to afford assistance to the poor, the wounded, and the sick; and partly *military*, — to aid the crusaders in their wars. After the loss of Palestine, the Knights of St. John occupied, first the Island of Cyprus, then that of Rhodes, and lastly Malta, of which they kept possession several hundred years. In 1798, they surrendered their island to Bonaparte, then on his way to Egypt. In 1800, it was taken by the English, to whom it has belonged ever since.

By their valor and success, the Knights Templars acquired great fame and wealth: but at the same time they became so cruel and corrupt, that they could not be tolerated; and by a decree of the pontiff, and of the Council of Vienne, the order was suppressed near the commencement of the fourteenth century.

When the Teutonic Knights retired from Palestine, they were invited to undertake the conversion of the Prussians. Of all the countries of Central Europe, Prussia had held out longest in its paganism and idolatry. By no methods of persuasion or force could it be induced to exchange its ancient superstitions for the religion of Christ. As a last resort, the Teutonic Knights were invited by Conrad, a Polish duke, to come and attempt the conversion of the Prussians. They came; and, after a war of fifty-three years, they accomplished their object. They compelled the fierce Prussians to submit, and allow the Christian religion to succeed that of their fathers. The successors of these knights are still among the nobility of Germany.

Among those who opposed and persecuted the Christians during the long period before us, may be reckoned, first, *the pagan nations of Europe*: I mean those who were pagans at the commencement of the period. Many of these, we have seen, — as the Saxons, the Prussians, the Slavonians, Finns, and other nations in North-western Europe, — were converted (if such a change can be

called a conversion) by force of arms. They were compelled to accept the religion of their conquerors, or be extirpated. As we may naturally suppose, they resisted strenuously: they resisted unto blood. Many Christians were undoubtedly slain in these unrighteous, aggressive wars; and the slaughters which took place are set down among the calamities of Christians: but they were, for the most part, calamities which the Christians brought upon themselves. They might have been avoided, and they would have been, if Christians had pursued their missionary work in a more Christian way.

The same remark may be made respecting the second class of enemies from whom the Christians were called to suffer: I mean *the Saracens*. During the seventh and eighth centuries, the Saracen warriors were generally the aggressors. They fell upon the Christians without stint or mercy; and as they spread their conquests from the East to the West, in Asia, Africa, and Southern Europe, multitudes of Christians were destroyed. But, from the ninth century to the thirteenth, the conquests of the Saracens were mostly at a stand, and they stood upon the defensive. They slaughtered the Christians because the Christians first attacked and slaughtered them. This was particularly true in the bloody wars of the crusaders. In these wars, Christians complained loudly and truly of the cruelties of their enemies. The Saracens undoubtedly *were* cruel. But who were the aggressors? and what right had the Christians of Europe to pour such immense armies into the East, and institute such bloody wars upon those whose only offence was that they had conquered and held in subjection the Holy Land?

In the period before us, we begin to hear for the first time of *the Turks*. The Turks were originally a horde of Tartars, inhabiting the northern shores of the Caspian Sea. They had already embraced the religion of Mohammed, and had been called on to assist the Persians in their contests with the Saracens of Western Asia. Their next movement was to invade the Saracens themselves, and take from them some of the provinces which they had conquered from the Christians. Ere long, they began to make inroads upon the Christians, and subjugated some of the fairest portions of the Eastern Empire. They took the cities and provinces bordering upon the Euxine Sea, and made perpetual incursions in other places. Nor were the Greeks able to withstand their desolating progress, being without forces or finances, and miserably

divided among themselves. The invasions of the Turks, thus commenced in the eleventh century, continued and increased as years rolled by, till at length they captured Constantinople, broke up and dissolved the old Eastern Empire, and have ever since held in subjection some of the fairest portions of what once was Christendom. During the latter half of the period before us, there can be no doubt that the Christians of the East suffered more from the Turks than from any other people. Nor were these troubles confined to Asia. South-eastern Europe, also, fell under the power of the Turks; and, for a time, they seriously threatened the subversion of Christianity.

We have yet to speak of other enemies of the Christians in the north and west of Europe. These were the Norman pirates, who commenced their ravages in the ninth century. These Norman chiefs inhabited the shores of the Baltic, — Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, — and were the greatest freebooters of the age. They made frequent descents upon Germany, Britain, Friesland, and more especially France; plundering, and devastating with fire and sword, wherever they went. They extended their inroads even to Italy and Spain.

The first views of these savages extended only to the collecting of plunder and slaves in the countries which they invaded: but they at length planted themselves in the most fertile provinces; nor could the kings and princes of these provinces expel them. But, as they became permanently settled among the Christians, they became gradually civilized; and, by intermarrying with the Christians, they were led to exchange the superstitions of their ancestors for the religion of Christ. Not a few of the present nobility of Europe are lineal descendants of these Norman pirates.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

CHURCH-ORGANIZATION, GOVERNMENT, AND TEACHERS.

PREVIOUS to the commencement of the period before us, Popery was pretty fully developed. It had not, indeed, risen to the height of power to which it afterwards attained, — much less to the extent of its aims and wishes: but it had long been making progress upward; and a foundation had been laid on which it might hope to gain the summit of its ambition. As early as the year 533, Justinian had declared the Church of Rome to be “*the head of all the holy churches.*” In the beginning of the next century, the Emperor Phocas had conferred on the pontiff the title of *Universal Bishop*. Near the middle of the eighth century, the pope received his *temporal dominion*, and thus became a beast, a horn, in the sense of the prophets. About the same time, the popes became the open, avowed advocates and supporters of *image-worship*, and so constituted their church the “mother of harlots” spoken of in the seventeen chapter of the Revelation. Thus all things conspired to transform the once pure and holy Church of Rome into the Antichrist of the New Testament, and lay a foundation for the usurpations which rapidly followed through the entire period on which we are now to enter.

During the five hundred years embraced in this period, there were more than ninety different pontiffs, the most of whom reigned but a short time. To name them all would be tedious and superfluous. The more vigorous among them, those who did most to advance the interests of the Papacy, were Gregory VII., Alexander III., Innocent III., Gregory IX., and Boniface VIII.; which last held the pontifical throne at the commencement of the fourteenth century.

Until the eleventh century, the pontiffs were elected by the suffrages of the whole body of the clergy and people of Rome, subject to the approval of the emperor. But, in the reign of Nicolaus II.,

the election was given primarily to the cardinals, in which the nobles and the people generally were expected to concur. This order of things continued until past the middle of the twelfth century. At that period, Alexander III., by and with the consent of the third Lateran council, ordained that the right of election henceforth should belong exclusively to the cardinals, and that the person who had the votes of two-thirds of the college of cardinals should be considered the legitimate pontiff. This regulation has continued to the present time; by which not only the people, but the clergy of Rome, are entirely precluded from having any voice in the election.

The cardinals at this day are sixty-two in number; viz., six bishops in Rome or the vicinity, fifty presbyters of the churches of Rome, and six Romish deacons. The cardinals, when they meet for the choice of a pope, are shut up in a kind of prison, which is called the *conclave*, that so they may avoid interruption, and bring the responsible business intrusted to them more speedily to a close. No one who is not a member of the college of cardinals, and a native Italian, can now be constituted head of the Church.

Among the methods taken to advance and substantiate the claims of the pontiffs was the forging of documents purporting to run back, in some instances, almost to the apostolic age. Thus it was pretended by Pope Adrian, in the eighth century, that Constantine the Great had made a donation to the Church of the city of Rome and the territory dependent on it. He pretends, also, that later emperors had made like donations in different parts of Italy; and refers to deeds of conveyance which were laid up in the archives of the Lateran. These deeds (if they had any existence) were undoubtedly forgeries.

To the same class of writings belong the celebrated "Decretal Epistles." From these epistles it would seem, that, from the earliest ages of the Church, the Roman pontiffs possessed the same authority and power which they claimed in after-ages; yet the epistles were never published, or appealed to in support of Papal authority, until the ninth century.

Of like origin and value are the pretended decrees of a Roman council held by Pope Sylvester in the year 324. Nothing could be better calculated than these decrees to enrich the Roman pontiffs, and exalt them above all human authority; yet these, like the "Decretal Epistles," never saw the light until past the middle of the ninth century.

There were some, indeed, when these writings first made their appearance, who doubted their authenticity ; but they were overborne by the pertinacity of the pontiffs and their adherents. And so the cheat, being once established, remained undisturbed until the Reformation of the sixteenth century. And it is incalculable how much weight and authority these forged writings gave to the subsequent usurpations of Rome. If any one doubted the extravagant claims of the pontiffs, an appeal was made at once to the "Decretal Epistles," which showed that the same rights had been claimed and exercised almost from the apostolic age.

It began to be insisted in the ninth century that the bishop of Rome had been constituted by Christ himself a legislator and judge over the whole Church ; that other bishops derived all their authority from him ; and that councils could decide nothing without his direction and approbation. In the tenth century, the pontiffs were frequently called "the bishops of the world ;" and, in the eleventh, "the masters of the world." They presided by their legates in all councils, and claimed the right of decision on all questions, whether of doctrine or practice. Nor were they satisfied with being sovereigns of the Church only : they also claimed to be lords of the whole earth, —judges over judges, and kings over kings. Of Gregory VII., who reigned in the latter part of the eleventh century, it is said that he "wished to reduce all kingdoms into fiefs of St. Peter, and to subject all causes of kings and princes, and the interests of the whole world, to the arbitrament of an assembly of bishops, who should meet annually at Rome." The following are some of "The Dictates" of Gregory, by which he undertook to regulate his government : "That the Romish Church never errs ; that the pope can be judged by no one ; that his sentence is not to be reviewed by any, while he can review the decisions of all others ; that he can absolve subjects from their allegiance to unrighteous rulers ; that it is lawful for him to depose emperors and kings."

It was under the influence of teachings such as these that Pope Adrian IV. insisted that the emperor of Germany should hold his stirrup when he mounted or dismounted his horse ; and that Pope Alexander III. is said to have placed his foot upon the neck of the prostrate emperor, repeating at the same time the words of the Psalmist, "Thou shalt tread upon the lion and the adder ; the young lion and the dragon shalt thou trample under feet" (Ps. xci. 13).

I have spoken of the thirteenth century as the culminating

period in Popish history,—the time when the pontiffs put forth their strongest claims, and stood before the world in the height of their power. They perseveringly urged—with violence and menace, with fraud, and force of arms—that fundamental principle of canon law,—that the Roman pontiff is sovereign of the whole world; and that other rulers in Church and State have so much power and authority as he sees fit to allow them, and no more. Resting on this eternal principle, as they declared it, the pontiffs arrogated to themselves the power, not only of conferring sacred offices, but also of giving away empires, and divesting kings of their crowns and authority; and this terrific power they often ventured to put in operation. Innocent III., who reigned near the beginning of this century, created kings and dethroned them, according to his pleasure. In Asia, he gave a king to the Armenians; in Europe, he conferred the honors of royalty upon the duke of Bohemia, and also on the duke of the Bulgarians and Wallachians. He crowned Peter II. king of Aragon because he had rendered his dominions tributary to the Church. He made Otho IV. emperor of Germany; and afterwards dethroned him, and substituted Frederic II. in his place.

But no one suffered more severely from the arrogance of Innocent than King John of England. John had ventured to resist the pontiff in refusing to accept Stephen Langton as archbishop of Canterbury: wherefore the pontiff first excommunicated him; then he absolved his subjects from their allegiance to him; and finally, in the year 1212, divested him of his authority, and gave his kingdom to Philip Augustus, king of France. Terrified by these proceedings, and dreading a war, John compromised the matter by making his kingdom tributary to the bishop of Rome.

During the period we are considering, the pontiffs increased very materially their temporal dominions. Gregory VII. persuaded Matilda, a noble Italian duchess with whom he had a peculiar intimacy, to make over all her estates to the Church. Also under Innocent III., and then under Nicolaus III., very large accessions of territory were obtained, partly by force of arms, and partly by the munificence of the emperors and kings.

It is not to be supposed, however, that the pontiffs rose to that height of wealth, of arrogance, and power, which they attained in these centuries, without a struggle. They had continual struggles—sometimes with other bishops, but more commonly with the civil sovereigns of the age—as to the justice and validity of their

claims. In the tenth century, Otho the Great passed a law, that no Roman pontiff should be created without the knowledge and consent of the emperor; and this regulation continued in force to the end of the century. The Emperor Frederic I., surnamed Barbarossa, soon after his coronation, A.D. 1152, declared his intention to maintain the imperial prerogatives throughout the empire, and set bounds to the immense power and wealth of the pontiffs and the clergy. The result was a continual strife between him and the popes — first with Adrian IV., and then with Alexander III. — to the end of his reign. It was Alexander III. who had a contest with Henry II. of England in regard to the case of Thomas à Becket, in the issue of which the king was obliged to make peace with the pontiff on his own terms. With a view to restrain the pontiffs, more especially in their work of creating and displacing bishops, Louis IX. of France, in the year 1268, published his famous ordinance, entitled “The Pragmatic Sanction,” by which he carefully secured the rights of the Gallican Church in regard to its own ministers.

But the most violent pontifical contest of the period was that of Gregory VII. with Henry IV. of Germany with respect to investitures. It had been the custom in Germany, when bishops were appointed, for the emperor to confer the regalia, and invest them with the rights of office; for which service a sum of money was paid. Gregory VII. called this simony, and was resolved to break it up. The appointed bishops must receive their tokens of office from *him*, and *he* must have the compensation. Hence a violent contest commenced between the pontiff and the emperor, which continued till Henry’s death, and far into the reign of his successor. Gregory first passed a decree, that “whosoever should confer a bishopric or abbacy, or should receive an investiture from the hands of any layman, should be excommunicated.” But, undismayed by this decree, Henry utterly refused to relinquish his right of appointing bishops and abbots in his dominions, and investing them with the insignia of office. Gregory now summoned the emperor to Rome to answer to charges which had been preferred against him. But, instead of going, the emperor called a convention of German bishops at Worms, who pronounced Gregory unworthy of the pontificate, and appointed a meeting for the choice of a new pontiff. When Gregory heard what had been done, he interdicted Henry from the communion and the throne, and absolved his subjects from their allegiance. A part of his subjects, taking

advantage of this act, raised the standard of rebellion, and resolved, that unless their sovereign, within a year, should obtain absolution from the pontiff, he should forfeit his kingdom.

Alarmed at this aspect of his affairs, Henry now resolved to go into Italy, and implore the clemency of the pontiff. But the journey did not issue as he hoped; for after presenting himself at the Castle of Canosa, where the pontiff was staying with his patroness Matilda, and standing at the gate for three days together, in the depth of winter, bare-headed and bare-footed, and meanly clad, professing himself a penitent, all he could gain was a postponement of the consideration of his case, and a prohibition, meanwhile, of his wearing any of the ornaments, or exercising the functions, of a king.

To these terms of reconciliation Henry would not submit. His friends took up arms for him; and a violent war ensued both in Germany and Italy. This was carried on with various success, until, in 1084, Henry had made himself master of Rome, and closely besieged the Castle of St. Angelo, where Gregory was shut up. It was during the siege that this most ambitious and audacious of all the pontiffs terminated his life.

The war, however, did not end with his death. It was carried vigorously on, pontiff against pontiff, and one pretender to the throne against another, until, in the year 1104, Henry's own son was seduced from his allegiance, and induced to take up arms against his father. Soon after this, Henry IV. abdicated his throne in favor of his son, and died, friendless and forsaken, at Liege, in the year 1106.

But Henry V. was as unwilling as his father had been to relinquish the right of investing bishops and abbots in his own dominions. Hence the old quarrel was renewed. In the year 1110, Henry marched an army into Italy, seized the pontiff Pascal II., confined him in the Castle of Viterbo, and obliged him to relinquish his claims of investiture.

But no sooner was the emperor gone, and the pontiff released, than he revoked the concessions he had made, and entered upon the contest anew. War followed, and continued until the death of Pascal, which took place in the year 1178. Under his successors, a compromise was entered into, and peace established, on the following conditions: that bishops and abbots should be freely chosen in presence of the emperor or his representative; that the person elected should take an oath of loyalty to the emperor, and

receive the regalia from his hand; but that the emperor should confer civil prerogatives by the presentation of a sceptre, and not by the crosier and ring, which which were held to be the emblems of sacred authority. These were to be presented by the pontiff or his legate; and thus the candidate for office, instead of paying for one investiture, was henceforth obliged to pay for two.

It was during these contests between the popes and emperors that the two noted factions of Guelphs and Ghibellines arose in Italy; the former siding with the pontiffs, the latter with the civil powers. We shall hear more of them hereafter.

The private characters of many of the pontiffs during the period before us, even according to the confession of Romanists, was of the worst description. Thus Baronius speaks of the character of the popes in the tenth century: "One can scarcely believe, nay absolutely cannot credit, without ocular demonstration, what unworthy conduct, what base and enormous deeds, what execrable and abominable transactions, disgraced the holy Catholic see, which is the pivot on which the whole Catholic Church revolves. Alas the shame! alas the mischief! What monsters horrible to behold were then raised to the holy see, which angels revere! What evils did they perpetrate! What horrible tragedies ensued! With what pollution was this see, though itself without spot or wrinkle, then stained! What corruptions infected it! what filthiness defiled it! and hence what marks of perpetual infamy are visible upon it!" The great Romish annalist, it will be seen, makes a wide distinction between the see itself and those who occupy it. The latter may have been, and were, as black as devils; while the former is pure as heaven.

It was in the latter part of the ninth century that the Papess Joanna, by concealing her sex, opened her way to the pontifical throne, and occupied it for a considerable time. This fact, which is denied and ridiculed by Romanists in our day, was universally admitted for the next five hundred years; nor did any one, prior to the Reformation of the sixteenth century, regard the thing as incredible, or disgraceful to the Church. Her statue was standing at Rome in the time of Luther.

John XII., who reigned as pope in the latter half of the tenth century, was a most despicable character. On trial before a council at Rome, the following are some of the charges that were proved against him: "That he had carried on amours with various females, one of whom was his father's concubine; that he had turned the

holy palace into a brothel; that he had put out the eyes of his god-father; that he had castrated one of the cardinals; that he had set several houses on fire; and that he had drunk to the health of the Devil." The end of this monster was conformable to his life; for, having retired from the city to spend the night in criminal converse with a married woman, he received a mortal wound (probably from the injured husband), of which he died in a few days.

While such things were true of those who claimed to be the head of the Church, it may well be supposed that nothing better can be said of the mass of the bishops and of the inferior clergy. In the ninth century, we are told that "the bishops hung around the courts of princes, and indulged themselves in every species of voluptuousness; corrupting by the grossest vices the people whom they were set to reform." But few of the clergy at this time could read or write. Of the inferior clergy it is said, a hundred years later, "Few of them exhibited any degree of virtue or integrity; but they gave themselves up, without shame, to frauds, debaucheries, and crimes of every description."

In the twelfth century, the ecclesiastics renounced all responsibility to civil magistrates or courts of justice. Spiritual penalties only could be inflicted on them. Hence crimes of the deepest dye — murders, robberies, adulteries, rapes — were continually perpetrated by them with impunity. It was ascertained, on inquiry, that no less than a hundred murders had been committed by them in England in the space of nine years, for which they had never been called to an account. Holy orders were a sure protection for every species of enormity.

Nor was the state of morals in the monasteries at all better. The old Benedictine establishments, which at the first were useful institutions, had so degenerated in point of character as to be a nuisance. As they increased in wealth, the inmates became lazy, shiftless, voluptuous, and vicious: and their degeneracy was hastened by their being withdrawn from the superintendence of the bishops where they were located, and placed under the direct control of the pontiffs; for as the pontiffs were far removed from many of them, and could exercise but little supervision over them, they were left very much to their own way, and could practise all kinds of wickedness without restraint. Hence the records of the times are filled with the most painful, shameful accounts of their corruptions. Many of them were so ignorant, that they did not

even know the rule which they had bound themselves to follow; while by their irreligious lives, their frauds, their broils and quarrels, the dissoluteness of their characters, and the crimes which were everywhere charged upon them, they brought inevitable disgrace, not only upon themselves, but upon the Christian name.

Repeated attempts were made to reform the Benedictine establishments, and the old order was brought before the public under new names. Such were the Cluniacensians, the Cistercians, the Carthusians, and several others. These were all reformed Benedictines, which flourished for a time, but soon relapsed into their old corruptions. And yet, strange as it may seem, the monastic life did not cease to be regarded as holy, and as such was held in high estimation. In frequent instances, we find kings and nobles abandoning their honors and their wealth, and retiring to the monasteries, that they might devote themselves to the service of God; and some who could not go as far as this would seek the monastic garb to die in, and would actually put it on before they left the world, that they might enjoy the prayers and spiritual succors of the fraternity among whom they were received.

I have before spoken of the order of canons and canonesses, which was got up by Chrodegang in the eighth century. These were in great repute for a time, and establishments were multiplied in every part of Europe; but, like the monasteries, they ere long degenerated, and fell into manifold corruptions. There were also frequent and bitter controversies between the monks and canons, in which each party exposed the vices and wickedness of the other.

The stolidity and corruption of the old orders of monks rendered the establishment of new orders necessary; i.e., if the Papacy was to be sustained. And this want was met most effectually in the thirteenth century by the institution of *the Mendicants*. These mendicant friars were not confined in convents, like the Benedictines, but roamed everywhere, intent upon their work. They were under a vow of perpetual poverty, and gained a subsistence by begging from door to door. They were the body-guard of the existing pontiff, and were responsible to him alone. They were also his runners, his itinerant preachers and missionaries, whom he sent out into all parts of the world. They were divided into several orders, the more important of which were the Franciscans, the Dominicans, the Augustinians, and the Carmelites. They instructed youth; they associated freely with persons of all ranks; and exhibited in their lives, at least during their early history, a greater

appearance of holiness than was observable in the members of the older societies. For these reasons, their fame was unrivalled; and they were regarded with the utmost veneration in all the countries of Europe. They were to the hierarchy in the thirteenth century what the Jesuits were at a later period, — its factors and agents; the directors of all great and important events in education, in politics, and religion. In such esteem were they held in a dark and superstitious age, that their old worn-out garments were often purchased as a covering for the bodies of the dead, under the impression that those could not fail to receive mercy at the judgment-seat of Christ who appeared there in the garb of a mendicant monk.

The two great rival orders of mendicants were the Dominicans and Franciscans, — the former the followers of St. Dominick, whose disgrace it was to have originated and worked the terrible tribunal of the Inquisition; the latter the followers of St. Francis, a fanatic of the thirteenth century, who pretended to have received from the hand of an angel the five wounds of Jesus, and whom the Franciscans honored as a second Christ.

By their excessive popularity, and the means they employed to secure and retain it, the Dominicans and Franciscans incurred the hostility of nearly all the other religious orders. They quarrelled with the bishops and the universities, and were continually at variance between themselves. The Franciscans were divided as to the meaning of their vow, some interpreting it more strictly than the rest; and here again was ground for perpetual hostility. The stricter Franciscans, called *the Spirituals*, seem to have been a conscientious class of men; and many of them were terribly persecuted. Not a few fell into the hands of the Inquisition, and were put to death.

As time rolled on, the mendicants departed from the strictness of their early discipline, till, instead of poverty, they came to possess unbounded wealth; and, instead of extraordinary appearances of piety, they were known to indulge in the grossest wickedness. They continued to wax worse and worse, till they became at length an intolerable nuisance, the burthen of which society could hardly endure, and from which it groaned to be delivered.

The number of learned men in the period before us, and especially in the first half of it, was less than in either of the previous periods; and yet there were some whose names must be mentioned. The Greeks were so much divided among themselves, and so sorely pressed by political troubles, that few writers of distinction can be

mentioned. The only ones which occur to me as worthy of notice were *Photius* of the ninth century, *Suidas* of the tenth, and *Theodorus Lascaris* of the thirteenth.

Photius was of noble birth, well educated, and perhaps the greatest genius of his age. He spent the first part of his life as a civilian, and held some of the more important civil offices at Constantinople. He was ordained patriarch of Constantinople in the year 858, deposed by the emperor in 867, and restored to his office in 877. He continued in office during the next nine years; when he was again deposed and banished, and died in a convent in Armenia in 890. His "Bibliotheca," his "Epistles," and other writings which remain to us, are highly valued. In his "Bibliotheca" he gives a critical account of books which he had read, with summaries of their contents, and numerous extracts. As many of these works are no longer extant, the account of them by Photius is very valuable.

Suidas is chiefly known as a lexicographer. His dictionary is a kind of historical and literary encyclopædia, which was published, in three volumes folio, in England, in the year 1705.

Lascar was born at Nice, was much devoted to literature, and wrote many theological tracts. He became emperor of the East in 1255, but resigned after three years, and closed his life in a monastery in 1259.

The Latin writers of this period are more numerous, and much better known. At the head of them we may justly place Rabanus Maurus, archbishop of Mentz. He was a Frenchman by birth, and was the common preceptor of Germany and France in the ninth century. No one can compare with him for genius, extent of learning, or the multitude of books which he composed. He was educated, in part, under the famous Alcuin. He wrote commentaries on all the Scriptures, besides sermons, letters, and tracts. His works are published in six folio volumes.

Claudius of Turin was a native of Spain, became a presbyter in the court of Louis the Meek, and was by him constituted bishop of Turin in the year 821. He seems to have been a truly pious, devoted Christian, who rose in great measure above the follies and superstitions of his age. He opposed image-worship, and removed or destroyed the pictures and images throughout his diocese. He disapproved of pilgrimages, refused all honor to the pretended wood of the cross, denied the supremacy of the pope, &c. He deserves to be regarded as a *reformer*; and some have thought him,

though erroneously, to have been the founder of the sect of the Waldenses. The Roman Catholics tax him with great errors; though he was never arraigned as a heretic, nor removed from his bishopric, till his death, which occurred in the year 839.

Gottschalk was of Saxon origin, and educated in the monastery of Fulda. When arrived at manhood, he wished no longer to lead a monastic life, but was compelled to it on the ground that his father had devoted him to such a life, and that no human power could vacate the transaction. He now removed to Orbais; was ordained a presbyter; and was so distinguished as a scholar, that he was surnamed Fulgentius. Augustine was his favorite author; and he freely advanced the opinions of Augustine respecting predestination and grace. Many favored those views; but more were opposed to them, among whom were Rabanus Maurus, and Hincmar, archbishop of Rheims, to whose diocese Gottschalk belonged. They professed to hold Augustine in great veneration, but persecuted those who advocated his peculiar doctrines. In the year 848, Gottschalk was arraigned before the synod of Chiersey, where he was condemned, degraded, and shut up by Hincmar in the monastery of Hauteville. Here he was confined twenty-one years; and here he died. He persevered to the last in his opinions, and was denied Christian burial. Still he was a much better man than his persecutors, and deserves to be regarded as a martyr to the truth.

Paschasius Radbert was a French monk, and was born about the year 786. He was a member of the synod of Chiersey, which condemned Gottschalk. He wrote much on the doctrine of transubstantiation, and was a means of its introduction into the Catholic Church.

Walafrid Strabo (or Strabus, i.e. *squint-eyed*) was a Swabian, who studied under Rabanus Maurus. He was a learned and pleasing writer, though steeped in monkish superstition. He wrote "Poems," "Lives of the Saints," and "Expositions" of difficult passages of Scripture.

John Erigena Scotus was a native of Ireland, but spent much of his time at the court of Charles the Bald, in France. He was a philosopher as well as theologian, and had the reputation of being a profound scholar. He was one of those who wrote against Gottschalk. He was a mystic (some think a pantheist), who translated the works of the pseudo Dionysius the Areopagite into Latin, and in this way did much for the spread of mysticism and monkery in Europe.

The most distinguished man of the tenth century was Gerbert, a Frenchman, known among the pontiffs as Sylvester II. He had attended the schools of the Saracens in Spain, and made great proficiency in mathematics, mechanics, geometry, astronomy, and the other exact sciences. His example had much influence in turning the thoughts of others to similar studies. Yet by many in that dark age his learning was not appreciated. The ignorant monks thought his geometrical diagrams to be magical figures, and set him down as one in league with the Devil.

Lanfranc was a native of Pavia, in Italy, but early travelled into France, and became a monk at Bee, in Normandy, in the year 1041. Here he taught with great applause, and drew together pupils from other countries. He was a particular friend and counsellor of William the Conqueror, who made him archbishop of Canterbury; in which office he died in the year 1089.

Anselm was a pupil of Lanfranc at Bee, and succeeded him in the archbishopric of Canterbury. He was a better scholar and theologian than Lanfranc, but had less administrative ability and wisdom. He was in constant collision with the kings of England respecting investitures and other clerical rights. Twice he left the kingdom, and travelled into Italy, but died at Canterbury in the year 1109. He was a bigoted churchman, but seems to have been a truly pious man, and had a better understanding of some theological subjects than any who preceded him. His works have been often published. His little work, entitled "Cui Deus Homo," was translated and printed in this country only a few years ago.

The most remarkable man in the twelfth century was the celebrated Bernard, abbot of Clairval. He was born at Fontaine in the year 1091. He was educated at Chatillon, where he distinguished himself much as a scholar. At the age of twenty-two he became a Cistercian monk; and two years later he was created abbot of Clairval, where he spent his life, and acquired an influence almost unbounded throughout Europe. His eloquence was bold, thrilling, and irresistible, and his zeal determined and unyielding. Although a devoted Catholic, and strongly tinctured with the superstitions of the age, he seems to have been a truly pious man and an earnest Christian. His controversy with Abelard was a plea for spiritual heart-religion, against the great liberalist of the age. He originated the second crusade, and actually persuaded the king of France and the emperor of Germany to march large armies to the

Holy Land. His works are mostly on practical religion, consisting of letters and discourses. He died, A.D. 1153, in the sixty-third year of his age.

Abelard was older than Bernard, having been born in the year 1079. He was much distinguished as a scholar in early life; and became, in two instances, the rival of his teachers. His seduction of his pupil, Heloise, was the great sin of his life, from the consequences of which he never fully recovered. Still he was much distinguished as a lecturer on philosophy and theology at Paris and in other places. The publication of his "Theology" brought upon him the charge of heresy; and the work was burned, by order of the Council of Soissons, in 1121. In the latter part of his life, he founded a new monastery, called the Convent of the Paraclete; where he is said to have gathered six hundred pupils. A nunnery was connected with it, over which Heloise presided as abbess. It was here that the correspondence between Heloise and Abelard took place, which Pope has given (much altered) in a poetic version. Abelard was again accused of heresy by Bernard and others, left his convent, and died at Cluny in the year 1142. He was the great scholastic and liberalist of his time, and did not sustain a high character either for piety or orthodoxy.

Peter Lombard was a native of Lombardy (whence his name *Lombard*), and was a contemporary of Bernard and Abelard. He was bishop of Paris, and professor of divinity there until his death in the year 1164. He is chiefly known for his system of divinity, entitled "The Sentences," in four books. It consists mostly of extracts from the fathers, — more especially from Hilary, Ambrose, Jerome, and Augustine. It was a text-book in theology for ages; and learned men filled ponderous folios with commentaries on "The Sentences."

The thirteenth century was the golden age of *the scholastics*, in which flourished such men as Albertus Magnus, Thomas Aquinas, Alexander Hales, and Roger Bacon.

Albertus Magnus, or Albert the Great, was born of noble parentage in the year 1205. He was a Dominican friar and a universal scholar, — excelling particularly in mathematics, natural philosophy, metaphysics, and scholastic theology. His works are in twenty-one volumes folio.

Thomas Aquinas, called the Angelical Doctor and the Angel of the Schools, was born at Aquino, in Naples, in the year 1224. He was a pupil of Albert the Great, and, like him, was a Dominican

monk. The pope offered him the archbishopric of Naples, which he refused. He died while on his way from Naples to a council at Lyons, in the year 1274, at the age of fifty. His works have been published in twenty-three folios, comprising comments on nearly all the works of Aristotle and on the "Sentences" of Lombard, besides a huge "Summa," or system of scholastic theology, written by himself.

Alexander Hales was an Englishman, of Gloucestershire, but was early sent to Paris, where he spent the greater part of his life. He was the Irrefragable Doctor. He wrote "Commentaries on Aristotle," on "The Scriptures," and on Lombard's "Sentences;" also a system of theology and some tracts. Hales was a Franciscan monk.

Roger Bacon, styled the Admirable Doctor, was nobly born in Somersetshire, England, about the year 1206. He was a Franciscan, and taught the physical sciences at Oxford. He expended much time and money in his experiments on optics, mechanics, and chemistry, for which he was accounted a magician, and as such was confined for many years in a monastery. He died in 1284, and was buried at Oxford.

CHAPTER XXIX.

HISTORY OF DOCTRINES, SUPERSTITIONS, AND CONTROVERSIES.

THE history of doctrines during the long period before us may be given in few words. Some of the doctrines of the gospel were firmly held through all the middle ages, as they have always been in the Romish Church; such as the Trinity, and the proper divinity of Christ. Other important doctrines were keenly controverted; as those respecting depravity, predestination, and grace. And all were more or less obscured and perverted by profane additions and superstitious rites. Thus the great doctrine of justification by faith, of salvation by Christ alone, was virtually nullified by superadded penances, rites, and forms, which placed salvation on the ground of *merits* and *works*, rather than on that of grace through faith; and all those doctrines pertaining to the future life were obscured and rendered powerless by the inventions of priests as to purgatory, and the methods of deliverance from it by prayers, masses, indulgences, and charitable gifts.

The theologians of this period, like those of the last, may be divided into three classes, — the *positives*, the *scholastics*, and the *mystics*. The positives rested their faith upon *authority*: they established their positions by quotations from Scripture and from the ancient fathers. The scholastics depended chiefly upon *reason*: they had great confidence in the dialectic philosophy, and in the discussions growing out of it. Of this class were the schoolmen of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. They felt competent to decide all questions, and delighted to sharpen their wits by keen metaphysical and theological disputes. At the opposite extreme from the scholastics were the *mystics*, who relied more upon intuition than discussion; who shunned society, and sought, by poverty, penance, mortification, and seclusion, to awaken the divinity within them, and so come to the knowledge of the truth.

Of these several classes of theologians, the most popular, by far,

were the scholastics, especially in the latter half of the period before us. They drew around them admiring pupils, and professed to be able to "search all things, even the deep things of God." Their speculations often led them away from the dogmas of the Church; but they contrived to save their orthodoxy by a shrewd, characteristic distinction between things theologically true, but philosophically false. Theologically, they clung to the doctrines of the Church; while, as philosophers, they despised and rejected as many of them as they chose.

In the period before us, several writers, following the example of John of Damascus, prepared systems of theology. Such were Hildebert in the eleventh century, and Peter Lombard in the twelfth, and Albertus Magnus and Thomas Aquinas in the thirteenth. These all pursued substantially the same method, which was a blending of the positive and the scholastic. They substantiated each doctrine by passages of Scripture, and extracts from the fathers; and then undertook to solve difficulties and remove objections by the aid of reason and philosophy. The more distinguished of these writers on theology were Lombard and Aquinas. The "Sentences" of Lombard was a text-book for long ages; and folios of commentaries were written upon it.

The superstitions of the period under review were endless; and they showed themselves in a great variety of ways. The veneration of saints and relics, which before had been great, now exceeded all bounds. The utensils which the old saints were said to have used, the garments they had worn, the earth they had tilled, and the very ground on which they had set their feet,—all were venerated and valued as things of the greatest importance. Some journeyed into Arabia to see the dunghill on which Job had set, and to kiss the ground which had been saturated with his tears and blood. The hunting of relics came to be a regular business in the East; and, when a supply of the genuine article could not be found, a fictitious one was made to answer the purpose as well. The bones of common people, of criminals, and even of beasts, were exhumed, and sold to pilgrims as the veritable relics of the saints.

As the rage for saint-hunting and saint-worship increased, it became necessary to manufacture a great many new saints; the most of whom had no existence, and never had, out of the fancies of those who produced them. This practice was easy in the ninth and tenth centuries, when no restriction had been imposed upon

it by papal or episcopal authority. As the saints were multiplied, it was necessary that their lives should be written; and the writing of them constituted no small part of the literature of the age. And the greater the stories of marvels and miracles which these fictitious lives of the saints contained, the more eagerly were they read, and the more illustrious were the shrines of the fancied subjects of them. Fifty-eight folio volumes of "*Acta Sanctorum*" ("*Lives of the Saints*") have been already published; and the work is still in progress.

The superstition of the age showed itself in the different methods which were resorted to to acquire *merit before God*, and secure salvation. The rich, who were able to build churches, or to contribute large sums for their erection or repair, esteemed themselves happy, and the favorites of Heaven; while the poor, who had no money to contribute, cheerfully submitted to do the work of beasts,—bearing burthens, moving stones, and drawing carts,—and they were taught to expect salvation for these voluntary hardships. By these and the like methods, some acquired even more merit than they needed for themselves, and were able to make over the surplus to a general fund for the benefit of others.

The superstition of the age was manifest in the methods resorted to by the priests and monks for getting money, and in the readiness of the people to submit to such exactions. One of these methods was the sale of *indulgences*. These indulgences were originally no more than a commutation of ecclesiastical penances. A person confesses to the priest, and has some painful penance imposed upon him as the condition of absolution. But the priest says to him, "Give me so much money, and I will remit your penance: I will absolve you without its performance." The bargain is concluded, and the work is done. And thus far there was some show of reason in indulgences; for, if the Church had the right to impose penances, it might be supposed to have the right to commute them for money.

But, the traffic proving very gainful, the priests soon proceeded to greater lengths. They professed to be able to commute not only ecclesiastical penances for money, but the inflictions of God,—the penalties of the divine law. "For so much money, your sins before God shall be forgiven, so that they shall never come up against you. Yea, more than this: for so much money, you shall have the privilege of committing any specified act of sin or crime in time to come with entire impunity." And if any one inquired

of the priests, "On what ground are you able to give such assurances?" the answer was ready: "We have access to an infinite store of merit, — all the merits of Christ increased by all the supererogatory merits of the saints. This infinite storehouse of merit is intrusted to the popes. They have the keys; and they have made over to us, the priests, a sufficient quantity to answer any specified purpose. Give us so much money, and we will make over to you enough of merit to cancel all your past transgressions; or we will make over to you enough of merit to secure you from punishment in the commission of any particular sin in future. For so much money you may lie or steal, or commit adultery. For so much money you may murder your father or mother or your nearest friend."

It is incalculable what sums of money came into the hands of the priests, and into the coffers of a corrupt church, through this shameful traffic in indulgences. The sale of them continued down to the Reformation, and was the main thing which excited Zwingli and Luther to attempt a reformation.

The abbots and monks, who at the first were not intrusted with the sale of indulgences, resorted to other means of raising money. They travelled about the villages and through the provinces, carrying in solemn procession the carcasses and relics of holy men, which they allowed people to see, to handle, and to kiss, by paying well for the privilege. Or they amused the people with mock-fights with evil spirits, whom they pretended to see around them, in the air, or on the ground; and, when the fight was over, claimed pay of the spectators on account of their victory. In these ways, the monks often amassed as great gains as the priests did by their indulgences.

Another absurd and superstitious practice, which had been borrowed from the heathen, was that of deciding civil and criminal cases by arbitrary tests, — such as cold and hot water, single combat, red-hot iron, by the cross, and other methods. It is needless to detail these several modes of trial. No one doubts that they are the relics of a barbarous age; that they are utterly fallacious, and abhorrent to every principle of religion: yet the pontiffs and bishops did not blush to honor them with prayers and masses and other sacred rites, in order to give them somewhat of a religious aspect.

Among the superstitions of the age may be noticed the societies of *flagellants*, which made their appearance in Italy about the year

1260, but afterwards spread over a great part of Europe. A great multitude of persons, of all ranks and ages, and of both sexes, ran about the streets of cities and country towns with whips in their hands, miserably lashing their naked bodies; expecting, by their voluntary sufferings, their frightful countenances, and agonizing cries, to secure the divine compassion for themselves and others. For a time, the flagellants were highly revered and extolled for their sanctity. Flagellation was pronounced equal, in point of cleansing efficacy, to baptism. But when the turbulent and extravagant joined themselves to the flagellants, and disturbances of the peace ensued, the emperors and pontiffs issued decrees to restrain this religious frenzy.

Finally, we may notice among the superstitions of the age the great excitement which prevailed in the tenth century respecting the approaching day of judgment and the end of the world. Christ was expected to come at this time, not to commence the millennial period, but rather to close it. The opinion prevailed, that Satan was bound at the first advent of Christ; and that, having now been confined for almost a thousand years, the period of his release was just at hand. This was to be followed by a short triumph of the enemies of God; and then the end of the world would come.

This doctrine began to be preached by Bernhard, a monk of Thuringia, about the year 960. He relied not alone upon the revelations of Scripture, but, like most other fanatics, upon special revelations vouchsafed to himself. There appeared something plausible in his doctrine, and it was peculiarly adapted to the superstitions of the age. The clergy at once adopted it; the pulpits resounded with it. It was diffused with astonishing rapidity, and embraced with an ardor proportioned to the obscurity of the subject and the greediness of human credulity. In the belief of it, great numbers abandoned their friends and homes, and hastened to the shores of Palestine; not doubting that Mount Zion would be the throne of Christ when he should descend to judge the world. And these, in order to secure a more favorable reception from their final Judge, usually made over their property, before their departure, to some adjacent monastery or church. Others, who had no property to bestow, became the menial servants of the priests and monks; believing that, through their intercessions, they should find favor at the judgment-seat. Still others permitted their lands to lie waste, their houses to decay, and their earthly substance to be

wantonly wasted. Some took shelter in the caverns of rocks, as though these fastnesses of Nature could preserve them amid "the wreck of matter and the crush of worlds."

But the century closed, and the course of Nature moved right on. It gave no heed, either to the predictions of monks, or to the terrors of those who had been deluded by them. The people at length (or a portion of them) returned to their homes, repaired their buildings, and resumed their former occupations; and the principal effect of this stupendous panic was a vast increase of the property of the Church. What had been given in an hour of affright and terror, with the return of reason could not be recovered.

Those who undertook to interpret the Scriptures in the period before us differ very little from their predecessors in former periods. They may, in general, be divided into two classes,—those who merely compiled, or made extracts from, the more ancient interpreters; and those who searched for hidden, allegorical senses. The latter class are nearly worthless: the works of the former class, called *catene*, or *chains*, are of more value, as they present us with a synopsis of patristical interpretation, running back, in some instances, almost to the apostles.

Some of the controversies of the previous period extended down into that before us. This was particularly true of the controversy in regard to image-worship. In the year 802, the perfidious Irene, the great patroness and promoter of image-worship in the East, went into banishment. This encouraged the opposers of images to renew the controversy, which continued through the first half of the ninth century. Nearly all the emperors were opposed to the worship of images, though they would not persecute those who favored it. Theophilus, who reigned from 829 to 842, bore harder upon the defenders of images than his predecessors had done, and put some of the more violent of them to death. Upon his decease, his consort Theodora administered the government; and being worn out by the menaces, the entreaties, and the fictitious miracles of the monks, who had ever been clamorous for pictures and images, she called a council at Constantinople, which revoked all the decrees against images, and restored the worship of them among the Greeks. Thus, after a contest of one hundred and ten years, image-worship gained the victory; nor did any one of the succeeding emperors attempt to cure the Greeks of their folly and sin in this matter.

The standing controversy between the bishops of Rome and

Constantinople, which had so long agitated and rent the Church, was continued with much violence through the greater part of the period before us. It had slumbered, indeed, for a while; but it broke out afresh about the middle of the ninth century, when Photius, the most learned Greek of the age, was elevated to the see of Constantinople. Nicolaus I., bishop of Rome, refused to acknowledge Photius, and pronounced him and his adherents unworthy of Christian communion. Photius, in return, accused Nicolaus of sundry errors in doctrine and practice, and excommunicated him in a council held at Constantinople in the year 866. Upon the death of Photius, the controversy might have been healed had there been due moderation and equity at Rome; but, as these were wanting, the grounds of dissension still remained. We hear little of the quarrel in the tenth century; but in the eleventh it was renewed with increased violence. The pontiff of Rome was endeavoring, by various arts, to bring the Greek patriarch into subjection to him; and the disturbed and unhappy condition of the Greek Empire seemed to favor his designs: but the Greek patriarch had no thought of such subjection, and, to ward it off, publicly accused the Latins of serious errors. To these the bishop of Rome replied in a very imperious manner, and thundered forth an excommunication against the Greeks. Anxious for a settlement, the Greek emperor invited the pontiff to send legates to Constantinople to negotiate a peace. The legates came, but obviously not so much to restore harmony as to establish a Roman domination over the Greeks; for after making their demands, and finding that they were not acceded to, they proceeded, in the most arrogant manner possible, to renew their excommunication of the Greek patriarch and all that adhered to him. They left a copy of their anathema upon the great altar in the Church of St. Sophia, shook off the dust of their feet, and went back to Rome. Of course, the Greek patriarch returned the anathema, excommunicating the pontiff's legates, with all their supporters and friends. By order of the emperor, the Latin excommunication was committed to the flames. From this time, the most offensive and insulting writings were issued by both parties, which added continually fresh fuel to the fire.

These contests passed over from the eleventh century into the twelfth, and were carried on with great spirit on both sides. Negotiations for a compromise were repeatedly entered upon, at the instance especially of the Greek emperors; but as the Latins aimed

at nothing less than an absolute spiritual dominion over the Greeks, and as the Greeks had no thought of submitting to such dominion, the efforts for peace had the effect rather to increase hostility than to produce a reconciliation.

In the thirteenth century, efforts were again made to bring about a settlement; and at times the difficulty seemed on the point of being adjusted. But something would continually occur to prevent a compromise; and so the disputes and the rancor were prolonged. And so they continued until Constantinople was taken by the Turks,—in the fifteenth century; and so they continue to the present day.

One of the points at issue between the Eastern and Western churches, and perhaps the principal one (though it may seem small to us), related to *the procession of the Holy Spirit*. Did he proceed from the Father only? or from the Father and the Son? This controversy commenced in the eighth century; the Greeks holding that the Spirit proceedeth from the Father only, according to the declaration of Christ (John xv. 26); while the Latins insisted that he proceedeth from the Father and the Son. The Latins were also accused of enlarging the creed of Constantinople (adopted in the year 381) by the addition of *filioque* to the paragraph relating to the procession of the Spirit. It is certain that this addition is not in the original creed of Constantinople, and that it crept into the copy of the creed in use in the Western Church; but by whose instrumentality the alteration was made is not so clear. The Latins, however, adopted it; and it continued to be a matter of controversy for hundreds of years.

The disputes respecting predestination and grace, which had been so thoroughly settled at the close of the Pelagian controversy, in the fifth century, were revived by Gottschalk in the ninth. Of the sufferings of Gottschalk I have already spoken. For his alleged heresy he was tried, condemned, degraded, tortured, and shut up in prison. In the extremity of torture he made some retractions, and consented to burn a portion of his writings; but his constancy soon returned, and he remained in prison till his death.

Gottschalk was a learned, able, conscientious, good man, whose name should not be forgotten. He deserves to be ranked among the martyrs. But, though he died, the cause for which he suffered did not die with him. Numerous and powerful advocates were raised up for it, both during his imprisonment, and subsequent to

his death; among whom were Prudentius of Troyes, Servatus Lupus, Ratram, and Remigius, archbishop of Lyons. The opinions of Gottschalk, or rather of Augustine, were confirmed by several councils, and were received generally by the churches of France.

From this period, the discussion of the topics we are considering commenced anew in the Romish Church, and continued to agitate it for the next eight hundred years. The schoolmen were divided on these subjects, and their divisions led to endless disputes. Peter Lombard and Thomas Aquinas advocated, in general, the views of Augustine; while the other view was taken by Duns Scotus and Abelard. Nor was the controversy confined to the scholastics; but as Aquinas was a Dominican, and Scotus a Franciscan, it embroiled and agitated these two great rival orders of monks down to the time of the Reformation. The Dominicans and Augustinians were the decided advocates of predestination and grace; while the Franciscans, and after them the Jesuits, took different ground. They explained these doctrines much after the manner of the semi-Pelagians.

In the ninth century, we have the beginning of controversy in the Church respecting the manner in which the body and blood of Christ are present in the eucharist. As early as the days of Justin Martyr and Irenæus, there was a departure from the simple teachings of Christ and the apostles on this subject. The consecrated elements were regarded, not as symbols of the body and blood of Christ, but *somehow* as Christ himself. The doctrine of transubstantiation was not yet invented: that was of a later date. The consecrated bread was still bread, and the wine was wine: but yet Christ was somehow *present in them*; so that those who received them were partakers of Christ. This view of the matter continued in the Church for several hundred years, though nothing very decisive had been decreed respecting it; but, in the ninth century, an advance of statement was made, and transubstantiation was first introduced. It was introduced by Paschasius Radbert, abbot of Corbey. He taught, that "although there may be the *form* of bread and wine after consecration, the substance is entirely changed into flesh and blood; and this is the *same flesh* which was born of Mary, which suffered on the cross, and which was raised from the sepulchre." This was new doctrine in the ears of the Church at that period: or, rather, it was a new and startling explanation of an old doctrine; viz., that of the *real presence*. It was opposed by Robanus Maurus and John Scotus, two of the

greatest men of the age; and nothing decisive was determined respecting it.

The controversy slumbered through the tenth century, but was revived in the eleventh. Berengar, a canon, and master of the school at Tours, a man of discriminating mind, learned, and venerable for the sanctity of his life, openly opposed the doctrine of Radbert. He taught that the bread and wine are *not* converted into the real body and blood of Christ, but are mere symbols or emblems of that body. For this opinion, Berengar was persecuted both by the pontiff and the king of France. Overcome by threats and punishments, more than by arguments, he recanted his alleged errors, and became reconciled to the Church. But he did not long stand to his recantation. His real sentiments remained as before; and, when out of danger, he again published them. Indeed, under the terrors of persecution, he repeatedly recanted, and then returned to his former sentiments. "Outward force," he said, "may extort from human weakness a different confession; but none but God Almighty can produce conviction." Unable to withstand the blinded and depraved spirit of his age, Berengar died an exile, on the Island St. Comas, in the year 1088.

Yet he left behind him able defenders of the truth; for, as yet, no authoritative decree had been put forth by the Church of Rome on the subject. But, in the latter part of the thirteenth century, that most imperious of the pontiffs, Innocent III., published such a decree. "The body and blood of Christ," he said, "are truly contained, under the form of bread and wine, in the sacrament of the altar; being *transubstantiated*, the bread into the body, and the wine into the blood, by a divine power."

From this period, the doctrine of transubstantiation has been regarded as *fundamental* in the system of Romanism. Whatever other doctrine is called in question, this must not be. Next to the supremacy of the pontiff, it is the last which a thorough Romanist will ever relinquish. The power of the priest to transmute, by a word, the wafer and the wine into the veritable body, blood, soul, and divinity of Jesus Christ, is a tremendous power, far transcending all the miraculous gifts of the primitive age; and no consideration will induce the priest to relinquish it, or relinquish his claim to it, so long as he can find human beings stupid enough to admit such a claim, and to be gulled and fleeced by it.

About the middle of the twelfth century, the controversy commenced in the Romish Church respecting what is called the *im-*

maculate conception of the Virgin Mary.* It was insisted by some that Mary was conceived in the womb of her mother with the same purity that is attributed to Christ's conception. A festal day had been appointed in honor of her conception, which was observed by many churches in England and France. But, when St. Bernard heard of the practice, he sternly opposed it. This at once brought on the controversy; some defending the doctrine and the festival, and others supporting the opinion of Bernard. At a later period, the Dominicans argued against the immaculate conception, while the divines of the University of Paris contended for it. Still the question has been an open one in the Church of Rome almost to our own times.

I shall notice but another controversy of this period; and that is more metaphysical than theological: I refer to the contests between the *realists* and *nominalists*. The subject of this controversy was *general ideas*. Are there any such ideas? or are the terms denoting them mere names? Both parties in this controversy held to the old doctrine of ideas,—that they are *forms, models, images*, of things in the mind. Assuming, as a first principle, that no body can act but where it is, and knowing that external objects do not come in direct contact with the eye, they concluded that we do not see the objects themselves, but only their images. They supposed (or some of them did) that every external object is continually throwing off images of itself; and that these images only come in contact with the eye, enter through it to the mind, and constitute our ideas of external objects.

Now, both parties thought they could conceive, and professed to believe, that from *individual* external objects ideas or images were thrown off, and passed through the visual organ to the mind. Hence both believed that the names of *individual* objects were not mere names, but indicated corresponding particular ideas. But how was it with whole *genera*, or classes, of objects? Could any general ideas or images be thrown off from them? Or, in other words, *are* there any general ideas? This simple question the realist answered in the affirmative, and the nominalist in the negative. Both admitted that we have in use an abundance of *general terms*: but to the nominalist these were *mere names*, having no ideas cor-

* This notion of the immaculate conception of Mary is said to have been borrowed from the Koran. Thus Gibbon says, "The Latin Church has not disdained to copy from the Koran the immaculate conception of the Virgin."—See *Hist. of Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, vol. v. p. 108, Harper's edition.

responding to them; while the realist insisted that there were general ideas as well as names.

I have thus set before the reader the nature of this long-contested controversy respecting general ideas. It first appeared among the dialecticians of the Church, in the eleventh century. And, though the subject-matter of it may seem trifling to us, it did not so appear to our ancestors in the middle ages. We can have little conception of the fierceness with which the controversy often raged, and of the extent to which it agitated the human mind for the long space of four or five hundred years. Could the parties have divested themselves of the theory of floating images, and come to regard ideas as mere *thoughts, opinions, impressions, judgments*, the whole ground of controversy would have been taken away. Men, in that case, could as well have conceived of general as of particular ideas, and would not have thought it possible that whole classes of terms should have come into constant use with no ideas to be indicated by them.

CHAPTER XXX.

RELIGIOUS OBSERVANCES AND SECTS. — STATE OF LEARNING AND RELIGION.

IN the preceding chapter, we spoke of the theology of this period, of its abounding superstitions, and its controversies. It remains that we treat of its religious rites and observances, its sects, and of the state of learning and religion.

Before the commencement of this period, the rites of the Church had become so numerous, that a class of men were officially set apart to expound them. Hence the numerous works *de divinis officiis* which were written for this purpose. Still the church-leaders were not satisfied: they continued to add new festivals, and other religious observances, all through the period before us. In the multitude of new saints that were created, it was thought necessary that new days should be set apart to their honor; and, that none of them might be omitted, a festival was decreed in the ninth century for *all saints*. In the following century, another was added in memory of *all departed souls*. Before this time, it had been common to offer prayers, on appointed days, for *particular* souls that were suffering in purgatory; but at this time it was thought advisable to extend this kindness to them all. Other festivals were afterwards decreed in honor of the immaculate conception of Mary, and in honor of the transubstantiated body of Christ.

The worship of Mary, which had before been excessive and idolatrous, was in this period much increased. In the tenth century we begin to hear of the rosary and the crown of St. Mary, or of praying according to a numerical arrangement. The rosary consists of fifteen repetitions of the Lord's Prayer, and a hundred and fifty salutations of Mary; and the crown of St. Mary consists of about half the number of each. The beads are used to tally each repetition, so that there may be no mistake as to the number.

In the eleventh century, a vigorous effort was made to enforce

the Romish liturgy, and in the Latin tongue, upon all the churches which professed subjection to the see of Rome. In the kingdom of Castile, in Spain, this measure met with strong opposition. The people were warmly attached to their old Gothic liturgy, and were unwilling to give it up. At length, it was determined to submit the question to the decision of the sword. Accordingly, two champions were chosen to contend in single combat; the one fighting for the Roman liturgy, and the other for the Gothic. The Gothic champion conquered. Still the advocates for the Romish liturgy and Latin prayers were not satisfied. They wished to submit the question to a decision by fire. Hence the two liturgies were thrown together into the fire; when the Romish was consumed, and the Gothic escaped. Yet this double victory could not save the Gothic liturgy. The authority of the pontiff, and the pleasure of the queen, who was very much under his influence, prevailed; and the Romish liturgy was adopted.

This forcing the Romish liturgy, and in the Latin tongue, upon all the Roman-Catholic churches, was an intolerable hardship. It should have been enough, one would think, to take away the Bible from the people; but now they were shut out, at least in their public worship, from a throne of grace. They could only hear prayers in an unknown tongue, which was equivalent to their not hearing them at all.

In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the splendor of public worship in the churches was vastly increased. New churches were consecrated with sprinklings, inscriptions, anointings, lighting up of candles, and prayers; while not only the walls, but the very floors, were adorned with pictures of saints and angels. The altars were ornamented with gold and silver and precious stones. Before the images of the saints expensive lamps were kept continually burning. After the doctrine of transubstantiation had been introduced, the elements, as soon as consecrated, were elevated, that they might be seen and worshipped by the people. Splendid caskets also were introduced, in which God, in the form of bread, might reside, and in which he might be carried in solemn procession from one place to another. Many of the facts of the sacred history were not only presented to the eye in paintings, but they were *dramatized* in the churches. These scenic representations, partly tragic and partly comic, interested the people for a time; but the effect, in the end, was unhappy. They tended, not so much to impress the sacred story upon the mind and heart, as to turn it into ridicule.

At the close of the thirteenth century, Boniface VIII. added to the public ceremonies of the Church the year of jubilee. He published a decree, that, in every centennial year, all that should devoutly visit the temple of St. Peter at Rome, and should there make confession of their sins, should receive plenary indulgence for the next hundred years. The consequence was, that not less than two millions of people visited Rome during the year 1300. The public roads in Italy presented an almost continuous procession from one end to the other; and the crowd at Rome was so dense, that many were literally trodden to death. The jubilee brought so much honor and gain to the Church of Rome, that subsequent pontiffs limited it to shorter periods. Clement VI. celebrated another jubilee, in the year 1350; and Nicolaus V. decreed that the festival should be held once in twenty-five years.

The Nestorians and Monophysites who were living in the East, under the protection of the Mohammedans, fared well for a time; but, as years rolled on, their fields of labor were contracted, their numbers diminished, and they were persecuted and oppressed. Towards the close of this period, they were repeatedly solicited to connect themselves with the Roman-Catholic Church; but they had the firmness to maintain their independence, as they continue to do to the present time.

Nearly all *the sects* with which the Greek and Romish churches were called to contend in the period before us were of a single class. They were pious, humble Christians, who were tired of the pomp and ceremony which they witnessed around them, and of the disgusting superstitions of the times; and who sought earnestly, though not always in the wisest manner, to bring back religion to the simplicity and purity of the apostolic age. They were called at different periods, and in different places, by several names; but they were substantially one people.

We first hear of them in the East, in the seventh century, under the name of Paulicians. They wrote no books; they have left no history of themselves; and the little we know of them is chiefly from their enemies, whose testimony is to be received with a good deal of allowance. They were called, by the Greeks, Manicheans; but they persistently denied having any connection or affinity with the old heretics of that name.

They sprang, we are told, from a man by the name of Constantine, who lived in an obscure town in the neighborhood of Samosate. A deacon, who was returning from captivity among the

Mohammedans, lodged with Constantine, and at parting presented him with a New Testament in Greek. Constantine made the best use of the deacon's present. He carefully studied the sacred oracles, and exercised his own understanding upon them. He formed for himself a system of theology from the New Testament, and more especially from the Epistles of Paul. To show his regard for Paul, and to assimilate himself and his followers, so far as possible, to the companions of Paul, he changed his own name to that of Sylvanus, and called his disciples by Scripture names; such as Timothy, Titus, Tychicus, &c. His followers, in general, took the name of *Paulicians*. They were simply scriptural in the use of the sacraments; detested images; despised relics and all the fashionable superstitions of the times; and knew no other Mediator than the Lord Jesus Christ.

Sylvanus preached with great success. Pontus and Cappadocia, regions once renowned for Christian piety, were again enlightened through his labors. His congregations were diffused over most of the provinces of Asia Minor; and he seems to have been an instrument in the hand of God of promoting a revival of pure spiritual religion.

Roused by the growing importance of the sect, the Greek emperors began to persecute the Paulicians with the utmost severity, and, under Christian forms and names, re-enacted the scenes of Galerius and Maximin. They bore their persecutions with great firmness; and, having some seasons of repose, they rather increased than otherwise under the hard treatment to which they were exposed. "The blood of the martyrs was the seed of the Church."

The most bloody persecutor of the Paulicians was the Empress Theodora, — the same who finally established image-worship among the Greeks. Her inquisitors ransacked the Lesser Asia in search of these sectaries; and she is computed to have destroyed, by the gibbet, by fire, and by the sword, not less than a hundred thousand persons. This was the first wholesale butchery of Christians by professed Christians of which we have any account in the history of the Church.

During a period of not less than a hundred and fifty years, the Paulicians endured their sufferings with Christian fortitude and patience. But at length they were led to form an alliance with the Mohammedans, and made war upon their persecutors. At first, they were successful; and Michael, the son of Theodora, fled before their arms. They penetrated into the heart of Asia, and desolated

some of the fairest provinces of the Greeks. In the issue, however, their principal fortress was taken, their power in the East was broken, and many of them were obliged to migrate into the West. In the tenth century, we hear of them in Thrace, in Bulgaria, in Slavonia, and even in Italy. They were still persecuted by the Greek bishops and priests, and sometimes by the emperors, who continued to harass them with confiscation of property, with banishment, and other vexations. Wearied out with this kind of treatment, they migrated still farther west, and had congregations in Lombardy, in Germany, and the southern part of France. With a change of location, they changed their name, or became associated with a like people of another name; for in Europe we hear them called *Cathari*, i.e. *Puritans*, *Paterines*, and *Albigenses*. Now, we know what kind of people the *Cathari* were. They were called by their enemies Manichees, as the Paulicians had been; but they really were, like the Paulicians in their best estate, *simple, devout, Bible-Christians*, — not altogether free from superstitious notions and practices, but yet a people who loved the Lord Jesus Christ, and were intent upon serving him according to the light they had. Milner says of them, “They were a plain, unassuming, harmless, and industrious race of Christians, condemning by their doctrine and manners the whole apparatus of the reigning idolatry and superstition, placing true religion in the faith and love of Christ, and retaining a supreme regard for the word of God.”* The *Paterines* were the same people, under another name. In France they were called *Albigenses*, from Albi, or Albigia, a town of Aquitaine.

The *Cathari* were very numerous in the twelfth century. One of their enemies says, “They are increased to a great multitude through all countries; for their words do spread like a cancer.” At the same time, they were persecuted with the utmost severity. Galdinus, Bishop of Milan, is said to have died of an illness which he contracted through the excess of his vehemence in preaching against them.

Of the number of the people called *Albigenses*, who inhabited the south of France, we may form some idea from the great multitude of them, who, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, were put to death. It was to hunt and destroy them that the infamous tribunal of the Inquisition was first established. But, as this was found to be too slow in its operation, the pontiff Innocent III. ex-

* Vol. iii. p. 366.

horted Philip Augustus, king of France, to make war upon the heretics, promising him and his nobles the most ample indulgences as their reward. At length, in the year 1209, a *crusade* was preached up against the Albigenses; and a large army of *cross-bearers* entered upon the bloody work of destroying them. They were headed by Simon, earl of Montfort, whose cruelties were indescribable. At the capture of Minerbe, a hundred and forty were burned together at the stake; at Beziers, six thousand persons were slain; and at Toulouse, twenty thousand. At Carcassonne, the priests shouted for joy at the sight of thousands burning together. When the crusaders had captured the Castle of Brom, where they found about a hundred persons, Simon ordered all their noses to be amputated, and their eyes to be put out, except a single eye of one individual, who might serve as a guide to the rest; and then they were sent off to Cabrières to terrify others. After the death of Simon, the war was continued by Raymond, earl of Toulouse, and by the kings of France, until the poor Albigenses were measurably extirpated.

Among the Albigenses there were some diversities of opinion, which led to the formation of different sects. Thus there were the Petrobrussians and Henricians, whose peculiarity was that they denied infant-baptism. They had seen this practice so perverted and abused among the Romanists, besides having their children often torn from them to be baptized by the priests, that they were led to reject the doctrine altogether. And they are said, on pretty good authority, to be the first Christians of whom we have any account in history (unless it be a few who rejected all water-baptism) who denied the right of infants to baptism. With the exception of this peculiarity, the Petrobrussians and Henricians seem to have been, like the other Albigenses, a pious, devoted, Scripture-loving people.

The Waldenses were a people of like spirit and character with the Paulicians, the Cathari, and the Albigenses; though it may not be easy to prove any historical connection between them. The Waldenses lay claim to a very high antiquity, running back almost to the apostolic age. The probability is that many pious people were driven by pagan persecutors, before the time of Constantine, from the plains of Italy into the almost inaccessible valleys of the Alps; that they planted themselves there; and that there their descendants have lived through long ages and multiform changes, holding fast the faithful word, to the present time. In their early

history they may have been called *Vallenses*, from the circumstance of their living in the valleys; but from the twelfth century they have taken the name of *Waldenses*, from their great leader and patron, Peter Waldo of Lyons.

In the ninth century, Claudius, a Spanish priest, was appointed by Lewis the Meek to the archiepiscopal see of Turin. The valleys of the Waldenses were within his diocese; and we may well suppose that he — who has been called, not inappropriately, “the reformer of the ninth century” — would do all in his power to aid and encourage the poor pious people whom he found among the fastnesses of the Alps. It is not at all likely (as some have thought) that he *originated* the Waldenses; but that he found them out, encouraged, and strengthened them, is in the highest degree probable. The Waldenses seem not to have been much noticed or persecuted by the Romanists before the twelfth century: but their connection with Waldo, and other circumstances, then brought them into notice; since which time they have been almost perpetually harassed with wars and persecutions.

Peter Waldo was born in the valleys of Piedmont or Dauphiny. In early life he went to Lyons, became a merchant, and, by his success in business, soon rose to wealth and distinction. On a certain occasion, while in company with several distinguished citizens, one of the company fell down suddenly dead. The event produced a great effect upon the mind of Peter, and changed the whole course of his future life. He did not, according to the fashion of the age, shut himself up in a monastery, but resolved that he would devote himself henceforth to the service of God in the gospel of his Son. He soon began to preach the gospel himself. He caused the Scriptures to be translated into the language of the people, and circulated many copies. God blessed his efforts; and ere long he was enabled to send forth a band of missionaries, two by two, to carry the gospel into all parts of France, into Flanders, Germany, Poland, Bohemia, and Austria. These missionaries were the celebrated “poor men of Lyons;” and, by means of them, the truth, in a few years, gained a wonderful extension.

But soon the pope called upon the archbishop of Lyons to put down this heresy; and then the work of persecution began. The institution at Lyons was broken up; but the members of it, like the primitive disciples, “went forth everywhere, preaching the word.” That many of them took refuge among their brethren in the valleys of Piedmont and Dauphiny, there can be no doubt.

When Peter Waldo was driven from Lyons, he went into Picardy, where he obtained many followers. Hence, in some parts of Europe, his followers were called *Pickards*. He passed into Belgium and Germany, and finally into Bohemia, where he died.

Of the religious character of the Waldenses it is not necessary to speak at length. That their moral and Christian character was excellent, is admitted even by their enemies. This was assigned as the reason why they were more to be dreaded than any other class of heretics, — *they were so good*. They retained for a long time their missionary spirit. They were *all* missionaries. Wherever they went, whether as teachers or preachers or laborers or peddlers, they carried the Bible and the gospel with them, and were sure to make their great commission known.*

It was when the Waldenses of Lyons took refuge in the valleys of Piedmont, and when the persecuted Albigenses from the other side of the Alps fled there also, that they began to be hunted after by the minions of Rome; and the vengeance of the Inquisition was visited upon them. Still they were not called to feel the severity of persecution until the following centuries. An account of their long and terrible trials will be given in its proper place.

In resisting the burthensome forms and superstitions of these times, some persons went over to the other extreme. They abjured all outward rites and moral duties, and made their religion to consist in mere feelings and fancies. Such were “the Brethren and Sisters of the Free Spirit,” who spread themselves over Italy, France, and Germany, in the thirteenth century, and, by a great show of piety, drew many people after them. They were a class of Antinomian mystics, whose extravagances ran them almost into Pantheism. They refused to labor, because labor interfered with the intensity of their contemplations. They held that a man, by turning all his thoughts inward, might become in such sense one with God, as to be delivered from all the instincts of Nature: he would come into a state in which it was impossible for him to sin. They said that prayers, fastings, baptism, and the sacred supper, might do for children, but were no longer of any service for those who had been converted into God himself, and were thoroughly detached from the visible universe. This people did not much attract the notice of the hierarchy in this century; but in the next (the fourteenth) the inquisitors laid their hands upon them, and many of them were burned at the stake.

* See Protestantism in Italy, p. 339.

It is proposed now to give a brief sketch of the history of learning and philosophy, so far as they stand connected with the Church of Christ, from the first century to the close of the thirteenth, — the end of our present period; and this may be done in few words. From the Augustan age, in which Christ was born, down to the close of the tenth century, there was a gradual *decline* in the state of learning, until the lights of science and literature seemed almost ready to expire; but, from the commencement of the eleventh century to the commencement of the fourteenth, there was a gradual revival of learning, more especially in Europe, which has continued to the present time.

The first philosophy with which Christianity came in contact, and by which it was in some degree corrupted, was the Gnostic. The influence of this was felt during the latter part of the first century, and through the whole of the second; and many who bore the name of Christian made shipwreck of their faith. The next philosophy, by which Christianity was still more affected, was the Neo-Platonic. This supplanted the Gnostic near the commencement of the third century, and continued to prevail for the next three hundred years. It was taught by Ammonias Saccas, its founder, and by Plotinus, in the third century, by Jamblichus in the fourth, and by Proclus in the fifth. It continued to be almost the only philosophy studied until the middle of the fifth century, when Aristotelianism began to take its place. The dialectics of Aristotle were thought to be better adapted to sharpen the wits of the theologians of that period, and prepare them to take part in the controversies of the times. In the sixth century, Justinian broke up the schools of the Platonics at Athens and Alexandria, and scattered the teachers; from which period the Aristotelian philosophy prevailed almost exclusively down to the Reformation, in the sixteenth century. This was the philosophy of the schoolmen, and of all who aimed at metaphysical acuteness; and by many theologians the dialectics of Aristotle were much more studied than the Bible.

In the first ages of Christianity, though Christians differed as to the expediency of dipping into any form of heathen philosophy, they were all in favor of some degree of learning, and maintained schools for the education of their children and of those intended for the ministry. After the time of Constantine, these schools were enlarged; and some of them acquired a degree of notoriety. This was particularly the case with the cathedral schools, and with some

of those that were taught by the monks. The course of study in these schools was, for several centuries, very uniform. All who aspired to a thorough education must make themselves acquainted with the seven liberal arts; viz., grammar, rhetoric, logic, arithmetic, music, geometry, and astronomy. Some satisfied themselves with the first three of these, which were called the *Trivium*; while others went on through the remaining four, which were called the *Quadrivium*. This course of study continued unchanged until about the middle of the eleventh century, when logic or dialectics had assumed so much importance, that it threatened to swallow up all the rest; for the impression prevailed, that he who was master of dialectics had learning enough, and would lose nothing by being ignorant of the other branches. In the twelfth century, the old course of study was broken up. The seven liberal arts were included together under the term *philosophy*; and to this was added *theology*, *jurisprudence*, and *medicine*. In the thirteenth century, universities were established, — first at Paris, and afterwards at other places, — in which these four great departments of study were committed to four distinct *faculties*, or *colleges*. In the year 1260, the faculty of theology at Paris was endowed by Robert de Sorbonne, whose name it has borne ever since. The study of jurisprudence received a new impulse at this period from the discovery of the “Pandects” of Justinian, which had long been lost.

To this period may be traced the origin of academical degrees: Those who aspired to be teachers in either of the faculties of the new universities must go through a long process of study, and submit to several examinations. Those who satisfactorily performed all that was required of them were hailed as *masters*, and from that time were eligible as teachers.

I have said that learning, in the general, declined from the first century to the end of the tenth. There were some intervals, however, of apparent reviving. Such a one occurred during the reigns of Charlemagne and his sons. Charlemagne, while he lived, cherished and honored all kinds of learning; and the same was true of Charles the Meek and Charles the Bald. The good Alfred, who reigned in England in the ninth century, was also the friend and promoter of learning. But all this was insufficient to stay the downward progress of things, which continued until about the period which has been mentioned. There was a reviving, as I have said, in the eleventh century; and this was in no small degree

owing to the influence of William the Conqueror, who is described as the great *Macænas* of his age.

One of the most singular events in the whole history of learning is its reviving among the Saracens in the ninth and tenth centuries. When the lamp of learning was burning dimly everywhere, and threatening to go out in total night, suddenly it blazed up at the courts of the caliphs; and for several centuries the Mohammedans were the best teachers in the world, more especially in the exact sciences. It now appears that the Saracens were indebted to the Nestorians for their translations from Aristotle and the other Greek philosophers, and that their first advance upon the field of science sprang from a Christian influence.

There were two great centres of Arabic learning; the one at the courts of the caliphs in the East, the other among the Saracens in Spain. The first and oldest of their schools was in the East. The more celebrated Eastern teachers were Al-Kendi in the ninth century, and Al-Farabi and the more celebrated Avicenna in the eleventh. Avicenna was a physician as well as philosopher; and his canon of medicine was for centuries a text-book in Europe.

As these Eastern sages were accustomed to speculate freely, they came in conflict often with the Koran, which so enraged the strict Mussulmans, that their schools were suppressed. Many of the philosophers at this time migrated into Spain, and set up their institutions there. What Avicenna had been in the East, the learned Averhoes was in the West. He was born at Corduba, in Spain, about the year 1120. He died in 1198. He is said to have written twenty-nine treatises on philosophy, five on theology, nine on jurisprudence, three on astronomy, seventeen on medicine, and two on grammar. Many of his books were destroyed by the usurper Al-Manzor because he thought them contrary to the Koran; and more were destroyed by the Roman Catholics when the Saracens were expelled from Spain: so that but few of them now remain. The philosophy of Averhoes was pantheistical, as was that of Avicenna before him.

The state of religion in the long period over which we have passed has been pretty fully exhibited already. In the Greek and Latin churches, we discover little besides debauchery, avarice, ambition, dead forms, and the most disgusting superstitions. With the exception of Anselm, Gottschalk, Béranger, Claudius of Turin, Bernard, and a few others, we find no prominent men who seemed to possess the spirit of religion, or to understand the way

of life. Hence, in searching for the image of Christ, we are constrained to look away from the established churches to the poor, despised, and persecuted heretics; and here a brighter prospect opens before us than any we have hitherto witnessed. The whole country swarms with those in humble life who are maligned, reproached, and persecuted as heretics, but who seem to live above the world, and to have their conversation in heaven. First of all, there were the Paulicians, stigmatized as Manichees, butchered by thousands and tens of thousands, and driven from their homes in the East to the utmost boundaries of the West, but carrying with them the word of life, keeping the fire of love burning in their own souls, and endeavoring to kindle it in the souls of others. Then there were the Cathari,—the Puritans of the eleventh and twelfth centuries,—a people of the same spirit, and exposed to the same hard fate. A congregation of them was discovered at Orleans, in France, in the year 1017; and after having been betrayed by spies, who came among them as friends, thirteen of them were brought to the stake together. When led out to the fire which had been kindled to consume them, they exultingly leaped upon it, and were burned to ashes.

We next find the Albigenses, a branch of the same people, dwelling for a time securely in the south of France. But the keen eye of the inquisitor at length finds them out, and his engine of torture and death is put in active operation to consume them; and, because this was too slow in its horrid work of butchery, the dogs of war were let loose upon them, and thousands upon thousands fell together by the sword.

In close proximity to these there are the Waldenses,—confessedly the best people of their age, and on this very account esteemed by their enemies the most dangerous. The following is the testimony of one of their persecutors: “They live a life of greater purity than other Christians. They do not take an oath unless required to do so, and seldom take the name of God in vain. They fulfil their promises in good faith, and insist that they alone have preserved the apostolical life and doctrine. On this account, they affirm that the authority of the Church is with them as innocent and true disciples of Christ; for the sake of whose faith and religion they consider it honorable and glorious to live in poverty, and to suffer persecution from us.”* Another historian speaks thus

* See Protestantism in Italy, p. 402.

of the Waldenses: "I do not believe it possible to find another community, of the same extent, which is equally virtuous. Drunkenness, profane swearing, and licentiousness are almost wholly unknown among them. What difficulties they have they settle among themselves; and, in general, there is a most delightful spirit of harmony and kindness among them. If any one is sick, his neighbors hasten to proffer their services. They bring him bread and wine, and supply his lamp with oil for the night. If misfortune overtakes a fellow-citizen, they make up a contribution to furnish the needed succor. If any farmer is behind in his work, his neighbors come together to assist him. Children of misfortune themselves, they have learned effectually to sympathize with the miserable." Such, then, were the people, who, for three hundred years together, suffered from the Inquisition, from crusade and wars, in which thousands upon thousands of them were put to death.

It will be remembered that the first half of our present period was signalized by the labors of the Culdees. Issuing forth from their schools at Iona and in other places, these indefatigable missionaries spread themselves over, not only Scotland, but the greater part of England, Ireland, the Netherlands, and Germany; holding up the light of life to be a witness for God and truth in the midst of the surrounding darkness.

Nor were these the only witnesses for God and truth. There was Arnold of Brescia, in the twelfth century, who, for endeavoring to reform the Romish clergy, and bring them back to the simplicity of Christ, was seized, hanged, and his body burned to ashes. There were the Beguinæ, or associations of praying females, which sprang up in Germany in the thirteenth century, and spread themselves over a considerable part of Western Europe; devoting themselves to religious exercises and to manual labor, and endeavoring to preserve themselves from the corruptions around them. We begin also, in this century, to hear of Lollards, — another class of poor but pious men, who were protestants against prevailing wickedness in every thing but the name.

We conclude, therefore, that there was more true religion in the period over which we have passed than has been commonly supposed. God's witnesses were testifying in sackcloth and ashes; but they bore a noble testimony, and sealed it nobly with their blood.

PERIOD VII.

FROM THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY
TO THE REFORMATION.

CHAPTER XXXI.

EXTERNAL HISTORY. — POKERY AND THE POPES. — TEACHERS.

AT the commencement of this period, the old Eastern Roman Empire — contracted and crippled by the incursions of the Saracens, and more by those of the Turks — was dragging out a miserable existence, and tottering to its fall. In what remains of it, we shall find little of interest to the ecclesiastical historian. But the nations of Europe, having emerged from the chaos of the middle ages, were assuming, in general, a stable position, and were governed each by its own sovereign and laws. To be sure; the Saracens still held the greater part of Spain; Italy was in a state of commotion and revolution, as it has been for the last thousand years; while the Turks were pressing upon South-eastern Europe, and threatening a subjugation, which they afterwards accomplished. Still the condition of Europe, in the general, was as before stated.

Bating a few forced conversions among Jews and others, there were no attempts worthy of notice to spread the gospel. Several events occurred, however, which have since had a most important influence in promoting the religion of Christ. Such were the discovery of America by Columbus in the year 1492, and of the mariner's compass at an earlier period. The art of printing was discovered about the middle of the fifteenth century. These all tended to give a spring to the human mind, and led on to the most important results in not only the civil, but the religious history of mankind.

That form of Christianity which had been so industriously propagated by the Nestorians throughout Siberia and Tartary in the middle ages received a severe repulse by the conquests of Genghis Khan in the twelfth century. Still it survived and flourished until the appearance of Tamerlane in the fourteenth century. Tamerlane was the son of a shepherd, and raised himself by his own courage and prudence. He was one of the most successful warriors that ever lived. He boasted, that, in consequence of his victories, he had the three parts of the world under his control. Being persuaded that it was the duty of every Mussulman to make war upon the Christians, and that those who should compel many Christians to embrace the religion of the Koran might expect special honors and rewards from God, he inflicted numberless evils upon the Christians of this age; butchering some, and dooming others to perpetual slavery. By him, Christianity was subverted through all Central Asia; and Mohammedanism or Paganism took its place.

Another disastrous event which occurred about the middle of the fifteenth century was the capture of Constantinople by the Turks. These warlike barbarians had been encroaching upon the Eastern Empire, and advancing nearer and nearer to the capital, for a long period; but in the year 1453 the city was taken, and the last branch of the great Roman Empire came to an end. One part of the city the Turks took by storm; but the other part surrendered upon terms of capitulation. In the former, all public profession of Christianity was at once suppressed; but, in the latter, the Christians retained their temples, and freely worshipped in them as before. But this liberty was curtailed in the next century, and Christian worship was confined within very narrow limits. The Christians have lived among the Turks from that day to this, but always as a subjugated and despised people.

Still another important event occurred in this period. The kingdom of the Saracens in Spain, which had stood for seven hundred years, was entirely subverted; in 1492, by Ferdinand and Isabella, the sovereigns of Castile and Aragon. The Moors resided in Spain for more than a century after this time; but they were there as a subjugated people. They were finally expelled — at the instigation of the Romish priests, but to the vast detriment of Spain — in the year 1610.

During the two centuries before us, the Roman pontiffs were as grasping and as ambitious as ever; and yet several events occurred

which went to curtail their authority and their power. The first was the quarrel of Boniface VIII., who governed the Latin Church at the beginning of the fourteenth century, and was one of the most resolute of the pontiffs, with Philip the Fair, king of France. Boniface had asserted that the king of France, like all other kings, owed perfect obedience to the bishop of Rome, and this not merely in religious matters, but in secular and civil affairs. The king replied with great severity. The pontiff repeated former assertions, and published the celebrated bull, called, from the two first words of it, *Unam Sanctam*, in which he affirmed that Jesus Christ has delegated to his Church a twofold power, — the spiritual and the temporal; that the whole human race was subjected to the pontiff; and that all who dissented from this doctrine were heretics, and could not be saved. The king, on the contrary, in an assembly of his nobles, publicly accused the pontiff of heresy, simony, dishonesty, and other crimes; and urged the calling of a general council to depose him from his office. The pontiff, in return, excommunicated the king and all his adherents the same year (A.D. 1303). Philip appealed from this decision to a general council, and then despatched an agent into Italy with a small army, which took the pontiff prisoner, and inflicted upon him other indignities, under the influence of which he died. He is said to have died from mere mental excitement, — the violence of his rage and anguish.

Boniface was followed by Benedict XI., who died the following year; when Philip succeeded in having the bishop of Bordeaux, a Frenchman, created pontiff, and in persuading him to remove the seat of the popedom from Italy into France. It was removed, accordingly, to Avignon, where the pontiffs resided for the next seventy years, — a period which the Italians call their *Babylonian captivity*.

This removal of the popedom from Italy into France was, in many ways, an injury to the pontiffs. Their enemies in Italy, the Ghibellines and others, assumed greater boldness than before; assailing their authority, laying waste their territories, and thus cutting off their pecuniary resources. Their example was followed in other parts of Europe; the people in general attributing far less authority to the decrees which were issued forth from France than to those which had previously come from Rome.

The first pontiff who reigned at Avignon took the name of Clement V. He was governed all his life by the will and pleasure of Philip the Fair. He was succeeded by John XXII., who was

remarkable chiefly for his bootless quarrel with Lewis of Bavaria, emperor of Germany, and for his skill in getting and keeping money. He was charged with heresy near the close of his life: but his greatest heresy seems to have been a practical one, for there were found in his coffers, after his death, not less than twenty-five millions of florins in specie and plate, which, by the sale of benefices and indulgences, he had squeezed out of the people and the inferior clergy during his pontificate.

John died in the year 1334; and, after him, four more of the pontiffs remained at Avignon: but, in 1376, Gregory XI., although a Frenchman, was induced to remove his residence to Rome. This was deemed a necessity, in order that he might restore tranquillity to Italy, and recover the cities and territories which had been wrested from the domain of the Church.

Upon the death of Gregory XI., the cardinals hastily elected an Italian, Urban VI., to the pontifical chair. But they soon repented of their choice; and, retiring to Naples, they elevated Clement VII. to the same office. There were now two pontiffs reigning together, — Urban at Rome, and Clement at Avignon; and thus commenced what has been called “the great schism of the West,” which continued for the next forty years.

Here was another event which tended to detract from the power and weaken the authority of the pontiffs; for while the rival bishops were assailing each other with excommunications, anathemas, and other hostile measures, it was impossible that either of them should retain that reverence and fear with which the head of the Church on earth had been before regarded. The princes of Europe, who had been so often told that they were servants of the pontiff, now became their judges and masters; and great numbers of people thought it safer to commit their salvation to God than longer to trust to warring and contentious prelates.

In an attempt to heal this lamentable schism, in the year 1409, a third pontiff was created, who took the name of Alexander V. He died the next year; but his place was immediately filled by John XXIII. Instead of two pontiffs, there were now three, stationed at different places, and opposing each other by every method in their power.

To prevent the intolerable evil growing out of this state of things, the Emperor Sigismund prevailed upon one of the pontiffs, John XXIII., to call a general council, to convene at Constance in the year 1414. This was the largest council ever assembled in

Christendom. There were present at it, besides the German emperor and one pope, twenty princes, a hundred and forty counts, more than twenty cardinals, seven patriarchs, twenty archbishops, ninety-one bishops, six hundred other clerical dignitaries, and about four thousand priests. The principal object of the council was to put an end to the discord between the pontiffs: and this object it successfully accomplished; for having substantiated its own authority, and published a decree that the pontiff is subject to the control of the whole Church, it proceeded to set aside the three existing pontiffs, and to appoint a new one in their place, who took the name of Martin V.

But this was not all that was done by the council. At Prague, there lived and taught an eloquent and learned man, John Huss, who was both a professor in the university, and a preacher in the church. Him the holy fathers summoned to their bar upon a charge of heresy, under a solemn promise from the Emperor Sigismund that no evil should befall him, and that he should be returned to his home in peace. But, when they had got him in their power, they persuaded the emperor to break his promise, assuring him that he was under no obligation to keep his word with a heretic; and then committed their victim to the flames. Huss was burned on the sixth day of July, 1415. Full of faith and the love of God, he met his fate with admirable constancy, singing hymns of praise with a loud voice, and imploring the mercy of his Saviour.

The year following, the same punishment was inflicted upon Jerome of Prague, the companion of Huss, who had come to Constance to aid and support his friend. At first, the courage of Jerome faltered; and he renounced those opinions which the council had condemned. But, being still retained in prison, his confidence returned: he made an open profession of his faith, and was committed to the flames. He met his punishment with great cheerfulness. Observing the executioner about to set fire to the wood behind his back, he called out to him, "Bring thy torch hither. Perform thy office before my face. Had I feared death, I might have avoided it." As the wood began to blaze, he commenced a hymn, and continued singing till his voice was choked with flame. It was this council which finally took the cup from the laity in the ordinance of the supper; thus violating one of the positive commands of Christ.

The burning of Huss and Jerome produced an intense excite-

ment in Bohemia ; and their followers flew to arms to avenge their death. . The war lasted some thirteen years, in which the Hussites displayed a courage and bravery which have never been surpassed. But at length they became divided among themselves. A portion of them, the Taborites, were a sound and pious people, who loved the gospel, and wished to live according to its precepts. But the larger portion, the Calixtines, would be satisfied with the religion of Rome if the priest would but give the cup to the laity in the sacrament. This part obtained the cup, and fell back into the Romish Church ; while the true Moravians and Bohemians, the Taborites, after having endured incredible persecutions, lived through this dark period, and rejoiced in the Reformation of the sixteenth century. Their successors are the Moravians, or United Brethren, of the present day.

It was expected that the Council of Constance would proceed to the reformation of the Church, as this was a part of the object for which it had been called, and which all good men most ardently desired ; but, after continuing its sessions for more than three years, the council was dissolved, and nothing was attempted. There was, indeed, a promise that another council should be called for this purpose at the end of five years ; but more than a dozen years elapsed before the promise was fulfilled.

The Council of Constance settled some things in regard to the Papacy which had not before been so fully determined. In the first place, it settled the point, which some of the previous popes would never have acknowledged, that a general council is of higher authority than the pontiff. It put down three pontiffs, and created another ; thus showing *practically*, as well as by its decrees, the subjection of the pontiffs to the Church. It also settled the point, and that, too, by the highest authority in the Church, that *no faith is to be kept with heretics* ; that it is right for a prince, or any one else, when dealing with heretics, to violate his most solemn engagements. It thus sanctioned, by the consent of the whole Church, one of the basest principles of Jesuit morality.

The promised council for the reformation of the Church convened at Basil in January, 1431 ; soon after which Martin V. died. He was succeeded by Eugene IV., who sanctioned all that Martin had desired respecting the council. But, when the council commenced in earnest the needed work of reformation, Eugene quarrelled with it, and attempted to dissolve it ; but, failing in this, he set up another council, in opposition to it, at Ferrara, in

Italy. The fathers at Basil, provoked at this and other acts of Eugene, proceeded to deprive him of his office; while he, on the contrary, anathematized them, and rescinded all their acts. In the month of September, 1439, the council at Basil elected a new pontiff, who took the name of Felix V. Thus another schism commenced in place of that which had been healed at Constance: for now there were not only two pontiffs, wrangling and condemning each other, but two opposing councils; the one at Basil, and the one convened at Ferrara, which afterwards had been removed to Florence. The council at Basil separated in the year 1443, with the expectation, that, ere long, it might again come together, and finish its work.

The council at Florence was engaged chiefly in vain attempts to settle the old controversy between the Latins and Greeks. A peace was at length concluded upon in Italy; but, when the delegates from Constantinople returned home, the conditions of it were rejected, leaving the parties as much at variance as before.

The author of the new schism, Eugene IV., died in the year 1447, and was succeeded by Nicolaus V., a man of learning and moderation, by whose influence the Church was again brought together under one head. After him, there reigned six pontiffs in the fifteenth century; the last of whom was the infamous Roderic Borgia, who took the name of Alexander VI. With propriety he has been called “the Nero of the pontiffs.” So many and so great villanies and enormities are recorded of him, as prove him to have been destitute, not only of all religion, but of all decency and shame. He had four sons by a concubine, among whom was the notorious Cæsar Borgia; and also a daughter equally infamous, whose name was Lucretia. The whole intent of the father seemed to be to bring forward, to gratify and enrich, his children, without any regard to honesty, or even decency. Alexander died, in the year 1503, of poison which he and his son Cæsar had prepared for others.

To him succeeded Pius III., whose short reign of less than a month was succeeded by that of Julius II. He has been called, not improperly, “the mad warrior;” since the chief aim and purpose of his reign seem to have been to involve all Europe in war. His successor was Leo X., of the Medicean family,—a friend of learning and of learned men, but of an easy, debauched, and dissolute character, whom some have charged with infidelity. He is reported to have said that he considered Christianity a fable,

though to him a gainful one. He was the reigning pontiff when Luther commenced the work of reformation in Germany.

Among the distinguished writers in the period before us, we find none in the Greek Church whose names require to be mentioned. Of Latin teachers and writers there is a great multitude, from which we select a few of the more distinguished.

John Duns Scotus was a Franciscan monk, and chiefest among the dialecticians or schoolmen of his age. He was educated at Merton College, Oxford, where he became a fellow, and professor of theology. He was the great antagonist of Thomas Aquinas, but an admirer of Peter Lombard. His lectures at Oxford, on Lombard's "Sentences," are said to have been attended by thirty thousand students. He also wrote commentaries on Aristotle, and numerous small treatises and tracts. He died in the year 1308, at the age of forty-three. His works are published in twelve folio volumes.

Thomas Bradwardine, sometimes called the Profound Doctor, was educated (like Scotus) at Merton College, Oxford. He was the confessor of Edward III., and attended him into France. In the year 1349 he was made archbishop of Canterbury, but died soon after his consecration. He was greatly lamented on account of his fervent piety, his extensive erudition, and his humble but earnest zeal for the welfare of the people committed to his charge. He wrote against the Pelagians, and has been styled a second Augustine. He made no formal opposition to Popery, as such, but favored the Lollards; and may be regarded as the forerunner of Wickliffe, as Wickliffe was of the Reformation. He was a witness for evangelical truth and godliness in a dark and barren age.

William Occam was an Englishman, born in Surrey, and a disciple of Duns Scotus: he belonged to the stricter order of the Franciscans. In the beginning of the fourteenth century, he was a professor of theology in the University of Paris. He espoused the cause of Philip the Fair in his controversy with Boniface VIII., and afterwards the cause of Lewis of Bavaria in his controversy with John XXII. He maintained, that, in temporal things, monarchs are subject to none but God. He was excommunicated by John XXII. in the year 1330, and fled to the Emperor Lewis of Bavaria for protection. The emperor received him kindly; made him his privy counsellor; and Occam remained with him to the end of life. His works are very numerous. He

wrote commentaries on the “Sentences” of Lombard; several works on logic, metaphysics, and philosophy; and a great number of political and theological tracts. He had the title of the Singular Doctor.

John Tauler was a German Dominican monk, a devout man, and a popular preacher. He died at Strasburg in the year 1360. His writings are frequently quoted and highly commended by Luther. The titles of some of his works, such as “Spiritual Contemplations on the Life and Sufferings of Christ,” “The Noble Little Book, or the Way to become Earnest, Spiritual, and Devout,” show the character of the man. He was an earnest follower of Christ according to the light he had and the spirit of his age, and may be profitably studied even in our own times.

Nicolaus Lyra was born in Normandy, and, some say, of Jewish parentage. He was a Franciscan monk, and a teacher of theology at Paris in 1320. He was the best Hebrew scholar, and the best interpreter of Scripture, that we find in the fourteenth century. He was one of those learned biblical teachers who contributed, in no small degree, to prepare the way for the Reformation. So the monks thought; and hence their pun upon his name: “Si Lyra non lyrasset, Lutherus non saltasset” (“If Lyra had not played, Luther had not danced”).

Raymond Lully of Majorca is represented as a compound of folly and reason, who, after many journeys and various efforts for the advancement of religion, was put to death, in the year 1315, by the Mohammedans in Africa, whom he was trying to convert to the Christian faith. The Franciscans, to whom he belonged, extol him as a martyr and a saint; while the Dominicans denounce him as a magician, a heretic, a delirious alchemist. The *Lullian art*, so called, which he invented, is the art of acquiring knowledge *mechanically*, — *with a crank*. “It consists in collecting a large number of general terms common to all the sciences, of which an alphabetical table should be made. Subjects and predicates taken from these are to be inscribed in angular spaces upon circular papers. The essences, qualities, affections, and relations of things, being thus mechanically brought together, the circular papers of *subjects* are fixed in a frame; and those of *predicates* are so placed upon them as to move round freely, and in their revolutions to produce various combinations of subjects and predicates: whence will arise definitions, axioms, and propositions, varying endlessly.” Of the help of such a machine the literary world has not been forward to avail itself.

John Gerson had more influence, perhaps, than any other churchman of the fifteenth century. He was chancellor of the University of Paris, and almost an oracle at the Council of Constance. He was a strenuous advocate for the authority of the Church, as being superior to that of the pontiffs. He died at Lyons in the year 1420.

John Wessel was born at Groningen, A.D. 1400; pursued his studies at Cologne; and became a very pious and learned man. He studied the Scriptures much in the original languages, and built his faith upon them, in utter disregard of all human authorities. His works were published at Wittenberg in 1522, with a preface by Martin Luther. Luther describes him as "a man of admirable talents, of great and rare genius, who was manifestly taught of God." "Had I previously read Wessel," he goes on to say, "my enemies would have thought that I borrowed my views from him, so perfectly accordant are the two in spirit. And it increases my confidence in the correctness of my doctrines, that I find such a uniform agreement with him; though he wrote at a different period, in another clime and country, and with other results." Wessel escaped persecution, and died at the advanced age of eighty-nine. He was one of the "reformers before the Reformation."

Another of the same class was Jerome Savonarola. He was born at Ferrara in 1452; was religiously educated, and early distinguished for genius and learning. Though a Dominican, he gave himself almost entirely to the work of preaching, in which he greatly excelled. In 1489 he went to Florence, where he made a great impression, and produced quite a reformation of morals. He attacked vice, infidelity, and false religion, with the utmost freedom, sparing no age or sex, and no condition of men, — monks, priests, popes, princes, or common citizens. His influence, for the time, was almost boundless. He erred in speaking of himself as inspired; and this, with other things, brought him into trouble. His enemies seized him, put him to the rack, extorted from him some concessions, and then strangled him. They burned his body, and threw the ashes into the river. He was the most zealous and successful preacher of the age.

The real name of Thomas à Kempis, the reputed author of the treatise on "The Imitation of Christ," was Thomas Hammerlein. He was born at Kempis, in Italy, in the year 1380; and died in the year 1471. He was an Augustinian monk, and a very religious man. His writings are all on the subject of practical and experi-

mental religion. They have been often printed; and some of them have been translated into nearly all the languages of Europe.

Of John Huss and Jerome of Prague I have already spoken.

John Reuchlin (in Latin, Capnio) was born in 1454, and educated at Baden, Basil, Paris, and Orléans. He was an elegant Latin and Greek scholar, and a great promoter of Hebrew learning. His censures of the ignorance and stupidity of the clergy drew on him their hatred and persecution. They charged him with Judaism, and with being poisoned by the Greek and Latin poets. He opposed them with ridicule and sarcasm, particularly in his "Letters of Obscure Men." The quarrel became serious, and continued till the Reformation.

The most distinguished churchman of the fifteenth century was Cardinal Ximenes, a Spaniard, nobly born at Alcala in the year 1437. He was a Franciscan monk, confessor to Queen Isabella, and sustained nearly every high office, civil and ecclesiastical, which it was in the power of his king or the pope to bestow. For the last two years of his life, he ruled all Spain. He died in 1517, at the age of eighty. His great literary work was the Complutensian Polyglot Bible, in six volumes folio, on which he expended fifty thousand crowns.

I conclude this notice of remarkable men with a brief sketch of the celebrated John Wickliffe. He was born in the little village of Wickliffe, Yorkshire, England, in the year 1324; and completed his public education at Merton College, Oxford. He is represented as a hard student, a profound scholar, a sarcastic writer, and a subtle disputant. About the year 1360, he engaged in his first controversy with the mendicant monks, who infringed the laws of the university, and enticed away the students to their monasteries. In 1361, he was made master of Baliol College; and, four years later, was promoted to the wardenship of Canterbury Hall. In 1367, Archbishop Langham ejected him from his wardenship; and Wickliffe appealed to the pope. After a delay of three years,—during which time Wickliffe was severely lashing the monks and clergy, and not sparing even the pontiff himself,—the case was decided against him, and he was obliged to retire from Oxford. He was now presented with the rectorship of Lutterworth, in the diocese of Lincoln, which he held till his death, and in which he was an active and faithful pastor.

In the year 1372, Wickliffe took the degree of doctor of divinity, and read lectures at Oxford with great applause. He here at-

tacked anew, not only the monks, but also the pope and clergy, and confuted the prevailing errors of the day.

In 1374, King Edward appointed him one of his ambassadors to Rome to remonstrate against the *Papal reservation of vacant churches* and other abuses. At Rome he saw more of the character and workings of Popery than he ever knew before. Consequently, on his return, he inveighed more boldly than ever against the pope; calling him "Babylon, Antichrist, the proud and worldly priest of Rome, and the most cursed of clippers and purse-cutters."

In 1376, the monks drew up nineteen articles of charge against him, and sent them to the pope. Whereupon the pope issued five bulls against him, requiring that he should be delivered up to the archbishop of Canterbury and the bishop of London for trial. Before the trial could be had, Wickliffe committed a new offence in dissuading the king and parliament from sending any more money out of the kingdom to Rome. He now appeared before his judges, attended by his friend the duke of Lancaster, and the lord-martial the earl of Percy. A vast concourse of people was assembled: Some altercation took place between the bishops and the two noblemen; the assembly became excited; and Wickliffe was led off by his patrons, without any trial. He afterwards appeared at Lambeth, and made some explanations, which the bishop concluded to regard as satisfactory. The next year the pope died, and of course his commission to the two English prelates to try the case of Wickliffe was at an end.

Wickliffe now embraced every opportunity, in his lectures, sermons, and writings, to expose the court of Rome, and detect the vices of the monks and clergy. In the year 1381, he published sixteen theses against the doctrine of transubstantiation, and lectured against it before the university. By so doing, he displeased the duke of Lancaster and other noble patrons. They were willing to uphold him in exposing the *civil* abuses of Popery, but would not consent that he should touch its sacred absurdities.

Another process was now commenced against Wickliffe; and he was summoned to appear at London before commissioners who had been appointed to try him. He made his appearance, but was not supported, as before, by the powerful patronage of the duke of Lancaster. Still a great multitude of the populace surrounded the place of meeting; and, when the trial was about to commence, Sir Lewis Clifford came in with a message from the queen-mother, forbidding the bishops, in the most authoritative manner, to pass any

definitive sentence upon John Wickliffe. The effect of this was instantaneous. The bishops were overawed; and, in the words of a Catholic historian, “their speech at once became softer than oil, to the loss of their own dignity and the damage of the whole Church.”

Thus was the reformer once more set free. Before he left London, however, he delivered to the commissioners a solemn protest against the charge of heresy, and a written statement of his own opinions. Shortly after this, Wickliffe was visited with a slight shock of palsy, from which he soon recovered, and continued to preach at Lutterworth as before. His work, however, was now almost done; for on the 29th of December, 1384, while standing in his pulpit, he was smitten down again with palsy, was carried home, and soon after expired.

The writings of Wickliffe, which were very numerous, may be divided into five classes: 1. Those of a *political cast*, in which he discusses the duties and rights of king and parliament, more especially in regard to the Church of Rome. 2. His *controversial works*; mostly directed against the pope, the clergy, and the mendicant monks. 3. His *biblical works*; including not only his translation of the Bible, but his commentaries. 4. His *theological works*; the principal of which, the “*Triologus*,” is a short system of divinity. 5. His *practical works*: these embrace a great variety of topics, many of which were circulated as tracts by his “poor preachers.” But the *great* work which Wickliffe performed for the English nation was his translation of the whole Bible into English. Parts of the Scriptures had been translated before; but he was the first to give to his countrymen the entire Bible, translated, not from the original tongues, but from the Latin Vulgate.

In addition to all his other labors, Wickliffe set on foot a system of itineracy, which continued long after he was dead. His “poor preachers,” as he called them, went forth everywhere, carrying his tracts, reading and expounding his Bible, and preaching, as they had the ability and opportunity, from house to house. In this way they accomplished a great and lasting good. The Lollards of England were all of them the followers of Wickliffe. They endured all sorts of persecution for the next two hundred years, but survived it, and lived to welcome the glorious Reformation when it came.

Nor was the influence of Wickliffe confined to England: it passed over to the Continent, and was a means of enlightening mul-

titudes there. It was charged upon Huss that he was a follower of Wickliffe; and this was true. The queen of Richard II. of England was a Bohemian princess; and, upon her decease, her attendants carried Wickliffe's writings into their own country. The seeds of truth here found a prepared soil, where they sprang up, and brought forth an abundance of fruit. In short, considering all the disadvantages under which Wickliffe labored, — in the midst of persecution, single-handed and alone, and with no printing-press to scatter his publications, — we are astonished that he accomplished so much as he did. Most eminently is he entitled to the award so often given him, of being the morning-star of the Protestant Reformation.

When the Council of Constance commenced its sessions, Wickliffe had been dead some thirty years. The holy fathers could burn Huss and Jerome of Prague; but Wickliffe was beyond their power. Yet they contrived to vent their spite upon all that remained of him. They burned his books, or so many of them as they could collect. They disinterred his lifeless body, and burned it, and threw the ashes into a neighboring brook. "And this brook," says Thomas Fuller, "did convey his ashes into the Avon, and the Avon into the Severn, and the Severn into the narrow sea; and this conveyed them into the main ocean. And thus the ashes of Wickliffe are an emblem of his doctrine, which now is dispersed all the world over."

CHAPTER XXXII.

DOCTRINES, CONTROVERSIES, AND RITES. — STATE OF LEARNING AND RELIGION.

THE state of theology in the period before us was as low as it could be. Every thing was deformed and corrupted. The public worship of God consisted almost entirely in external rites, the most of which were puerile and silly. Of sermons there were not many; and those which were occasionally preached were destitute, not only of religion and piety, but of taste and good sense, being stuffed with marvels and nauseous fictions. He was accounted a well-instructed and pious Christian who revered the pontiff and the clergy, who made frequent offerings to the saints, who attended the stated rites and ceremonies, and who had money enough to pay for the remission of his sins. If, beyond this, a person would practise some degree of severity towards his poor body, he was considered an eminent saint. Very few were able or disposed to acquire just views of religion, to bring their hearts to accord with the precepts of Christ, and to make the Holy Scriptures their guide; and those who did so hardly escaped with their lives.

The old divisions among theologians prevailed in this period. There were the scholastics, the positives, and the mystics; of which the former class were vastly the most numerous and popular. Yet there were some, more especially in the universities, who opposed them, and who endeavored to draw the attention of students to the Holy Scriptures and the ancient fathers. The leading scholastics were mendicant friars; and it was a discredit to them that they were perpetually disputing among themselves. The Franciscans and Dominicans were divided into Scotists and Thomists: the former following Duns Scotus; and the latter, Thomas Aquinas. The Scotists opposed the Augustinian doctrines of predestination and grace; while the Thomists advocated them. They disputed also respecting the immaculate conception of the

Virgin Mary; the Scotists insisting upon it, while the Thomists denied it.

Whatever of piety there was in the theologians of this age was found, probably, among the mystics. Several of them, such as Tauler, Thomas à Kempis, and the author of the "Theologia Germanica," seem to have felt the power of religion on their hearts, and sought to awaken it in the hearts of others.

The interpreters of this age followed servilely in the steps of those who had gone before them for hundreds of years. They either contented themselves with quotations from the critical works of others, or they exercised their ingenuity in drawing out fanciful, allegorical meanings from the sacred text. We have almost the only exception to this statement in Nicolaus de Lyra, who explained the whole Bible, and particularly the Old Testament, in a satisfactory manner. This he was the better enabled to do from his critical acquaintance with the Hebrew language.

At different times in the period before us, the old controversy between the Greek and Latin churches seemed very near to an adjustment. Repeated negotiations were opened for this purpose; and at the Council of Florence, in 1442, terms of agreement and union were actually accepted by the delegates from Constantinople. But when these delegates returned, and stated the terms to their constituents, they absolutely refused to ratify them; and thus the difficulty remained as before. In a few years after this, Constantinople was taken by the Turks; and this event, so far from humbling the Greeks, and making them more willing to come to an accommodation, made them more untractable than ever. They hated the Latins, and especially the pontiffs; since they believed that the evils which came upon them from the Turks might have been prevented if the Latin kings and pontiffs had not refused them succor in the time of their distress. Thus the separation between the Greek and Latin churches has continued to the present time; and how much longer it is to continue, and what is to be the future of these two corrupt churches, God only knows.

I have before spoken of the perpetual controversies between the two great rival orders of mendicants, — the Dominicans and Franciscans, — and also of a controversy of the Franciscans within their own body. This latter controversy grew out of a difference of opinion among the Franciscans as to the purport of their vow. Their vow bound them all to perpetual poverty; but a part of them said that the vow did not apply to them as a community,

but only as individuals. As individuals they must be poor, and expected to be; while as a community they might become rich to any amount, and hold property to their hearts' content. Thus, reasoned a portion of the Franciscans; but the better portion of them scouted all such conclusions. They said they were no better than a sham: they had vowed to be poor, and they *must* be poor, both as a community and as individuals; and for themselves they were determined to be poor. These stricter Franciscans were called *the Spirituals*; and they gave a vast deal of trouble, not only to their laxer brethren, but also to the pontiffs and the State. For a long period, they were cruelly persecuted. They were driven into exile; they were confined in prisons; they were seized by the inquisitors; and multitudes of them were put to death. The Spirituals, on the other hand, denounced the pope in the strongest terms; called him Antichrist; joined hands with his enemies; and labored for his overthrow. This controversy, which was one of the fiercest in which the pontiffs were ever called to engage, lasted more than a hundred years, and terminated in a permanent division of the Franciscans into two distinct orders.

We have before heard of a class of Antinomian fanatics, called *Brethren of the Free Spirit*. They continued to trouble the Church through all this period, and became even more extravagant in their opinions and practices than ever before. One of their leaders, who was burnt at Paris, undertook to demonstrate in a book "that the soul, when absorbed in the love of God, is free from all law, and may gratify every natural propensity without guilt." Some of them conceived a mighty prejudice against clothes, and ordinarily went to their religious worship in a state of nudity. "Those are not free," they said, "who wear clothing, and especially breeches." They wished to set forth in this way that they were as innocent as our first parents in paradise, who "were both naked, and were not ashamed."

These poor people, who seem to have been sincere in their folly, were dreadfully persecuted. They were driven from place to place, the inquisitors in hot pursuit of them; and thousands upon thousands were put to death.

We have before heard also of the *Flagellants* and their peculiarities. They re-appeared in the fourteenth century, and were as strange in their doctrines as in their practices. They now insisted that flagellation was a sacrament, and of equal efficacy with the other sacraments; that it secured the forgiveness of sins without

regard to the merits of Christ; that the old laws of Christ were to be abolished, and a new law of flagellation to be substituted in their place. These fanatics were anathematized by the pontiff; and great numbers of them were burned by the inquisitors.

Another sect, — the opposite of the Flagellants, — called the *Dancers*, originated in the latter part of the fourteenth century, and spread themselves through the Belgic provinces. Persons of both sexes would suddenly break forth into a dance, and, holding each other by the hand, would continue to dance with great violence until they fell down, nearly suffocated. In this state, they pretended to be favored with wonderful visions. These persons wandered from place to place, begging their bread, and berating the public worship and ordinances of the Church. They were thought by the priests to be possessed by some evil spirit; and efforts were made, by fumigations and other appliances, to cast him out.

Among the delirious fanatics of this age may be reckoned also the *White Brethren*, or the *Brethren in White*. Near the commencement of the fifteenth century, a certain priest descended from the Alps, clothed in a white garment, and surrounded by a multitude of people all clothed in white linen like himself. They marched through various provinces, following their leader, who bore a cross, and so captivated the people, that vast numbers were induced to join them. He exhorted his followers to appease the wrath of God by voluntary inflictions; urged a war against the Turks for the recovery of Palestine; and pretended to be guided by divine visions and revelations. The leader of this host was apprehended, and committed to the flames; after which the multitude gradually dispersed.

The *Quietists* were a class of monks or mystics who appeared among the Greeks in the fourteenth century. Assuming, with all mystics, that there is a divine light hid in the soul, they took the following strange method to draw it out. They used to seat themselves daily in some retired corner, and, bending forward, fix their eyes intently, and for a long time (if necessary), upon the middle of their bellies, until a divine light began to stream forth, which diffused through their souls a wonderful delight. They called this light *the glory of God*, and compared it to the light which shone upon Mount Tabor at the transfiguration of Christ. These persons were the occasion of a long controversy in the Greek Church, in the issue of which the monks were justified.

These different classes of fanatics, who made their appearance one after another, all serve to teach us an important lesson. The human mind cannot long be satisfied with cold rites and barren ceremonies. It needs some serious, heart religion; and, in the absence of right religious instruction, this feeling of want breaks out in all sorts of vagaries and extravagances. The proper remedy for them is, not fire and fagot, but an open Bible, and the earnest, spiritual religion which is there inculcated.

But the sects with which the pontiffs and the Inquisition undertook to deal in this period were not all of them like those which have been described. Many of them were pious, excellent people, — the very salt of the earth, — witnesses for God and his truth in an age of darkness and ungodliness. Such were the *Cellite Brethren and Sisters*, who made their appearance in the early part of the fourteenth century. As the priests paid almost no attention to the sick and dying, and wholly forsook those who were infected with contagious diseases, certain pious persons at Antwerp formed themselves into an association for the performance of these necessary duties. They visited and comforted the sick, conversed and prayed with them in their last hours, attended to the burying of such as died of the plague, and accompanied their remains to the grave with funeral dirges and songs. From the last of these offices, they acquired among the people the name of *Lollards*; for Lollard means *singer*, or one who sings with a low voice. The example of these good people was followed by many others; and, in a short time, similar societies were formed in different parts of Germany and the Netherlands. By the people where they lived, these brethren and sisters were highly esteemed for their works' sake: but by the priests, whose reputation they injured, and by the mendicant monks, whose resources they diminished, they were hated and persecuted; and the term "Lollard" became one of reproach. This term was used, too, with considerable breadth of signification. The Wickliffites in England were called Lollards; and the name was sometimes applied to all fanatical persons who dissented from the Church of Rome.

The proper Beguinæ, like the Lollards, seem to have been a pious, devoted people. They originated, or at least came into notice, in the thirteenth century, but continued down into the fourteenth and fifteenth. They were societies of praying females, who lived in appropriate houses, and supported themselves chiefly by the labor of their hands. They reserved to themselves the right

of marrying, and of withdrawing from the association at pleasure. These female institutions were soon imitated by unmarried persons of the other sex, who were called Beghards, and sometimes Lollards. These societies were at first tolerated and protected by the pontiffs; but, in process of time, they were persecuted and dispersed. This was owing, in part, to a misuse of the terms "Be-guinæ" and "Beghard." They were often applied, like the term "Lollard," not only to those to whom they properly belonged, but to the stricter Franciscans, and to Brethren and Sisters of the Free Spirit.

But the sect with which the Romanists had the most trouble, and whom they persecuted the most severely, was the *Waldenses*. We have heard of these people before, of their origin, and their excellent character. They had been watched and hated from the first; but it was not until the fifteenth century that any open and extended efforts were made to destroy them. But at length the popes prevailed on the duke of Savoy to suffer the work of exterminating heresy in the valleys of Piedmont to commence; and then the storm began to rise. At first, it was a kind of guerilla warfare. The Waldenses were seized whenever they dared to issue from their native fastnesses and descend into the plain below. The prisons, at times, were filled with them; while the inquisitors were busy in carrying forward their work of death.

But, as in the case of the Albigenses, this was thought to be too slow a process; and it was aided and quickened by a declaration of war. The first notable onset was made in the year 1400, when an armed force of Roman Catholics invaded the Valley of Pragela, and fell unexpectedly on the peaceable inhabitants. Many were slain on the spot; while others fled to the Albergean, a high mountain, which separates the Valley of Pragela from that of St. Martin. In crossing the mountain, multitudes of women and children perished with the cold. This was among the first of Rome's efforts to convert these poor people, by force, to her faith.

In the year 1487, a regular crusade was commenced against the Waldenses. The king of France, the duke of Savoy, and several other princes, formed a league for this purpose, and sent forth an army of twenty-four thousand men, intending to invade the country from several points at the same time. The principal attack was directed against the Valley of Angrogna, where many of the inhabitants had retired. But, in marching up the valley, the leader of the force was met in a narrow défile by the Waldenses. He was

killed, at the outset, by one of the slingers; and his men were driven back with an overwhelming defeat. Many of them were crushed, or dashed into the impetuous torrent below, by great stones rolled down upon them from the mountains. The attacks on the other valleys were also unsuccessful; and the duke of Savoy was glad to terminate a war in which he had gained nothing but loss and disgrace. He made peace with the Waldenses, confirming to them their former privileges, and declaring that they were the most faithful and obedient of all his subjects.

Shortly after the death of the above-mentioned duke of Savoy, his son and successor, Charles, was induced to undertake a second crusade against the Waldenses. He sent against them fifteen hundred chosen men, who at the first destroyed every thing before them, and committed the most horrid barbarities. But on the second day of the campaign, having ventured into the Valley of Lucerné, the invaders were attacked on all sides by the Waldensian slingers. They made good their retreat, and carried away much booty and many prisoners. But Duke Charles found the war an unprofitable business, and was glad to stop it. He is reported to have said that "the skin of a Waldensian always cost him fifteen or twenty of his best soldiers, which was more than the skin was worth."

But the sufferings of the poor Waldenses were yet hardly begun. They extended through the two next centuries, and will be described in their proper place.

Although the Jews were not a Christian sect, it may not be improper to notice the persecutions to which they were subjected. The custom was, to accuse them, calumniously, of the most atrocious crimes, — such as poisoning wells and public fountains, murdering the infants of Christians and drinking their blood, or treating with contempt the consecrated wafer in the eucharist, — and then fall upon them, and punish them with the utmost severity. In many cases, they were permitted to choose between baptism and exile or torture; and, to avoid the latter, they would submit to the former. In Spain and Portugal, this method of converting Jews was very prevalent in the fifteenth century; and for a long time these countries were full of Jews who pretended to be Christians. They would observe the Christian rites in public, and practise their own Jewish ceremonies in concealment.

To the sacred rites of the Church — already multiplied almost without bounds — several new festal days were added in the period

before us. Thus Innocent V. commanded all Christians to observe festivals in memory of *the spear* which pierced our Saviour's side, of *the nails* which fastened him to the cross, and of *the crown of thorns* which he wore at his death ; and, as though this were not enough, Benedict XII. gave his sanction to the senseless story of St. Francis having impressed upon him the five wounds of Christ, by ordaining a festival to commemorate that event.

Of indulgences — their nature, origin, and abuses — I have before spoken. They had never been popular in Roman-Catholic countries, and by princes and councils had often been prohibited. Still they were so gainful to the Popish treasury, that the sale of them was continued in the most shameless manner. The popes promised to apply the money to aid in a Turkish war ; but they more frequently expended it in crusades against heretics, or in enriching their family connections, or in supporting their own voluptuous extravagance.

I have spoken before of the revival of learning, which commenced about the end of the tenth century, and continued to the beginning of the fourteenth. The same course of things went on, with increased effect and brightening prospects, through the two centuries we are now reviewing. Universities had begun to take the place of the old monastic and cathedral schools before the close of our last period. These were increased in number and in advantages through the whole period now before us. In them the liberal arts and sciences were taught, and were distributed to several faculties, as at the present day. Many of them were endowed with ample revenues ; so that young men of narrow circumstances might be liberally educated. Public buildings were erected, libraries were formed ; and men of learning were excited by honors and rewards to aspire after distinction and eminence. Some of the pontiffs, and more of the princes, made commendable efforts to advance the cause of learning.

Several events took place during the period before us, which tended to promote this cause, more especially in Europe. One was the fall of Constantinople and of the Eastern Empire. Greek learning had never flourished in Europe previous to this event ; but now learned Greeks, in great numbers, migrated into Europe. They brought their language and their learning with them, and diffused a taste for Grecian literature and science all over the Latin world.

Another event of inexpressible importance was *the art of print-*

ing. This was invented at Mayence, about the year 1440, by John Guttemberg. In consequence of this invention, the best Greek and Latin authors, which before had lain concealed in the libraries of the monks, were put into the hands of the people, and not only furnished the means of learning, but awakened in many an earnest desire for it. Accordingly, we have examples in this period, not only of learned philosophers and theologians, but of men whose names are as household words in the circles of literature. Such were Petrarch and Dante in Italy, Erasmus in Holland, and Chaucer among the poets of England.

The philosophy studied at this period was almost exclusively that of Aristotle. In so high estimation was this philosopher held, that kings and princes ordered the works of Aristotle to be translated into the languages of their people, that they might have the opportunity of becoming acquainted with his wisdom. Yet, with all this painstaking, the works of Aristotle were very imperfectly understood, and, in many instances, were rather travestied than translated.

The old disputes between the Realists and Nominalists were revived in this age; and never was there fiercer war between Greeks and Persians than between these two sects of philosophers, down to the time when Luther obliged the scholastic doctors to put an end to their conflicts. The parties had resort, not only to reason and argument, but to accusations, penal laws, and the force of arms. There was scarcely a university in Europe that was not disturbed by this war.

But, notwithstanding the revival of learning of which we have spoken, the great body of the clergy were still deplorably ignorant. Many of them could not read or write, or express their thoughts with clearness on any subject. They were able to go through with the prescribed ceremonies of the Church; and that was enough. When the Reformation had commenced, and had made some progress, not an individual could be found, even in the University of Paris, who was able to dispute with Luther out of the Scriptures. Nor was this strange; for many doctors of theology in those times had never seen a Bible. If any one freely read the Bible, he was cried out against as making innovations, and exposing Christianity to danger by making the Scriptures known.

Some insisted that all heresy arose from the study of the Greek and Hebrew languages, especially the former. "The New Testament," said one of them, "is full of serpents and thorns. Greek

is a modern language, but recently invented; and against it we must be on our guard. As to Hebrew, it is certain that whoever studies that becomes immediately a Jew." Even the school of theology in Paris did not scruple to declare before parliament, "There is an end of religion if the study of Hebrew and Greek is permitted."

But the clergy of this period were chargeable with something worse than ignorance. They were rapacious, warlike, corrupt, debauched. Dignitaries of the Church, following the example of the popes, preferred the tumult of camps to the service of the altar. To be able, lance in hand, to compel his neighbors to do him homage, was one of the most conspicuous qualifications for a bishop. The morals of the inferior clergy were in the last degree corrupt. Priests openly consorted with abandoned characters, frequented taverns and houses of ill-fame, picked locks and broke open doors, played cards and dice, and often finished their nightly orgies with quarrels and blasphemy.

And, of whatever crimes the clergy might be guilty, they were in no fear or danger of punishment. The civil authorities had no jurisdiction over them; and, from the ecclesiastical authorities, immunity could always be secured for money. The officers of the Roman chancery actually published a book specifying the precise sums to be demanded for the absolution of crime. A deacon guilty of murder was absolved for twenty crowns. A bishop or abbot might do the same for three hundred livres. A priest might violate his vows of chastity, even under the most aggravating circumstances, for one hundred livres. In this shameful book, such crimes as seldom occur in human life, and exist, perhaps, only in the impure imagination of a casuist, were taxed at a very moderate rate.

Such being the state of religion and morals in the Romish Church, of course very little having the appearance of piety could be expected there; and what there was, was either concealed in the obscurity of humble life, or inquisitorially searched out and extirpated. Of Bradwardine and Tauler and Wickliffe and Wessel and Savonarola and Huss, and Jerome of Prague, we have already heard. They were burning and shining lights in an age of spiritual desolation and darkness. There were some too, among the mystics, who, in their secluded and meditative way, enjoyed communion with God. Such were Thomas à Kempis and the author of "*Theologia Germanica*." But, in searching for true piety in the period over which we have passed, we must, as a general thing, go out of the

pale of the Established Church, and seek it among those who were hunted and destroyed as heretics. The Waldenses were not then, as now, a small community shut up among the fastnesses of the Alps; but they were spread abroad in different parts of Europe, and their number was great. We find them, not only in Naples and Italy, but in France, in Spain, in Flanders, in England, in Germany, Poland, and Bohemia. One author estimates them at not less than eight hundred thousand. And, wherever they went, they were the same earnest, self-sacrificing, devoted people. Their vocation was to labor and suffer for God, and bear witness to his holy truth; and most worthily did they fulfil it. They were a *missionary* people at the first; and so they continued to be through all the dark period of their sufferings. It was by sending out missionaries, two and two, on foot, to visit their brethren dispersed abroad, and gather in converts from the nations, that they kept alive the little piety which remained in the world at that day. These missionaries always knew where to find their brethren. They went to their houses, held little meetings, administered ordinances, ordained ministers and deacons, and sustained the faith and the hopes of those who were tempted and persecuted. It is said that these missionaries could go at one period from one end of Italy to the other, and stay every night at the houses of brethren.

And not only did preachers go out from the valleys to proclaim the glorious gospel, but pious peddlers and travelling merchants (of whom there were many in the middle ages) would carry some leaves of the word of life, or some manuscript tracts, in their bundle of merchandise, and persuade those, whom they found favorably disposed, to receive and read them. A description of the manner in which this was done, and of the success which attended the effort, appeared some years ago in verse. A venerable Vaudois peddler enters the palace of an Italian nobleman, and spreads out his silks and pearls, which a young lady present is induced to buy. She pays him his price, and is turning away, when he says, —

“O lady fair! I have yet a gem
Which a purer lustre flings
Than the diamond flash of the jewelled crown
On the lofty brow of kings, —

‘A wonderful pearl of exceeding price,
Whose virtue shall not decay;
Whose light shall be as a spell to thee,
And a blessing on thy way.’

The lady turns back, and says, —

“‘Bring forth thy pearl of exceeding worth,
Thou traveller gray and old;
And name the price of thy precious gem,
And my pages shall count the gold.’

The cloud went off from the pilgrim’s brow
As a small and meagre book,
Unchased with gold or diamond gem,
From his folding robe he took.

‘Here, lady fair, is the pearl of price:
May it prove as such to thee!
Nay, keep thy gold; I ask it not;
For the word of God is free.’

The lady receives the gift, and the traveller goes on his way; and it proves to her the power of God unto salvation.

“She turns her feet from the pride of sin
To the lowliness of truth,
And gives her maiden heart to God
In the beautiful hour of youth.”

But the Waldenses were not alone in their endeavors to serve God, or in their martyr sufferings and death. They were surrounded by others of different names, and of some distinctive peculiarities, but all possessing the same spirit, and aiming at the same glorious end. There were the Paulicians, the Paterines, the Lollards, the Leonists, the remains of the Cathari and Albigenses, the Beguins and Beghards, and the Cellite Brethren and Sisters, associated together to perform the neglected work of the priests, — to care for the sick, and bury the dead.

When we read of the ignorance and wickedness which prevailed among the clergy generally in the period before us, from the pontiff on his throne to the degraded monk or the starving curate, we are ready to exclaim, “The Lord hath forsaken the earth! the Lord hath forgotten to be gracious!” But when we turn away from the high places of pride and sin, and come down among the lowly dwellers in the vales and in the clefts of the rocks, we find more than seven thousand men in Israel — yea, more than seventy times seven — who have not bowed the knee to Baal; who are toiling and suffering for God and truth; who are preparing for the distinguished rewards of those who have come out of great tribulation, having washed their robes, and made them white in the blood of the Lamb.

PERIOD VIII.

THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

THE PROTESTANT REFORMATION. — INTRODUCTORY.

THE Protestant Reformation was one of those great and surprising events which attract the notice of succeeding generations, and mark the periods in which they occur as epochs in the history of the world. In many particulars, this event resembled the first triumph of Christianity; and, among all the revolutions which the earth has witnessed, was second only to that in point of interest and importance. It sundered the chains of debasing ignorance and inveterate superstition. It broke the yoke of the most grinding moral and spiritual despotism. It unlocked the long-sealed fountains of knowledge, and gave the Bible to the nations. In the course of a few years, it enlightened and emancipated half Europe.

Nor was its influence confined to the period when it occurred. Its blessed results have rolled down the tide of time in a constantly widening and increasing current, from generation to generation; and they will continue thus to roll till time shall be no more.

In all true history, the hand of God is more or less visible; but never have his power and grace been more strikingly displayed than in the series of events connected with the Protestant Reformation. By a succession of remarkable though often mysterious providences, he *prepared the way* for the purification of his Church; and, before entering directly on a history of the Reformation, it may be proper to notice some of those events which went before it, and introduced it, — which rendered the world so eminently ripe for it, and so ready to aid in promoting its triumphs.

Of some of these events I have spoken already; and they need not be dwelt upon again. I have spoken of some things connected with the Papacy in the preceding centuries, — as the removal of the seat of the Popedom from Rome to Avignon, and the great “schism of the West,” which cut the sinews of Papal usurpation, and tended directly to break its power. I have spoken, too, of the art of printing, which was discovered only a few years previous to the Reformation; by means of which the writings of the reformers were scattered at once all over Europe. Then that great Council of Constance, by deciding that the power of the popes was subject to that of a general council, put a weapon of defence into the hands of Luther, which he was ready, on all occasions, to employ. I have spoken, also, of the revival of learning in Europe, consequent upon the overthrow of the Eastern Empire by the Turks, which went to open the eyes of men to the impositions which had been practised upon them, and prepare the way for a reformation. It was a great advantage to the reformers that they presented themselves before the public as the advocates, not only of a pure religion, but of sound learning; whereas their adversaries — the ignorant monks — opposed with all their strength the introduction and spread of learning, as a thing of evil consequence. I have spoken of several learned and pious men in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, who have been properly called “reformers before the Reformation.” Such were Lyra and Tauler, and Thomas à Kempis, and John Wessel, and Savonarola, and Huss, and Jerome of Prague, and more especially Wickliffe and his followers. The followers of Wickliffe in England, and the Waldenses in Italy and France, though terribly persecuted, could not be subdued. They continued to hold up the light of truth, and to keep it burning, till the brighter light of the Reformation came.

There were other men besides those whose names have been mentioned, who, without knowing or intending it, prepared the way for a reformation, and helped it forward. Such were Dante and Petrarch, Italian poets, who lived in the fourteenth century. Dante peoples his hell as well as his purgatory with Romish clergy, from popes down to mendicant monks. In his treatise on monarchy, he is even more severe upon the Church than in his poems. He would deprive the popes of their temporal authority; and attacks tradition, which has justly been regarded as the main pillar of Popery.

Nor was Petrarch, though himself a priest, less severe upon

Rome and its hierarchy than Dante. In his Latin eclogues and Italian sonnets, the Papal see is characterized as "impious Babylon, the school of error, the temple of heresy, the forge of fraud, the hell of the living." The following stanzas are a good illustration of the freedom and pungency with which he occasionally wrote respecting the see of Rome: —

"The fire of wrathful heaven alight,
And all thy harlot tresses smite,
Base city! Thou from humble fare —
Thine acorns and thy water — rose
To greatness, rich with others' woes,
Rejoicing in the ruin thou didst bear.

"Foul nest of treason! Is there aught,
Werewith the spacious world is fraught,
Of bad or vile, 'tis hatched in thee,
Who revellest in thy costly meats,
Thy precious wines, and curious seats,
And all the pride of luxury.

"The while, within thy secret halls,
Old men in guilty festivals
With buxom girls in dance are going;
And in the midst old Beelzebub
Eyes through his glass the motley club,
The fire with sturdy bellows blowing.

"In former days, thou wast not laid
On down, nor under cooling shade,
But naked to the winds wast given;
And through the strait and thorny road,
Thy feet, without the sandals, trod:
But now thy life is such, it smells to heaven."

But, if Petrarch is severe upon the popes and clergy in his poems, he is far more so in his letters. In his day, Avignon, situated on the Rhone, in France, was the seat of the Papacy. Writing from thence, Petrarch says, "I am at present in the Western Babylon, than which the sun never beheld any thing more hideous. Go to India, or wherever else you choose; but avoid this Babylon if you do not wish to go down alive into hell. Whatever you may have heard or read of as to perfidy, fraud, pride, incontinence, and unbridled lust, impiety, and wickedness of every kind, you will find here collected and heaped together. O Babylon on the Rhone! thou art the enemy of the good, the friend of the bad, the asylum

of wild beasts, the whore that has committed fornication with the kings of the earth. Thou art she whom the evangelist saw in vision: 'A woman clothed in purple and scarlet, sitting upon many waters; mother of fornications and abominations of the earth.'"

Thus wrote Petrarch, — a priest, a poet, and a diplomatist, who was well acquainted with several of the popes who reigned at Avignon, and knew well whereof he affirmed. Of the same general character were the writings of the celebrated Boccaccio. It was the principal object of his "Decameron" — the most popular and entertaining of all his works — to expose the debauchery of the religious orders, and bring them into utter contempt. This work was translated into various languages, and circulated all over Europe.

Of the like character were the "Facetiæ" of Poggio, upwards of ten editions of which were issued in the last thirty years of the fifteenth century.

As we draw nearer to the time of the Reformation, we find men of learning multiplied in different parts of Europe, whom God was employing in various ways preparatory to the deliverance of his Church. It devolved on Reuchlin, of whom I have already spoken, to revive in Germany the study of the Scriptures in their original languages. At the very beginning of the sixteenth century, he revised the Vulgate, and gave to the world the first Hebrew and German grammar and dictionary that had ever been published. By this labor, he took off the seals from the Scriptures of the Old Testament, and made it easy for Luther to open and translate these sacred books for the good of his countrymen.

Ulric Von Hutten, an orator and knight, was called, not improperly, the Demosthenes of the Reformation. Among his various writings was one which he called "The Roman Trinity." "There are three things," says he, "which we commonly bring away with us from Rome, — a bad conscience, a vitiated stomach, and an empty purse. There are three things which Rome has no faith in, — the immortality of the soul, the resurrection of the dead, and hell. There are three things which Rome chiefly trades in, — the grace of Christ, the livings of the Church, and women."

To Hutten is attributed the famous satire which appeared in 1516, entitled "Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum" ("Letters of Obscure Men"). The pretended authors of these letters are the monks; and in them they are made to discourse of the current affairs of the day, and especially of theological matters, after their own fashion, and in their own barbarous Latin. To their correspondent

at Cologne they address the silliest and most unmeaning questions. They expose in this way their own gross ignorance, unbelief, superstition, pride, fanatical zeal, and their vulgar, grovelling spirit. The mixture of silliness and hypocrisy in these letters renders them exceedingly comic; and yet so natural are they, that the cheat at first was not understood. The Dominicans and Franciscans received them as the genuine productions of brethren of their orders. Great was the indignation of the monks when the deceit was exposed, and equally great was the rejoicing of their enemies.

But the most remarkable personage among the learned of that age, who, while he stood aloof from the Reformation, was made use of, in providence, to help it forward, was Erasmus of Rotterdam. Being destined for the priesthood, though he never entered it, and trained up in the knowledge of ecclesiastical literature, he applied himself more to theological studies than any of the revivers of learning at that period. Though engaged, after a time, in controversy with the reformers, he was, nevertheless, useful to them in several ways. By his example and influence, he contributed to diffuse a love of learning, and a spirit of liberal inquiry and discussion. He exposed the errors and corruptions of the monks and the Church, and assailed them with the most pungent satire. But more especially did he labor to recall the public mind from scholastic quibbles, and direct it to the study of the Holy Scriptures. "I am resolved," said he, "to die in the study of the Scriptures. In that is my joy and peace."

In the year 1516, he published his New Testament in Greek; the first, and for a long time the only, critical edition extant. This he accompanied with a Latin translation, in which he boldly corrected the Vulgate, and gave a reason for his corrections. It was in vain that the monks clamored against this most important work, charging Erasmus with undertaking to correct the Holy Ghost. He knew the ground on which he stood, and was well able to refute their clamors, if not to silence them. Erasmus did for the New Testament what Reuchlin had before done for the Old. These men gave the Scriptures to the learned of Europe; but Luther gave them to the common people.

Among the arrangements of Providence calculated to favor the Reformation may be reckoned the *particular forms of government* at that time established in the countries where it first prevailed. The German Empire was a confederacy of different States, with the emperor at its head. Each of these States possessed the sov-

ereignty over its own territories. The imperial diet, or congress, was composed of the princes of the sovereign States, and exercised the legislative power for the whole Germanic body. The emperor ratified the laws, decrees, or resolutions of this assembly: it belonged to him, also, to publish and execute them. The emperor was chosen for life; and it devolved on seven of the more powerful princes, under the title of "electors," to award the imperial crown.

This particular form of constitution, which, by the ordering of Providence, the empire had received, was manifestly favorable to the promulgation of the new doctrines. The truth, opposed in one State, might be favorably received in another; important centres of light, which should gradually penetrate the surrounding darkness, might be formed and protected in different parts of the empire: whereas, if the government had been a simple monarchy like those of France and England, the arbitrary will of the sovereign might have arrested and prevented the spread of the gospel.

The same remark may also be made in regard to Switzerland, where the Reformation commenced even sooner than it did in Germany. Switzerland was a confederacy, and not a simple monarchy. Each of the cantons was an independent republic, all of which were confederated together, and governed by a general diet, or congress.

The arrangements of Providence in regard to some of the reigning powers in Germany were also favorable to the Reformation. But for the death of Maximilian, almost at its commencement, it is hard to see how the life of Luther could have been preserved. This monarch was deeply interested, from considerations of policy as well as principle, to conciliate the pontiff; and he wrote to him to take vigorous measures in opposition to Luther. "We will be careful," said he, "to enforce throughout our empire whatever your Holiness shall decree on this subject." But, before any measures could be matured by the pontiff, the emperor was removed by death.

The raising-up of such a man as Frederic the Wise, the renowned elector of Saxony, to be the sovereign and protector of Luther, is another interposition of Providence that must not be overlooked. During the period which intervened between the death of Maximilian and the elevation of Charles V. to the throne of the empire, Frederic was sole monarch in his own dominions; and, after the election of Charles, he was under so great obligations to Frederic

for the influence which he had exerted in his favor, that he was unwilling to displease him.* Yet Frederic, to use the language of another, “was precisely the prince that was needed for the cradle of the Reformation. Too much weakness on the part of those friendly to the work might have allowed it to be crushed: too much haste would have caused a premature explosion of the storm that was gathering against it.” Frederic was cautious and moderate, but firm. He possessed in large measure that grace, which, of all others, is most necessary in difficult times: he *waited upon God*. He put in practice the wise counsel of Gamaliel: “If this work be of man, it will come to nought; but, if it be of God, ye cannot overthrow it.” “Things have come to such a pass,” said he, “that man can do no more: God alone can effect any thing. We must therefore leave to his power those great events which are too hard for us.” We may well admire the wisdom of Providence in the choice of such a prince to guard the beginnings of the Reformation.

Another thing to be admired, and which we shall have frequent occasion to notice in the progress of this history, is the manner in which Divine Providence kept the thoughts and hands of the Emperor Charles occupied, so that he had no time or opportunity to exert his power in crushing the Reformation. Governing as he did not only Germany, but Spain, Sicily, Naples, the Netherlands, and Austria, — with the Turks on one side of him, and his great rival, Francis I. of France, on another, and the aspiring, intriguing court of Rome on another, — he was so continually and intently busied with wars, reprisals, negotiations, and other affairs of state, that he could give but little attention to what he considered as a mere ecclesiastical, theological controversy; and thus the Reformation was left to take root, and spring up, and extend itself on every side, till it was able to put him at defiance. When, at length, he set himself to crush it, it could not be subverted or overthrown.

In the remarks which have been made, we see the providence of God exerting itself in various ways preparatory to the reformation of his Church. But that which tended more than every thing else to prepare the way for the coming reformation was the *felt necessity for it*, — a necessity *deeply, universally* felt, — growing out of the corruptions of the Church itself. The language of Jeremiah was truly applicable to the Romish Church at this period: “Her

* Frederic had himself the offer of the imperial crown; but he declined it, and recommended to his brother electors to unite with him in the elevation of Charles.

own wickedness corrected her, and her backslidings reproved her." Having long persisted in slighting the reproofs and despising the solemn warnings of Heaven, she was permitted to run down from one degree of corruption to another, till the earth could no longer endure her, and was prepared to welcome any thing that promised a reformation.

I spoke at length, in the last chapter, of the incurable corruptions of the Church of Rome, — the pontiffs, the bishops, the monks, and the inferior clergy, — and need not repeat the disgusting statement here. They were not only selfish and ambitious, but ignorant, fraudulent, debauched, and cruel to the last degree. Hating and persecuting the true people of God, "drunk with the blood of saints and martyrs," they were tolerant of nothing but their own vices and abominations.

The wealth of the clergy at this period was enormous. In Germany, it was computed that the ecclesiastics held more than half of the national property. All this, of course, was exempt from taxation; so that the laity had the mortification of finding themselves loaded with excessive burthens, while those who possessed the greatest share of wealth were free. And what increased the mortification was, that the higher German ecclesiastics were, in most instances, foreigners. They were not native subjects, who might be expected to sympathize with the princes and people, but lazy, voluptuous Italians, who sometimes could not speak the language of the country, — mere creatures of the pope, whom, in consequence of his usurped right of conferring benefices, he had forced upon the people against their will. The practice of *selling benefices* was at this time so notorious, that no pains were taken to conceal it. Companies of merchants, in some instances, openly purchased the benefices of different districts from the pope's legates, and retailed them at an advanced price.

Such, in short, was the state of things in the early part of the sixteenth century, that the world had become weary of existing abominations, and was looking with anxious eyes in all directions for deliverance. No subject was more freely talked of among princes and people than the *necessity* of a reformation in the Church, — a reformation that should be thorough and universal, — a reformation, as the saying was, "in both the head and its members."

But where was this reformation to come from? How, and by

whom, was it to be achieved? Various expedients had been resorted to for this purpose, but all in vain. Kings and princes had repeatedly attempted a reformation. This did Henry II. of England, and the brave Henry IV. of Germany, as early as the twelfth century. The kings of France, in repeated instances, exerted all their power with a view to the reformation of the Church, but with no better success. Philip the Fair removed the seat of the Popedom from Rome to Avignon; but Avignon soon became as corrupt as Italy itself. In the very beginning of the sixteenth century, Louis XII. of France issued a threat, and stamped it upon his coins, that he would overthrow the Romish power; but he died, and guilty Rome remained.

The same object had also been attempted by the literati of the age. The poets and satirists of Germany and Italy undertook to laugh, — to *shame* the Church out of its corruptions; but, although the way was thus prepared for reformation, it was soon found that neither learning nor ridicule could effect the object. The great leviathan could not thus be tamed.

Repeated attempts were made to reform the Church by means of councils. This was the avowed and leading object of the great Council of Constance. The Church was corrupt, and must be reformed; and a body, consisting of cardinals, archbishops, and bishops, with eighteen hundred priests and doctors of divinity, was drawn together to reform it. But, instead of reforming the Church, they deformed it the more. How should it be otherwise, when we are assured that the holy fathers brought with them to the council “a great number of buffoons, prostitutes, and *virgines publicæ*”? (public girls.)* They could persuade the emperor to break his solemn promise to Huss, and commit him and Jerome to the flames; but they separated, leaving a confessedly polluted Church as far from reformation as ever.

By efforts at reformation such as these, the wisdom of man had exhausted itself; and nought was now left to be relied upon but *the power of God*. And the day in which God was to display his power and glorify his name in the deliverance of his afflicted, down-trodden people, at length arrived. By a series of providential occurrences, as we have seen, God had long been preparing the way for this desired event; and, in the mode and at the moment of his own appointment, it was ushered in. The outward means were, at

* See Mosheim's Hist., vol. ii. p. 492.

the first, feeble and unpromising; but the success was sure. The human instruments employed were weak in themselves, and were fully sensible of their own weakness; but, on this very account, it is the more gloriously apparent to all who examine the history of those times, that the excellency of the power was indeed of God, and not of man.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

THE REFORMATION IN GERMANY. — LIFE OF LUTHER.

IN the last chapter, we noticed some of those providential occurrences which preceded the Protestant Reformation, and prepared the way for its introduction and triumph. The precise month or year when the Reformation may be said to have commenced, it may not be easy to determine. The progress of light and truth in the minds of those who were chiefly instrumental in promoting it was gradual; and the incipient steps were taken by them when they can hardly be said to have known what they did, or what was likely to be the result of their labors. They were led along in a way which they knew not, and were often as much surprised at the effects which were produced as were the most indifferent of those who witnessed their actions.

Thus much, however, may be said, that the Reformation commenced in two different countries, — Germany and Switzerland, — and under the direction of two different leaders, — Martin Luther and Ulric Zwingle, — at about the same period. As Germany was the field in which it spread most rapidly and triumphed most gloriously, and from which it was diffused through many kingdoms, we shall commence with a history of the Reformation in Germany; reserving the account of its progress in Switzerland and the other countries of Protestant Europe to a later period in our inquiry. We begin with the life of Luther.

Martin Luther was born of poor but industrious and pious parents, at Eisleben, in Saxony, Nov. 10, 1483. This was St. Martin's Day; and, in honor of the saint, the babe received the name of Martin. His parents soon after removed from Eisleben to the mining town of Mansfield. Here their circumstances improved; and the father was promoted to be one of the town council of Mansfield.

Young Martin was early placed at school, where he was treated

with great severity, but where, nevertheless, he learned something. He was taught the Catechism, the Lord's Prayer, the Apostles' Creed, and the Ten Commandments, together with some hymns, and forms of prayer; but he was under the influence of no religious feeling, he tells us, except that of fear. He knew Christ only as an angry Judge, the bare mention of whose name was enough to make him turn pale with fear.

At the age of fourteen, he was sent to a school of the Franciscans at Magdeburg, and then to a more celebrated school at Eisenach. He was at this time very poor, and was obliged, with several others, to beg his bread. One day, when he had been repulsed from several houses, and was about to return fasting to his lodgings, a lady by the name of Cotta opened her door to him, and invited him to come and live at her house. In after-life, Luther used to speak of this woman as "the Christian Shunamite;" and it was with reference to her that he said, "There is nothing sweeter than the heart of a pious woman."

Luther remained in the family of Cotta two or three years; and they were among the happiest years of his life. At the age of eighteen, he entered the university at Erfurt. The studies then held in the highest estimation at Erfurt were the scholastic philosophy and logic; and so, in accordance with the wishes of his instructors, he grappled at once with the subtilities of Occam, Duns Scotus, and Thomas Aquinas. But he could not be satisfied with pursuits such as these; and he applied himself chiefly to the study of the Latin classics. He was at this period a thoughtful young man, and continually invoked the divine blessing on his labors. It had become a proverb with him, when not more than eighteen years old, "*Bene precasse est bene studuisse*" ("To pray well is the better half of study").

When Luther had been two years at Erfurt, as he was one day in the library, turning over books, and reading the titlepages of different authors, he accidentally came upon a Latin Bible. It was a rare book. He had never seen one before in his life. He was astonished to find that the Bible contained so many more books and chapters than he had before heard of. With feelings unutterable he turned over its pages, and exclaimed, "Oh that I might have such a book for my own!"

The same year in which Luther found the Bible, he took his first academical degree. Two years later, he became master of arts, and doctor in philosophy. The occasion was one of high honor, and of general rejoicing among his friends.

In accordance with what he knew to be the wishes of his father, he now entered upon the study of law. But God had a different purpose respecting him; and this purpose he began early to manifest. The conscience of Luther was not at ease. He knew that religion was the one thing needful, and that his first care should be for the salvation of his soul; and he was led to resolve that he would do all in his power to secure a well-grounded hope of heaven. The *providences* of God occurring around him went to confirm him in this resolution. He was deeply affected by the sudden death of one of his college friends, but more so by a terrible storm of thunder, which had well-nigh proved fatal to himself. As the winds roared, and the lightnings flashed, and the bolt of heaven struck close by his side, he fell on his knees, thinking that his hour had come. And here he made a solemn vow, that, if God would appear for his deliverance, he would forsake the world, and devote himself entirely to his service. God did appear for his deliverance; and Luther, in his present ignorance, knew no way in which his vow could be performed, and that holiness which he sought could be secured, but by entering a cloister. He must literally forsake the world, and bury himself in the seclusion of some one of the monastic orders.

The next we hear of him, he is in the convent of the Augustinian friars at Erfurt. The friends of Luther were greatly surprised at what he had done; and more especially was this the case with his honored father. He had exerted himself to the utmost to support his son at the university, hoping to see him a barrister, a statesman, allied in marriage with the rich and the noble, and filling a large space in the eyes of the world; and now, by one fatal step, all his ambitious projects were overthrown. He wrote an angry letter to his son, in which he threatened him, if he persisted, with the entire loss of his favor, and with being utterly disinherited from a father's love. After a while, however, the feelings of the father softened, and he reluctantly submitted to that which he had no power to avert.

The monks, at the first, were exceedingly complaisant to the new-comer, applauding his decision, and his renunciation of the world. Ere long, however, they began to treat him harshly, and to impose upon him the most menial services. He must open and shut the gates, wind up the clock, sweep the church, and clean the rooms; and, when this work was done, he must take his bag, and go through the streets of Erfurt, begging meat and bread from

door to door. But Luther bore it all with patience; and the more so, as he hoped, by self-mortification, to acquire that humility and holiness in pursuit of which he had become an inmate of the cloister. His friends in the university, however, took pity upon him; and, at their intercession, the severity of his treatment in the convent was relaxed. Servile employments were no longer exacted of him, and he was permitted to engage in his favorite studies.

It was now that he began to read the works of Augustine and the other fathers of the Church. He found also in the cloister a Bible fastened with a chain; and to this chained Bible he had recourse daily. Sometimes he would occupy himself in committing to memory select portions of Scripture; and then he would meditate all day upon a single verse. It was at this time that he began to study the sacred books in their original tongues, and thus prepare himself (without knowing it) for the most perfect and useful of all his works, — his translation of the Bible into German.

But it was not so much for study that Luther had abandoned the university, and immured himself in the recesses of the cloister: it was rather that he might crucify the flesh, secure the remission of sins, and be made holy. He was very punctual, therefore, in the observance of all the prescribed penances and rules. He spared neither fastings, macerations, nor vigils. On one occasion, he passed seven whole weeks almost entirely without sleep. A little bread and a single herring were often his only food. But the more he tortured himself, the more anxious he became. He had formed some conception now of what it is to be holy; and he was distressed at finding neither in his heart nor his life any appearance of that holiness which he saw to be needful. Those around him directed him to perform good works, and in this way to satisfy the divine justice; but “what good works,” said he, “can proceed out of a heart like mine? How can I, with works polluted even in their source and motive, stand before a holy Judge?”

Luther at this period was greatly agitated and distressed. He moved like a spectre through the long aisles of his cloister, uttering only sighs and groans. He found, to his sorrow, that although, by entering the convent, he had procured a change of raiment, he had experienced no change of heart. He performed penances, repeated prayers, and confessed daily; but all was of no use. The burden was still upon his spirit; and nought that he had power to do could remove it. Under the anguish of his mind, his bodily powers failed, his strength forsook him; and he was rapidly drawing

to the gates of death. On one occasion, he was found on the floor in a state of entire unconsciousness; and it was a long time before he could be restored.

But the day of his deliverance was at hand. John Staupitz, the vicar-general of all the Augustinians in Germany, made a visit to Erfurt. He had passed through troubles very similar to those of Luther, and had found joy and peace in Christ. He was the very person, therefore, to deal with Luther; and he instructed him in the most prudent and faithful manner. He directed his thoughts away from himself, and led them up to the cross of Christ. "Instead of torturing yourself for your faults, cast yourself into the arms of the Redeemer. Trust in him, — in the spotless righteousness of his life, in the expiatory sacrifice of his death. Do not shrink away from God. He is not against you: it is you, rather, who are estranged and averse from him."

These were strange words to the ears of Luther. He listened and pondered, and listened again. He flew to the Scriptures, and consulted all the passages relating to the subjects of conversion and justification; and he found that it was even so as his friend had said. A new light now began to enter his mind, and new consolations sprang up in his soul. "Yes," he exclaimed, "it is Christ himself that comforts me by these sweet and precious words. Before, there was nought in the Bible more bitter to me than the thought of *repentance*; but now there is nothing more pleasant and sweet. All those Scriptures which once alarmed me seem now to flow together, and smile and play around my heart. Oh, how blessed are all God's precepts when we read them, not in books alone, but in the faith of Christ!"

But these consolations of Luther were not without seasons of interruption. Sin was again felt upon his tender conscience; and then he relapsed into his former troubles. "Oh, my sin, my sin!" he one day exclaimed in the presence of Staupitz, and in a tone of the bitterest grief. "Well," replied the latter, "would you be only the *semblance* of a sinner, and have only the *semblance* of a Saviour? Know that Jesus Christ is the Saviour of those who are *real* and *great* sinners and deserving of utter condemnation."

Luther had trouble at this time, not only with the state of his heart, but with some of the higher doctrines of the gospel. He wished to penetrate into the deep things of God; to unveil his mysteries, and comprehend the incomprehensible. But his friend Staupitz checked him. He told him he must not attempt to fathom

God, but confine himself to what he has revealed of his character in Christ. It is impossible to understand God except through Christ.

Before leaving the convent, the vicar-general gave Luther a Bible, and directed him to the diligent and persevering study of it. Better advice than this was never given; nor was any advice ever more faithfully followed. The mind of Luther was now in a state to receive and love the truth. It was to him as cold water to a fainting soul. The soil of his heart had been thoroughly ploughed; and in it the incorruptible seed took deep root. When Staupitz left Erfurt, a new and glorious light had risen upon the mind of Luther.

Shortly after this, Luther was ordained priest, and began to preach in the neighboring parishes and convents. At this time his father became reconciled to him, and made him a present of twenty florins.

But the time had come when he was to be transferred to a wider sphere of usefulness than any he had ever thought of. On the recommendation of Staupitz, Frederic the Wise, elector of Saxony, appointed him to a professorship in his recently-established university at Wittenberg. Luther thought it his duty to accept the appointment, and left the cloister at Erfurt in 1508, when he had been there about three years.

Arrived at Wittenberg, Luther took up his abode in the convent of the Augustinians; for, though now a professor, he ceased not to be a monk. It devolved on him to teach physics and dialectics, and, of course, to engage renewedly in the study of these branches. In his present state of mind, this was to him a hard necessity; but he submitted to it. He improved every opportunity, however, to increase his knowledge of the Bible, more especially in its original language; and such was his success in studies of this nature, that he was soon honored with the degree of bachelor of divinity, and directed to deliver a lecture every day on the Bible. He commenced with the Psalms and the Epistle to the Romans, and found the exercise a profitable one, not only to his pupils, but also to himself. He gained a deeper insight into the method of a sinner's justification, and into the springs and motives of the Christian life. The fame of his teaching soon began to spread; and students, in great numbers, were drawn together to enjoy it. It was predicted at this time by one of his hearers, "This monk will put all the doctors to the rout. He will introduce a new style of doctrine, and reform the whole Church."

At the earnest solicitation of his friend Staupitz, Luther commenced preaching at Wittenberg, — first in the little old church of the Augustinians, and then in the great church of the city. His labors here were equally commanding and attractive. “Possessing,” says one of his adversaries, “a lively intelligence and a retentive memory, and speaking his mother-tongue with remarkable fluency, Luther is surpassed in eloquence by none of his contemporaries. He affects the minds of his hearers in a surprising manner, and carries them away whithersoever he pleases.”

It was while he was thus diligently pursuing his labors, both in the university and in the church, that Luther was interrupted by an appointment to go on an embassy to Rome. A difference had arisen between several of the Augustinian convents and the vicar-general Staupitz; and he was commissioned to go and lay the matter before the pontiff, and effect, if possible, a reconciliation. He commenced his journey, and crossed the Alps; but no sooner had he arrived in Italy than he found matter of surprise and scandal at every step. He lodged at a convent of the Benedictines in Lombardy. Here he found the buildings, the furniture, the provisions of the table, and the style of living, all on a scale of the utmost extravagance. Even on Friday, the table was loaded with an abundance of meats. “The pope and the Church forbid such things,” said he; and threatened the monks, in case they persisted, to report their irregularities at Rome. They were offended at his rebuke, and intended privately to put him out of the way; but he left them, and pursued his journey.

His feelings, as he approached the Eternal City, were raised to the highest pitch of enthusiasm. Here had been the home of Plautus and Virgil, and all those renowned scholars of antiquity whose works and whose history had so often stirred his heart; here, too, were the scene of Paul’s labors and sufferings, the Church to which he had addressed his most labored epistle, the earth which drank his blood, and with which had been mingled the ashes of a thousand martyrs; and here was the queen of all the churches, the seat of the holy vicar of Christ, the metropolis of the whole Christian world. For it must be remembered that Luther was at this time a most sincere and devout Romanist; and he had supposed that Rome must exceed all other churches as much in sanctity as in dignity; that, as it was the most sacred of all places under heaven, so it must be proportionally the most holy.

The impressions of Luther as to the superior sanctity of Rome

continued, for a time, after his entrance into the city; but as he prolonged his stay, and mingled more freely with the priests and people, his faith as to its transcendent holiness was sorely shaken. He was shocked at the terrible state of morals in the city, exceeding in depravity all that he had ever heard or dreamed of. He was shocked at the profane and heartless formality with which the clergy celebrated the sacraments. As he mingled with the higher ecclesiastics, he noticed the same heartless mockery of sacred things which he had before observed in the inferior clergy; and, when he approached the pontifical throne, he saw nothing better. The bloodthirsty Julius II. was seated there, filling Italy with carnage and desolation, and hurling the firebrands of war and destruction throughout the earth.

It was the least of the advantages of this embassy to Rome, that Luther accomplished successfully the immediate object of his mission. The veil of reputed sanctity was torn away from the holy city, and he was enabled to discover its real character. Instead of superior holiness, as he had before imagined, he saw it all putrid in its own corruptions; and he turned away from it with loathing and disgust. Luther was fully sensible of the benefit he had received from this visit, and said at a later period, "Not for a hundred thousand florins would I have missed the opportunity of seeing Rome."

On his return to Wittenberg, Luther took the degree of doctor in divinity, and with special reference to his vocation as a teacher of the Bible. By a public and solemn oath, he now bound and engaged himself "to teach the Scriptures faithfully, to preach them in purity, to study them all his days, and to defend them, so far as God should enable him, by disputation and writing, against false teachers." To this solemn engagement he often referred in subsequent life in justification of his resistance to the superstitions of Rome.

It was at this time that Luther commenced his attack upon the philosophers and schoolmen whom he had studied so deeply, and who reigned supreme in all the universities. He also united with Reuchlin, Erasmus, Hutten, and other men of distinction, in their controversy with the monks. He formed an intimate acquaintance with Spalatin, who was chaplain and private secretary to the elector, and was the only medium through which Luther could have access to his sovereign's ear.

The preaching of Luther at this time was "in demonstration of

the Spirit and of power." He preached against the multiform superstitions of the age, endeavoring with a strong hand to cast down these false gods, one after another, to the ground. He labored to show the difference between the law and the gospel, and to refute the error, so predominant in that age, that men by their *own works* can obtain forgiveness, and stand accepted before God. "The desire to justify ourselves," said he, "is the spring of all our distress of heart: but he who receives Christ by faith hath peace with God; and not only peace, but purity and sanctification. All sanctification is the fruit of faith. It gives us a new heart, and makes us new creatures in Christ Jesus."

In the year 1516, during the temporary absence of Vicar-General Staupitz, Luther was appointed to take his place, and visit the monasteries in that part of Germany. In the course of this visitation, he came to Erfurt, — the place where, eleven years before, he had wound up the clock, opened the gates, and swept the floor, of the church. His advice to the monks, here and everywhere, was judicious and scriptural, and left a most favorable impression. "Do not," said he, "join yourselves to Aristotle, or to the other teachers of a misleading philosophy; but apply yourselves to the study of the divine Word. Seek not salvation in your own strength and good works, but in the grace of God and the merits of Jesus." This tour among the monks was a very fruitful one. Some of the most strenuous defenders of the Reformation came forth, subsequently, from the Augustinian convents.

The plague, at this time, broke out at Wittenberg; and many of the teachers and students left the town. Luther was urged to flee; but he refused. "If the plague spreads," says he, "I will send the brethren away; but, for my own part, I am placed here: nor does obedience allow me to leave my post until He who called me hither shall please to call me away. Not that I am above the fear of death; for I am not: but I trust the Lord will deliver me from the fear of it when it comes." Such were the courage and resolution of Luther before he commenced his assault upon Rome. No wonder he did not shrink through fear of death at a later period.

It was a custom of the philosophers and theologians in these times to awaken interest and provoke discussion by publishing *theses* on controverted topics. Luther's first theses of which we have any account were put forth in the year 1516, and led to a very earnest discussion of the doctrines of depravity, grace, and salvation by Christ alone.

In the summer of 1517, he published ninety-nine propositions on the kindred subjects of *free will* and *grace*; in which it was his object, not to deny the free agency of man, but to insist that man, in his natural state, is under what the Scriptures call *the bondage of corruption*, and needs the grace of God to set him free. These propositions were sent to several of the universities; but they awakened little interest, and led to no controversy,—a plain proof that the Romish Church at this period was not so much concerned about the doctrines of its members as about its own revenues and supremacy. A person might hold and teach almost any thing in the way of doctrine; and if he was careful not to touch, as Erasmus said, either “the pope’s crown or the monks’ bellies,” he was pretty likely to escape unhurt.

But the time had come when Luther regarded himself as called upon to touch these tender points. For several centuries, the sale of indulgences had been carried on, to a greater or less extent, in the Church of Rome. The common method was to “farm out” the indulgences; for the Papal court could not wait to have the money collected and conveyed from different countries: and there were wealthy merchants who stood ready to purchase the indulgences for particular provinces, and would be sure to sell again so as to secure a profit to themselves. Leo X. was advanced to the pontifical chair in the year 1513, and by his extravagance, and love of show, soon emptied his coffers, and reduced himself to pecuniary straits. In these circumstances, and under pretence of raising money to complete St. Peter’s Church, he commenced, on a large scale, the dispensing of indulgences. The promulgation of them throughout Germany was intrusted to Albert, archbishop of Mentz, who was himself to receive a share of the profits. It was necessary to find some one of sufficient address and impudence to hawk and sell the indulgences; and John Tetzel, a Dominican friar who had had some experience in such matters, hastened to Mentz, and tendered his services to the archbishop. He was accepted; and the manner in which he discharged the office is thus described by a recent historian:—

Tetzel “drove through the country in a gay carriage, escorted by three horsemen in great state, and spending freely. When he approached a town, a messenger was sent forward to the chief magistrate, announcing, ‘*The grace of God and of the holy father is at your gates!*’ Instantly, every person in the place was in motion. The priests, the monks, the nuns, the council, the school-

masters, persons of the different trades with their flags flying, men and women, young and old, went forth to meet the holy peddlers, with lighted tapers in their hands. Salutations being exchanged, the whole procession moved towards the church. The pontiff's bull of grace was borne in front on a velvet cushion or a cloth of gold. The vender of indulgences followed, supporting a large red wooden cross. With the sound of organs and other musical instruments, the whole company was received into the church. The red cross was erected in front of the altar, on which was hung the pope's arms, and before which multitudes came every day to present their homage."*

Tetzel at this time was somewhat advanced in life; but his voice was sonorous, and he seemed to be yet in the prime of his strength. His port and equipage were imposing; but his moral character was notoriously bad. He had been convicted at Innsbruck of such abominable profligacy, that he came near paying the forfeit of his life. The Emperor Maximilian ordered that he should be sewed up in a sack, and thrown into the river; but the elector of Saxony interceded for him, and procured his pardon. There could hardly have been found in all Germany a man better fitted for the traffic in which he was engaged. He had the greatest effrontery; no means came amiss to him; and he had an admirable tact in the invention of stories with which to amuse the common people.

As soon as the red cross was elevated, Tetzel mounted the pulpit, and began to exalt the efficacy of indulgences. "Indulgences," said he, "are the most precious and sublime of God's gifts. This cross (pointing to the red cross) has as much efficacy as the cross of Christ. Draw near, and I will give letters, duly sealed, by which even the sins which you shall hereafter desire to commit shall be forgiven you. I would not exchange my privilege for that of St. Peter in heaven; for I have saved more souls by my indulgences than he ever did by his sermons. There is no sin so great but that the indulgence can remit it. Even if any one (which is doubtless impossible) should ravish the Holy Virgin, mother of God, let him pay largely, and it shall be forgiven him.

"But more than this: indulgences save not only the living, but the dead. The very moment that the money tinkles in the chest, the soul leaps up from purgatory, and rises to heaven. Harken, all ye who hear me, to the cry of your departed friends, coming up to you from the bottomless pit: 'We are enduring the most

* D'Aubigné's Hist., vol. i. p. 209.

horrible torments! A small alms would deliver us! You *can* give it, and yet you will not!’ O senseless people, and almost like beasts! This day, heaven is on all sides open. Do you now refuse to enter? This day you may redeem many souls. With ten groschen, you can deliver your father from purgatory; and yet you will not do it!”

Having exhausted the subject in this direction, the preacher then turned to another topic. “Do you know why our lord the pope distributes so rich a grace? The dilapidated Church of St. Peter and St. Paul is to be restored. That church contains the bodies of the holy apostles Peter and Paul, and also of the martyrs. In the present condition of the edifice, those sacred bodies, alas! are continually trodden down, flooded, polluted, and rotting in hail and rain. Ah! shall those holy ashes be suffered any longer to remain thus degraded?”

The motive here presented never failed to produce an impression. Every one was desirous of aiding the impoverished pontiff in sheltering the exposed bodies of Peter and Paul. The preacher closed by impiously perverting a passage from our Saviour: “Blessed are the eyes which see the things that ye see: for I tell you that many prophets and kings have desired to see those things which ye see, and have not seen them; and to hear those things which ye hear, and have not heard them” (Luke x. 23, 24).

When the sermon was finished, Tetzal would point to his strong box, and cry out to the people, “Now bring on your money! bring money, money!”—“He uttered this cry,” says Luther, “with such a dreadful bellowing, that one might have thought it proceeded from a wild bull.”

The people now flocked in crowds to the assistant confessors. They came, not with contrite hearts, but with money in their hands.

When the people had confessed, they hastened to the vender. He carefully scrutinized those who came, examining their step, their manner, their attire; and demanded a sum in proportion to their apparent circumstances. Kings, queens, princes, archbishops, and bishops were charged, for an ordinary indulgence, twenty-five ducats; abbots, counts, and barons, ten ducats; other nobles, and all who had an annual income of five hundred florins, six ducats. For particular sins, Tetzal had a private scale. Polygamy was charged six ducats; sacrilege and perjury, nine; murder, eight; and witchcraft, two.

With all his effrontery, Tetzel found some dealers who were too cunning for him. When he was at Leipsic, a Saxon gentleman inquired if he was authorized to pardon sins of *intention*, or such as the applicant intended to commit. "Assuredly," answered Tetzel: "full power is given me by the pope to do so."—"Well, then," replied the gentleman, "I wish to be revenged on one of my enemies, without attempting his life. I will pay you ten crowns for a letter of indulgence that shall bear me harmless." Tetzel demurred; but at length a bargain was concluded for thirty crowns. Shortly after, Tetzel departed from Leipsic on his way to Juterboch. The gentleman, with his servants, waylaid him in a wood, gave him a sound drubbing, and carried off his chest of money. Tetzel clamored against this act of violence, and brought an action before the judges. But the gentleman produced his indulgence, signed by Tetzel himself, which exempted him beforehand from all responsibility; and by this means he was acquitted.

By this abominable traffic, the minds of the people were greatly agitated; and the subject was everywhere discussed. Opinions were divided,—some believing, and others disbelieving; but, by the sober part of the German people, the whole system of indulgences was rejected with abhorrence. Some turned it into an invincible argument against the benevolence of the pontiff. "Why," said they, "does not his Holiness deliver at once all the souls from purgatory by a holy charity, since he is able to do it for the sake of perishable gain?" Yet no bishop or divine dared to lift a finger in opposition to all this quackery and deceit. The people were in suspense and trouble, and waiting to see if God would not raise up some powerful instrument for a work which all saw was needed to be done. We shall see how Luther regarded and treated the subject in our next chapter.

CHAPTER XXXV.

THE REFORMATION IN GERMANY. — LIFE OF LUTHER CONTINUED.

LUTHER first heard of the traffic of Tetzel in the year 1516, while he was on his tour of visitation to the convents. Some of the extravagant expressions of Tetzel being reported to him, he exclaimed, "God willing, I will make a hole in that drum."

Tetzel was forbidden by the elector to preach up his indulgences in Saxony; but he approached as near to the boundary as he could. He set up his red cross at Juterboch, which was only four miles from Wittenberg, and proclaimed in the strongest terms the value of his merchandise. The people flocked in crowds from Wittenberg to hear him.

Shortly after this, several people who had procured indulgences presented themselves before Luther for absolution. They confessed themselves guilty of great irregularities, such as adultery, drunkenness, fraud, &c.; and declared their purpose of persisting in these practices. Still they demanded absolution; and, when questioned as to the ground of such a claim, they produced their letters of indulgence. But Luther told them that he should pay no regard to such letters; and assured them, that, unless they turned from their evil ways, they must all perish. They professed to be greatly surprised at this, and renewed their application. But Luther was immovable. They must "cease to do evil, and learn to do well," or no absolution. These people now returned to Tetzel, and told him that a monk at Wittenberg treated his letters with contempt. At this, Tetzel literally bellowed with anger. He preached on the subject, using the most insulting expressions and the most terrific anathemas. He even kindled a fire in the grand square, as if to burn the heretics who presumed to oppose his holy indulgences.

Luther also preached on the subject, setting forth the freeness of the gospel salvation, and the utter inefficacy of all human endeavors to purchase or merit the forgiveness of sins. He earnestly

dissuaded his hearers from having any thing to do with Papal indulgences, or placing the least reliance upon them. His sermon was printed, and made a deep impression upon all who read it.

Still Tetzel continued his odious traffic and his blasphemous addresses to the people. And now what shall Luther do? Shall he submit, and keep silence? or shall he speak out in a more public and solemn manner than before? His resolution was soon formed. The Feast of All Saints was at hand, when many people would be collected at Wittenberg. On the evening before the festival, — the evening of the 31st of October, 1517, — without giving to any of his friends the slightest intimation of his plan, Luther went boldly to the church, towards which crowds of pilgrims were already flocking, and affixed to the door ninety-five theses, or propositions, in opposition to the doctrine of indulgences. He also announced that he would be prepared the next day to defend them at the university against all opposers. Luther, at this time, had no thought of attacking the pope or the church; for he had firm faith in both: and he had no doubt that he should have both in his favor in his attempts to restrain the effrontery of such men as Tetzel.

On the night previous to the posting of the theses on the door of the church, the elector of Saxony had a remarkable dream. He dreamed that God sent a monk to him with a request that he would allow him to write something on the church-door at Wittenberg. The request was, of course, granted: whereupon the monk began to write. But his pen was so long, that the upper end of it reached even unto Rome, and wounded the ears of a lion (*leo*) that was couched there, and shook the triple crown on the pope's head. Whereupon the lion began to roar so terribly, that the whole city of Rome, and all the states of the empire, ran together to inquire what was the matter. The pope called upon all the cardinals and princes to restrain the writing of the monk, and to break his pen; but the more they tread to break it, the stiffer it became. It resisted as if it were made of iron. Upon being asked where he had obtained that pen, the monk replied, "It is from the wing of a *goose* in Bohemia.* Its strength lies in its pith, which no one can take out of it." "Suddenly," says the elector, "I heard a great cry; for from the monk's long pen had issued a great many other pens. At this I awoke, and it was morning."

* In the Bohemian dialect, *Huss* means *goose*.

Thus much for the dream. The fact is well attested that the elector actually had such a dream; and events began immediately to show the interpretation. And who shall presume to say that God did not design at this critical juncture to instruct the good elector in the visions of the night? and who can tell how much influence the dream may have had upon him to prevent him from prematurely opposing and crushing the Reformation?

But the Reformation had something to rest upon more substantial than dreams and visions,—even the *word* and the *providence* of God. The day following the placarding of the theses, no one appeared at the university to impugn them. The traffic of Tetzels was so utterly disreputable, that no one except himself, or some of his immediate followers, could be expected to accept the challenge. Meanwhile, the theses spread with the rapidity of lightning. In the space of a fortnight, they were read all over Germany, and had penetrated even to Rome. They were translated into Dutch and Spanish; and some of them were carried as far as Jerusalem. They were received by some with apprehension, but by more with rejoicing; and the elector of Saxony received letters from church dignitaries and princes, exhorting him to retain and protect Luther.

Luther himself, after the first acclamations were over, was not a little dismayed at the prospect before him. No subsequent step ever cost him so much anxiety as this; but it was this which decided the fate of the Reformation. God raised him up some powerful friends in the time of his trial, by whom he was comforted and encouraged. Chief among these was Spalatin, whom we have before mentioned as private secretary and chaplain to the elector.

About a month after the publication of Luther's theses, Tetzels presented two series of anti-theses at the University of Frankfort on the Oder, and appointed a day for a public disputation. For a time, he had the discussion entirely to himself: but at length a student, less than twenty years of age,—indignant at seeing the truth thus trampled under foot, and no one offering to defend it,—raised his voice on the other side; and so earnestly and effectively did he press his arguments, that Tetzels retreated from the contest; and the only resort of his friends was to put an end to the discussion.

Tetzels next erected a scaffold outside of Frankfort, from which he inveighed in the most furious manner against Luther, declaring that he ought to be burned alive. Then, placing Luther's sermon against indulgences, and also his theses, on the scaffold, he set fire

to them, and consumed them. He showed greater dexterity in this operation than he did in the dispute. There was none here to oppose him, and his victory was complete.

These proceedings at Frankfort were but a signal to the whole company of Romish preachers. A general shout was raised against Luther by the monks; and reproaches upon him were sounded forth from all the Dominican pulpits. They called him a madman, a seducer, a wretch, a demoniac, who was promulgating the most horrible of all heresies. "Wait only a fortnight," they said, "or at most a month, and you shall see him roasting in the fire."

This kind of opposition was the very thing to arouse the courage of Luther. He saw that it was necessary to face such adversaries boldly; and his intrepid spirit determined to do it. "Let them hear and tell and preach what they please. I will go on so long as God shall give me strength; and with his help I will fear nothing."

Leo X. affected to treat the whole matter with contempt. "A squabble among the monks," said he: "the best way is to take no notice of it." But some of the pope's friends in Italy thought differently. Sylvester Prierias, master of the pontifical palace, and prior-general of the Dominicans, wrote a book against Luther. Amidst a great deal of ribaldry and abuse, he undertook to discuss — what is still the vital question between Romanists and Protestants — *the rule of faith and life to the Christian*. Prierias declared it to be *the pope and the Church*: but Luther, in his reply, insisted that both popes and councils might err, and often had erred; and that the only rule of faith to the Christian is *the word of God*.

Others who wrote against Luther at this time were James Hochstraten, inquisitor of Cologne, and Dr. Eck, a celebrated professor at Ingolstadt. To these and all other opponents, Luther replied with great spirit, — using sometimes intemperate language, but not so intemperate as that which was used against him, — and pressed onward from one topic to another as the Lord gave him light and utterance. To those who threatened him with persecution, he said, "Do you thirst for my blood, then? I protest to you that this bluster and menace of yours give me not the slightest alarm. For what if I were to lose my life? Christ still lives, — my Lord, and the Lord of all."

While engaged in these various controversies, — sufficient, one would think, to engross the heart, and occupy the whole time, of

Luther, — he was still busy as ever in imparting instruction to his pupils, and preaching and publishing for the benefit of the common people. The crowds which hung upon his lips in the Church were greater than ever. It was at this time that he preached his celebrated sermon on *forgiveness*; in which he distinguishes between that absolution from church censures which the priest may pronounce, and that inward pardon which can come only from the Lord. “The first reconciles the offender with the Church; but the second is the heavenly grace which reconciles the soul to God. The bestowment of this is out of the power of pope, bishop, priest, or any man living, and rests solely on the mercy of God in Christ and the sincerity of one’s own faith.” This truth seems plain and familiar to us now; but, when Luther first announced it in Germany, it was not so. The people had so long been taught to regard the priest as standing between themselves and God, that when his mediation was removed, and they were directed to look to God alone for forgiveness in the exercise of repentance and faith, the preacher was thought to bring strange things to their ears.

In the spring of 1518, the Augustinians held a general meeting at Heidelberg; and Luther was summoned to attend. His friends, sensible of the extreme danger to which the journey must expose him, endeavored to dissuade him from undertaking it; but in vain. Luther never suffered himself to be stopped in the performance of what he conceived to be his duty by the fear of danger. Accordingly, having made the necessary preparation, he set out on foot about the middle of April. He proceeded on foot as far as Wurtemberg, where he met his friend Staupitz, and had a seat in his carriage for the remainder of the journey.

During his stay at Heidelberg, Luther received all the attention and kindness he could desire. He was invited repeatedly to the castle and table of the duke of Bavaria, who had his residence in the city. But he was not satisfied with mere personal attention and enjoyment: he desired that his visit might be one of usefulness. Accordingly, he drew up theses, and proposed a public disputation, on his favorite topics of law and grace. The discussion excited great attention. Attracted by the reputation of Luther, professors, courtiers, burghers, students, all flocked together to hear him. The theses were opposed, courteously but earnestly, by five doctors of divinity. Luther, on his part, exhibited unusual mildness and patience, kindly listened to all the objections of his opponents, and by his explanations and arguments was highly

successful in removing them. The discussion was productive of much good. Several young men, among whom was the celebrated Martin Bucer, afterwards a burning and shining light in the Reformation, were brought at this time to the knowledge of the truth. Indeed, a work was begun at Heidelberg which did not stop until it had pervaded the city.

The object of his visit being accomplished, Luther returned to Wittenberg, with health and spirits much improved by the journey. The following summer, he took up afresh his theses on indulgences. In his own judgment, some parts of them needed explaining and softening. They had excited needless opposition by being imperfectly understood. He published, therefore, what he called his "Solutions;" a work prepared with great care and moderation, but in which he courageously defended every proposition which truth obliged him to maintain. He sent copies of this work, with courteous and submissive letters, to his bishop, and also to Leo X. In his letter to the pope, he explains fully how he became involved in this dispute about indulgences, and why he felt constrained to continue it. "I call all Germany to witness," says he, "that nothing was heard in all the taverns but complaints of the avarice of priests, and attacks on the power of the keys and of the supreme bishop. Such was the effect of preaching indulgences. When I heard these things, my zeal was aroused for the glory of Christ and his Church. I spoke of the matter to certain rulers of the Church; but some laughed at me, while others turned a deaf ear. The awe of your name seemed to have made all motionless. Thereupon I entered upon this dispute. And now what am I to do? I cannot retract what I have published; and yet the publication draws down upon me on all sides an inexpressible hatred."

But while Luther was endeavoring, if possible, to win back the confidence of Rome, Rome had no other thoughts than those of vengeance against him. Already one of the cardinals had written to the elector of Saxony, exhorting him to withdraw his protection from Luther; but to this request the elector refused to yield. The Emperor Maximilian had also written a letter to the pope, exhorting him to take measures against Luther, and pledging himself to enforce throughout the empire whatever his Holiness should decree on the subject.

On the reception of this letter, the pope at once instituted an ecclesiastical court at Rome for the purpose of trying Luther, and

summoned him to appear there in person within sixty days. Luther was at Wittenberg, awaiting the good effects which he imagined his submissive letter to the pope was calculated to produce, when the summons reached him. "At the moment," says he, "that I looked for benediction, I saw the thunderbolt descend upon me. I was like the lamb that troubled the stream at which the wolf was drinking. Tetzal escaped; and I was to be devoured."

This summons threw all Wittenberg into consternation, because, whatever course Luther might take, his destruction seemed inevitable. If he obeyed the summons, and went to Rome, he would assuredly be destroyed; or, if he refused to obey, he would be condemned for contumacy, and the German princes would not protect him. Great influence was exerted, both by the university and the elector, to have the trial transferred from Rome to Germany; and at length this point was gained. The pope had already a legate in Germany, — Cardinal Cajetan; and it was arranged that Luther was to have his trial before him, in the city of Augsburg.

In his commission to Cajetan, the pope had put all power and authority into his hands, and made every necessary preparation to exterminate the heretic. He had set every engine at work, so that his ruin seemed inevitable. At the same time, he had written a most flattering letter to the elector of Saxony, with a view to cajole him, if possible, into his own designs against the life and liberty of the reformer.

The elector received the pope's letter at Augsburg, where he had been attending a diet of the empire. He pledged himself to Cajetan that Luther should appear before him, and directed Spalatin to write to Luther that he must prepare immediately for his journey to Augsburg.

On receiving this notice, Luther resolved at once, and at all hazards, to obey. His friends, with one voice, endeavored to dissuade him. They feared that a snare might be laid for him on the journey. They were sure that some design was formed against his life. But nothing could shake the resolution of Luther. The elector sent him letters of introduction to certain individuals at Augsburg, and also some money for the journey; and, thus equipped, he set forward on foot, to place himself in the power of his adversaries. He found faithful friends at Weimar and at Nuremberg. On the 8th of October, he arrived at Augsburg, and took lodgings in the convent of the Augustinians. Here also he

found faithful friends, to whom he had brought letters of introduction. They all manifested the most lively interest in his welfare, and insisted that he should not appear before Cajetan till they had obtained for him a "safe conduct" from the emperor. "We must not trust these Italians," said they. "Whatever fair appearances the cardinal may put on, we know that he hates you, and is enraged against you in the highest degree." They said so much on this point, that Luther consented to wait for a "safe conduct;" which, as the emperor was in the neighborhood, could be obtained in a little time.

Luther had repeated interviews with Cajetan, varying considerably in their character, but all having the same object in view; viz., a *confession*, a *retraction*, on the part of Luther. Sometimes the cardinal spoke kindly to him, and sometimes scolded him; but, whether he entreated or scolded, his constant aim was to induce him to retract his errors, and hold his peace. "The whole question," said he, "is summed up in six letters, — *REVOCO*" (*retract*). Luther was willing to retract so soon as he could be convinced of his error; but the cardinal had come, not to argue with him, but rather to subdue him by the simple weight of Papal authority; and, when he found that he could not be subdued in this way, he broke out upon him in great wrath, saying with a haughty and angry look, "Recant, or see my face no more." Accordingly, they never met again. On the 18th of October, before daylight, Luther took his leave of Augsburg. He returned on horseback, and rode near fifty miles the first day; singing, as he passed along, "Our soul is escaped as a bird out of the snare of the fowler. The snare is broken, and we are delivered."

When the cardinal heard of Luther's departure, he was greatly vexed. He had been ambitious of the honor of healing the wounds of the Church, and of re-establishing the declining influence of the pope in Germany; but the heretic was gone without his having so much as humbled him. He immediately wrote an angry letter to the Elector Frederic, demanding that Luther should be sent to Rome; or, at least, that he should be banished out of his territories. "Be assured," said he, "that this mischievous affair cannot be long protracted. As soon as I shall have informed the pope of all this malice, he will bring it to a speedy end." To this the elector replied, expressing strong disapprobation of the manner in which Luther had been treated at Augsburg, and declining either to send him to Rome, or, for the present at least, to drive him from his

territories. This decision of the elector was a great comfort to Luther, as it afforded him, if no more, a little respite; and it was by such respites that the Reformation, in the earlier stages of it, was carried forward.

When the ill success of Cajetan was known at Rome, it occasioned great dissatisfaction; and the blame of the failure fell chiefly upon him. He had been deficient, it was thought, in prudence and address. His superciliousness and pedantry had spoiled all. Why did he provoke Luther by threats and insults, instead of alluring him by the promise of a bishopric, or even, if necessary, of a cardinal's hat?

Under the influence of such impressions, it was determined to send another envoy into Germany, and see if a second effort at negotiation might not be more successful. The person selected for this important service was Charles Miltitz, a Saxon by birth, but who had long resided at Rome, and was now in office as the pope's chamberlain. He was a vain, garrulous, pretentious man, with considerable knowledge of human nature, and much skill in moulding and shaping it to suit his purposes. The pope and his cardinals placed great reliance upon him, trusting that, by prudent management, he might arrest the progress of a revolution which now threatened the peace of the world.

The real object of Miltitz's mission into Germany was, in part, concealed: the ostensible object was, that he might present to the Elector Frederic the consecrated golden rose. This rose was consecrated every year by the pontiff, and presented to some one of the leading princes of Europe. It was resolved at this time to present it to the elector in the hope of conciliating him and his counsellors, and inducing them to withdraw their protection from Luther.

The new legate arrived in Germany in the month of December, 1518. He first sought an interview with Spalatin; but scarcely had he begun to open his charges against Luther, when the chaplain broke out in the most vehement charges against Tetzl. He told the legate of the falsehoods and blasphemies of this old vender of indulgences, and declared that all Germany ascribed to his audacious proceedings the dissensions which now distressed the Church. Miltitz affected great astonishment. Instead of being the accuser, he found himself in the place of one accused. His wrath was instantly turned against Tetzl; and he summoned him to appear before him, and answer for his conduct.

Tetzel, who was now living in retirement at Leipsic, was greatly terrified at the receipt of the summons. He foresaw that Rome was about to abandon him; and whither should he flee? He excused himself from obeying the summons on the ground of ill health, and of the dangerous prejudices which Luther had excited against him, but promised to meet the legate at some convenient time in Leipsic.

Meltitz met Luther for the first time on the 1st of January, 1519. The interview was most flattering and conciliatory on his part, and resulted in a promise on the part of Luther that he would keep silence in future, and suffer the matter to die away, provided his enemies would do the same. Luther also promised that he would write an explanatory and conciliatory letter to the pope, and do all that he could consistently to bring about a reconciliation. They met again; when a truce on the foregoing principles was agreed upon, and the conditions of it were committed to writing.

When the agreement had been concluded, the joy of Miltitz was uncontrollable. At one moment he exulted, and then he wept. "For a century," said he, "no question has caused so much anxiety to the court of Rome as this. Rather would it have given ten thousand ducats than that the controversy should be prolonged."

In the flush of his joy at what had been accomplished, Miltitz hied away to Leipsic that he might deal with Tetzel. He overwhelmed him with reproaches, accusing him of being the cause of all the difficulty, and threatening him with the pope's intensest anger. He charged upon him, not only the blasphemous expressions he had used in selling indulgences, but the sin of appropriating to his own purposes a part of the money which he had received. The miserable wretch was struck dumb and motionless by these well-founded charges. He would gladly have buried himself in the bowels of the earth. Distressed in conscience, alarmed by the reproaches of those whom he had thought his friends, and dreading the anger of the pope, the health of Tetzel failed rapidly; and he died most miserably. Literally was he driven away in his wickedness.

Luther was never more popular or useful as a teacher, nor was the Reformation ever in more rapid progress, than in the first half of the year 1519. The number of students at the university constantly increased; and among them were some of the more

distinguished youth of Germany. In one of his letters, Luther says, "The students increase upon us like an overflowing tide. Our city can scarce hold the numbers that are arriving." It was at this time that Frobenius, a celebrated printer of Basle, collected the writings of Luther together, and published them in one uniform edition. They circulated rapidly, not only in Germany and Switzerland, but in France, Spain, England, Italy, and in nearly every country of Europe. At the moment when the Roman pontiff thought to stifle the work in Germany, we find it spreading into other lands: so that, should the power of Rome succeed in felling the parent stock, the seeds were scattered everywhere to spring up and bring forth fruit.

But it is time that we return to Miltitz. The object of his embassy, sufficiently delicate and difficult at any time, became the more so at this on account of several unanticipated changes in providence. One was the death of the Emperor Maximilian, which occurred shortly after the arrival of the legate in Germany. In consequence of this event, the Elector Frederic became, for the time, the administrator of the empire; and, as such, had little to fear from the frowns or the flatteries of any legate. Then the pope and his minions had enough to do in their intrigues respecting a successor in the empire, without troubling themselves deeply with the affairs of Luther. But what more than all embarrassed Miltitz was, that the mutual silence agreed upon between him and Luther had been broken, and that by one of the Popish doctors. Eck, the celebrated professor at Ingolstadt, had challenged Carlstadt, one of Luther's colleagues at Wittenberg, to a public disputation; and the theses which he had put forth as the ground of the discussion were so framed as to bear directly on the doctrines of Luther. The dispute was to take place at Leipsic, under the patronage of Duke George of Saxony; and Luther earnestly sought permission to participate in it; but the duke refused to give his consent. He might come as a spectator; but he must not speak. The duke feared the power and the influence of the great reformer.

It was in June, 1519, that the parties came together at Leipsic. A large company went up from Wittenberg, — preachers, professors, citizens, and students, — among whom was Luther. When Eck heard of the arrival of Luther, he came directly to his lodging. "What is this?" said he: "I am told that you object to disputing with me." — "How can I dispute?" replied Luther, "when the duke positively forbids me to do so?" — "But, if I obtain the duke's per-

mission," answered Eck, "will you take the field?" Luther readily answered that he would. "Only obtain permission, and I will gladly meet you."

Eck instantly waited on the duke, and urged the matter with so much importunity, that the request was granted. The discussion was held in a large apartment in the duke's palace called the "Pleissenberg." It commenced on the 27th of June, and continued twenty days. During the first week, the dispute was between Eck and Carlstadt, and related entirely to the subjects of free-will and grace. During the remainder of the time, the contest was between Eck and Luther; and the subjects discussed were *the supremacy of the pope, purgatory, indulgences, penance, absolution, &c.*

These theological discussions, which in our times could hardly be expected to excite much interest, were listened to with the profoundest attention during the whole twenty days, not only by ecclesiastics and students, but by laymen, burghers, knights, and princes. The dukes of Pomerania and of Saxony were in constant attendance. In his private letters, Eck acknowledged that he had been defeated on many points; but in public he boasted loudly of his victory. The following opinion on the question of victory was given by one of the Leipsic professors, who had been an impartial spectator of all that took place: "Eck has obtained the victory in the opinion of those who do not understand the subjects in dispute, and who have grown gray in scholastic studies; but Luther and Carlstadt remain masters of the field in the judgment of all those who have learning, intelligence, and modesty."

Some of the results of this discussion were of more value than mere popular applause. Several individuals were brought hopefully to the knowledge of the truth. Among these were Polian-der, private secretary to Dr. Eck; John Cellarius, professor of Hebrew at Leipsic; and George, prince of Anhalt, who became afterwards a powerful and consistent friend of the Reformation. But the noblest result of the discussion at Leipsic remains yet to be mentioned. It was here that the great Melancthon, the theologian of the Reformation, and the most valued friend of Luther, received his call and anointing to the work.

Melancthon was a nephew of the great Hebrew scholar Reuchlin. He was one of the most remarkable young men of his age, and perhaps of any age. At the age of seventeen, he was made doctor of philosophy, and began to deliver lectures in public. At

the age of twenty-one, he was appointed to the professorship of Greek at Wittenberg. He was, from the first, a devoted friend to Luther, and accompanied him to the disputation at Leipsic; but he was there as a mere spectator and listener, having hitherto applied himself almost exclusively to literature. These discussions, however, opened his eyes, and launched him at once into the deeps of theology. They affected his heart as well as his intellect; and from that hour he embraced the evangelical doctrine with the simplicity of a little child. From that hour, himself and Luther found themselves united in sympathies and labors in a manner and to a degree unknown before. They were almost always together; and were the more necessary to each other on account of the great difference in their constitutional temperaments and dispositions. Melancthon was as remarkable for his prudence and gentleness as Luther was for his impetuosity and energy. Luther communicated vigor to Melancthon; while Melancthon moderated Luther. "They were," says one, "like positive and negative agents in electricity, by whose reciprocal action an equilibrium is maintained." In this light the two friends seem to have regarded each other. "I was born," says Luther, "for struggling on the field of battle with parties and devils. Thus it is that my writings breathe war and tempest. I must root up stock and stem, clear away thorns and brambles, and fill up swamps and sloughs; while Melancthon follows after quietly and gently, cultivating and planting, sowing and watering, according as God has dealt to him so liberally of his gifts."

The discussions at Leipsic had a powerful influence, not only on those who listened to them, but on the speakers themselves. The inquiries into which Luther was driven discovered to him more clearly than before the rottenness of the whole Papal system. Searching, as he was now compelled to do, into the annals of the Church, he found that the boasted supremacy of Rome had no other foundation than the ambition of one party, and the credulous ignorance of the other.

The principal influence of the discussion upon Dr. Eck was to irritate and inflame him. While he boasted of victory, he evidently felt the sting and the malice of conscious defeat. Finding that his influence was on the wane in Germany, he hastened to cross the Alps, that he might effect the destruction of those, by the power of Rome, whom he could not overcome by discussion and argument. We shall hear of his operations at Rome in the following chapter.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

THE REFORMATION IN GERMANY. — LIFE OF LUTHER CONTINUED.

WE have already heard of the death of the Emperor Maximilian, which took place early in the year 1519. In the following year, the electors of Germany assembled at Frankfort to choose a successor. They first offered the crown to the elector of Saxony; but he, through perhaps an excess of prudence, thought proper to decline it. He proposed to the electors that they should confer the imperial authority upon Charles V., who was already king of Spain, of the Netherlands, and of Austria; and he was crowned emperor of Germany on the 22d of October, 1520.

Before his coronation, Luther took the precaution to write to Charles a humble and submissive letter. "If," said he, "the cause I defend is worthy of appearing before the throne of the Majesty of heaven, it surely is not unworthy of engaging the attention of a prince of this world. O Charles! thou prince among the kings of the earth, I throw myself as a suppliant at the feet of your most serene Majesty, and conjure you to deign to receive under the shadow of your wings, not me, but the cause of that eternal truth for the defence of which God has intrusted you with the sword." The letter of the reformer was throughout most loyal and respectful; but Charles gave no heed to it. He threw it aside, probably, as unworthy of his notice.

While Luther was in vain supplicating the favor of the new emperor, the storm seemed to thicken around him in Germany. He had been pronounced a heretic by the universities of Cologne and Louvain; and the most urgent requests had been forwarded to the elector of Saxony that he would no longer protect him, but give him over to the power of his enemies. But the elector had no thought of abandoning Luther; or, if he had abandoned him, others stood ready to take him up. Several powerful German

knights wrote to him of their own accord, inviting him to repair to their castles, and take refuge under their arms.

Being thus protected, Luther kept diligently at his appropriate work, — teaching, preaching, publishing books, and scattering abroad the word of life; on which alone he relied for success in his perilous undertaking. He published a discourse on “Good Works,” which was dedicated to Duke John, the elector’s brother; in which he opened most successfully the great doctrine of justification by faith. He published a stirring “Appeal to his Imperial Majesty and the Nobility of the German Nation concerning the Reformation of Christianity.” In it he exposed and attacked, as no one else could, most of the errors and abuses of Popery, under which, not only Germany, but all Christendom, was groaning together. This appeal soon reached all those for whom it was intended. It was read in every palace, in every castle, and we had almost said in every hovel, of Germany; and while the friends of the reformer trembled, and his enemies raved, the writing was producing its appropriate effect. Nearly at the same time, he hurled another thunderbolt at the head of the beast in the form of a tract “On the Babylonian Captivity of the Church.” In it he denounces the Papacy as “Babylon, the mother of harlots, who lives only for the snaring and ruining of captured souls.” He concludes his tract with these memorable words: “I hear that new Papal bulls and anathemas have been concocted against me. If so, let this book be regarded as a part of my future recantation. The rest will soon follow; and the whole will constitute such a recantation as Rome has never yet seen or heard of.”

While these events were passing in Germany, Dr. Eck had repaired to Rome, that, by his influence there, he might hasten the destruction of his indomitable adversary. He found Leo X. rather indisposed, at first, to listen to his counsels; wishing to try still further the effect of milder methods. “May not this intrepid monk, after all, be gained over? Is it possible that the Church’s power, aided by Italian artifice, should be defeated? Miltitz is still in Germany; and further negotiation must be attempted.” Thus reasoned the more politic counsellors at Rome. But Eck and his party were resolved not to be foiled. They besieged the pope and the cardinals night and day. All attempts at conciliation, they insisted, were useless: the gangrened member must be cut off. They aroused the court and the convents. In their daily walks through the streets they vented their anger, and called aloud for vengeance. “Eck is

moving against me," says Luther, "not only earth, but hell;" and at length he succeeded in his bloody object. The pontiff began to yield; the condemnation was determined on; and Eck breathed more freely. The doctrines of Luther were abjured at once, and his books condemned to be burnt; but to him personally a respite of sixty days was given in which to forward his recantation. If it did not come in that time, he and his adherents were sentenced as contumacious heretics. The bull concludes with a long train of excommunications, maledictions, and interdicts against Luther and his partisans, with orders to seize their persons and send them to Rome.

After the publication of this bull, but before it was received or known in Germany, Miltitz set on foot another negotiation, with a view to the reconciliation of Luther to Rome. All he required now was, that Luther should write a letter to the pope, assuring him that he had never laid any plots against his person. "That will suffice," said he, "to terminate the whole affair." Luther had no kind of objection to writing such a letter, though he seems to have had little confidence in its efficacy. After the news of the bull had been received in Germany, he was quite discouraged, and declined writing altogether, but Miltitz persuaded him to make another effort. The principal object of Miltitz at this-time was to disappoint and humble Eck.

As this blustering agitator had been chiefly instrumental in procuring the bull of excommunication, so he was the appointed messenger to introduce it into Saxony. He hoped to stop the Reformation by destroying Luther. Miltitz wished, if possible, to disappoint him, and bring it to an end in a different way. He urged Luther to write the proposed letter to the pope, and to renew his former agreement as to desisting from the controversy; to all which Luther at length consented. "I promise to keep silence," said he, "if my adversaries will do the same." Miltitz was again overjoyed at his success. He heaped attentions and flatteries upon Luther, and wrote at once to the elector that the difficulties would soon be healed.

In fulfilment of his promise, Luther sat down to write once more to the pontiff. It was the last effort of this kind that he was ever to make. His letter has been differently characterized by different persons; some regarding it as a bitter and insulting satire, and others as made up of forced and hypocritical concessions. But in truth it was neither the one nor the other, but

rather a message of solemn warning, designed and adapted to stir up the mind of the pontiff to a serious investigation and correction of abuses. He begins by saying, that, so far from harboring the least ill-will towards him, his daily prayer is that God would bestow upon him every kind of blessing. He apologizes for his attacks upon the Church of Rome by exposing its manifold abuses and corruptions. "It has become a den of thieves, a scene of open prostitution, a kingdom of death and hell; and you, O Leo! you are the most unfortunate of men to preside over such a church, to sit upon such a throne! I tell you the truth, Leo, not because I hate you, but because I wish you well."

Luther represents to his Holiness the treatment he had received from Cardinal Cajetan, and how the endeavors of Miltitz to bring about a reconciliation had been defeated by the vainglorious interference of Dr. Eck. "Upon him," says he, "must lie the blame of that defeat which has covered Rome with shame."

While the bold reformer was thus addressing himself for the last time to the Roman pontiff, the terrible bull of excommunication was already in the hands of the dignitaries of the German Church, and at the doors of Luther's dwelling. Dr. Eck, the bearer of it, was advancing with great pomp and pride for the execution of his dread commission; but his pride was destined to be again humbled. His appointment to the office of nuncio created an almost universal dissatisfaction in Germany. Many disregarded the bull altogether, affirming it to be the production of Eck, and not of the pontiff, and, where its authority was acknowledged, the work of publishing it was attended with much difficulty and delay. At Leipsic, Eck was publicly insulted, and so much affrighted, that he trembled in every limb. At Erfurt, the students seized the copies of his bull, tore them in pieces, and threw them into the river. He did not dare to show himself at Wittenberg, but sent the bull to the prior of the convent, who refused to publish it. Luther treated the whole matter with ridicule and contempt. "I know nothing of Eck's movements," said he, "except that he has arrived with a long bull, a long beard, and a long purse; but I laugh at the whole of them." Meanwhile he comforted himself with the consideration that the Lord reigned, and that he had the whole affair under his all-wise and supreme control. Not a sparrow or a leaf falls without our Father; and will he not much rather care for us?

It was on the 3d of October that the Papal rescript came into

the hands of Luther. "I despise it," said he, "and resist it as impious and false, and every way worthy of Eck. It is Christ himself who is therein condemned. No reasons are given for it. I will treat it as a forgery, although I believe it to be genuine. Already I feel in my heart more liberty; for I now know that the pope is Antichrist, and that his chair is that of Satan himself."

The eyes of all Germany were now turned anxiously towards the reformer. "What will he do? Will he succumb and recant? or will he stand firm?" Nor did he keep the public long in suspense. By the decrees and acts of the great Council of Constance, a general council is superior to the pope; and, standing on this fundamental principle, Luther made his appeal in the most solemn terms to a general council; or, rather, he *renewed* the appeal which he had once made on a former occasion: "I, Martin Luther, doctor of the Holy Scriptures at Wittenberg, on my own behalf, and on behalf of such as stand, or shall stand, on my side, do, by this instrument, appeal from his Holiness Pope Leo to a general Christian council hereafter to be held. I appeal from the afore-said Leo, first, as an unjust judge, who condemns me without having heard me, and without declaring the grounds of his judgment; secondly, as a heretic and apostate, misguided, hardened, and condemned by Holy Writ, who requires me to deny the necessity of Christian faith in the use of the sacraments; thirdly, as an enemy, an antichrist, an adversary of the Scriptures, and a usurper of their authority, who sets up his own decrees against the declarations of the divine word; and, fourthly, as a contemner, calumniator, and blasphemer of the holy Christian Church and of every free council,—who asserts that a council is nothing of itself." He concludes with calling upon "the emperor, the electors, princes, counts, barons, knights, gentlemen, cities, and municipalities of the whole German nation," to adhere to his protest, and unite with him to resist the anti-Christian proceedings of the pope. "But if there be any," says he, "who set at nought my entreaties, and prefer to obey the pope rather than God, I do hereby disavow all responsibility on their account, and leave them, together with the pope and all his adherents, to the final judgment of the Almighty."

One would have thought that a protest such as this, which was speedily circulated throughout Christendom, was an act sufficiently bold and decisive; but it did not satisfy the mind of Luther. He determined that in nothing would he fall behind Rome. The

pontiff was burning his books ; and he resolved that he would have a bonfire also. Accordingly, on the 10th of December, at early dawn, a placard was affixed to the walls of the university, inviting the professors and students to meet at nine in the morning, at the east gate, beside the holy cross. A vast number of doctors and students assembled ; and Luther, putting himself at their head, led the procession to the appointed spot. A scaffold had been erected, the wood prepared ; and fire was set to it. As the flames arose, Luther drew nigh, and cast into the midst of them the canon law, the decretals of the popes, and a portion of the works of Dr. Eek. When these had been consumed, he took in his hand the pope's bull, held it up, and said with a loud voice, " Since thou hast afflicted the Lord's Holy One (Christ), may fire unquenchable afflict and consume thee ! " Whereupon he threw it into the flames. He then, with perfect composure, put himself at the head of the procession ; and all marched back again to the city.

By this act, Luther distinctly proclaimed his separation from the Papal Church. He accepted the excommunication which Rome had pronounced. He declared in the face of all Christendom, that henceforth there was to be war between him and the pope, even to the death. " Hitherto," said he, " I have been only jesting with the pope. The mighty struggle is but just begun. I entered upon this work in the name of God ; and God will bring it to a successful issue. If they dare to burn my books, of which it is no vain boast to say that they contain more of the gospel than all the pope's books put together, I may, with far better reason, burn theirs, which are entirely worthless."

On the morning after the burning above described, Luther lectured as usual in the great hall of the university, which was excessively crowded. At the close of his lecture, he warned his hearers in the most solemn manner to be on their guard against the laws, the doctrines, and the machinations of Rome. " If you do not," said he, " with your whole heart, resist the impious usurpations of the pope, you cannot be saved. Whosoever takes pleasure in Romish superstition and worship will assuredly be lost to all eternity. True, if we reject that false creed, we must expect to encounter every kind of danger ; but far better expose ourselves to danger here than to destruction hereafter. For my own part, I will never cease to warn my brethren of their danger, lest any of those who now walk with us should backslide into the pit of hell."

This was new and solemn doctrine to those who heard it. They had been told often that there was no salvation out of the Romish Church: they were now led to fear that there was none in it. Especially were they led to fear that their fall would be irretrievable and eternal, if, after having been once enlightened, they fell back again into the delusions of Rome.

The proceedings above detailed mark an important epoch in the history of the Reformation. At the east gate of Wittenberg, Luther kindled a flame which three centuries have not been able to extinguish. His undaunted spirit was speedily communicated to his friends; and lips were opened to plead this great cause, which, up to this time, had been closed in silence.

Melancthon addressed a discourse to the states of the empire, which for elegance of style, and strength of reasoning, has rarely been excelled. After having proved from Scripture that the pope is not superior to other bishops, he inquires of the States, "What hinders us from depriving the pontiff of that authority with which we have ourselves invested him? Recollect that you are Christians, princes of a Christian nation; and hasten, I beseech you, to rescue the piteous wreck of Christianity from the tyrannous hands of Antichrist. They who persuade you that you have no jurisdiction over these priests are deceiving you grossly. Let the same spirit which animated Jehu against the priests of Baal urge you, by that memorable example, to crush the Romish superstition, — a superstition more detestable than that of Baal itself."

Some of the friends of the Reformation were alarmed at the steps which had been taken, and gave utterance to their feelings of concern and terror. Among these was Luther's earliest religious friend and spiritual father, Staupitz. But, in writing to him, Luther gave no intimation of concession or conciliation. "All that has been done as yet," said he, "is mere play. The tumult is continually becoming more tumultuous. The Papacy has ceased to be what it was yesterday and the day before. It may burn my writings, and put me to death; but the Reformation, which is now in progress, it can never stop."

As Luther had long and often been urged to retract, he published at this time what he called his "Retractions." They were his regrets, that, in regard to many points which had been up for discussion, he had not gone far enough, or spoken with sufficient energy and decision: he had not spoken out as he ought against indulgences, and the supremacy of the pope, and purgatory,

and priestly absolution. "I once said that *some* of the articles propounded by John Huss were orthodox ; but I now say they are *all* so. In condemning Huss, the pope condemned the gospel. I have gone five times as far as he ; and yet I greatly fear that I have not gone far enough."

The elector was not in Saxony at the time when the excommunication of Luther was received there, but at Aix la Chapelle, where he had gone to attend the coronation of Charles V. During his absence, the question was often and anxiously revolved, "What course will the elector take in regard to this bull of excommunication? Will he concur in the execution of it? or will he disregard it? Will he protect the reformer? or will he abandon him?"

These questions were more easily asked than answered. The cautious Frederic had not yet committed himself to the cause of the Reformation ; and the pope had two powerful legates in attendance at the coronation, who would exert all their influence with the new emperor, the German princes, and especially with Frederic, to effect the destruction of the doomed heretic. One of these, Aleander, was peculiarly violent, and would listen to no remedy for existing difficulties but that of fire. Said he to Frederic, "Either inflict yourself upon the heretic the punishment he deserves, or consent to send him a prisoner to Rome." But the elector replied, "This is a matter of too much importance to be decided hastily. Our determination in regard to it will be communicated in due time."

With the elector, there were some powerful intercessors on the side of Luther as well as against him. Such, in particular, were Spalatin the chaplain, and John Frederic his nephew, who had fully embraced the reformer's doctrines. But that which pleaded more powerfully than any thing in behalf of Luther was the manifest justice of his cause. The elector shuddered at the thought of delivering up such a man as he knew him to be into the hands of his implacable enemies. He therefore notified the legates that at present Luther could not be delivered up to them, and requested that he might first be permitted to answer for himself before a learned, pious, and impartial tribunal.

This decision threw Aleander into a great passion, but was received by the friends of Luther at Wittenberg with transports of joy. The elector was much strengthened in it by an interview which he had just at this time with the learned Erasmus. The first

question which he put to Erasmus was, "What do you think of Luther?" The cautious Erasmus endeavored to evade an answer; but Frederic insisted upon an explicit reply. "I think, then," said Erasmus in a jocular tone, "that Luther has committed two great faults,— he has attacked the pope's crown and the monks' bellies." The elector smiled, but intimated that his question was a serious one, and that he expected a serious answer. Erasmus then went on to say, "The origin of all these dissensions is the hatred, ambition, and vulgarity of the monks. What are the weapons of their warfare against Luther? — clamor, cabal, malice, and slander. The more virtuous a man is, and the more strongly attached to the doctrines of the gospel, the less does he find to censure in Luther's proceedings. The severity of the bull, for which we are indebted to the monks, has roused the indignation of all good men. The danger of executing such a bull is far greater than some persons imagine. To begin the reign of Charles with so unpopular an act as the imprisonment of Luther would be an ill omen for the future. The whole question should be examined by dispassionate and competent judges. This is the only course that can be followed consistently with the dignity of the pope himself."

This was an honest hour with Erasmus. The presence of the elector and of Spalatin threw him off his guard; and he spoke with a frankness to which he was not accustomed. He even consented to reduce his opinion to writing, and left it with Spalatin, though he afterwards requested to withdraw the paper.

Defeated in their public attempts to effect the destruction of Luther, the priests next had recourse to the confessional. They pressed upon the consciences of those who sought absolution inquiries such as these: "Have you read the writings of Luther? Have you any of them in your possession? Do you regard them as true, or as heretical?" If the penitent hesitated to pronounce the prescribed anathema, the priest refused him absolution. In this way, the consciences of many were distressed; and some who had embraced the gospel seemed likely to be brought again under the Papal yoke. Luther was soon informed of what was going on, and at once lifted up his indignant voice against it. He published an address to penitents, calculated to relieve their fears, and inspire them with courage and resolution: "When you are asked whether or not you approve of my books, say to the priest, 'Sir, you are a confessor, but not an inquisitor or jailer. It is my duty to confess whatever my conscience prompts me to disclose: it is yours to

abstain from prying into my private opinions and feelings. Give me absolution first, and then dispute with Luther or the pope, or whomsoever you please ; but beware of turning the sacrament of penance into an instrument of strife and debate.' And, if the confessor refuses to yield, dispense altogether with his absolution. If man will not absolve you, God will ; and, being absolved by God himself, come forward fearlessly to the sacrament of the altar." This stirring exhortation was read in many a private dwelling, and awakened courage and faith in many a troubled and desponding heart.

But it was not enough for Luther to stand on the defensive. He felt that he must become the assailant, and return (as his custom was) blow for blow. "I will raise the choler of that Italian beast," he said ; and he kept his word. He published a work, in which he proved from the prophecies of Daniel and John, and from the epistles of Paul, Peter, and Jude, that the kingdom of Antichrist described in the Bible was no other than the Papacy. Perhaps none of the works of Luther had a more powerful influence on the general mind than this. The fearful image of Antichrist, seated on the pontifical throne, was present to every imagination, and filled it with a sacred dread.

Notwithstanding the anathemas of the Papal bull, the popularity of the reformer at Wittenberg had never been so great at any time as now. The university was thronged with students ; and the largest church in the city was too small for the eager crowds that hung on the lips of Luther. From all parts of Germany, — from princes, nobles, scholars, and persons of every grade in life, — letters poured in upon the reformer, speaking the language of encouragement and faith. Three printing-presses were constantly employed in multiplying copies of his various writings. His discourses, like so many winged messengers of truth, passed rapidly from hand to hand, diffusing light and consolation in the cottage, the cloister, and in the abodes of kings.

But, in the midst of all his encouragements, the great reformer had some trials. He had the mortification to see some of his early friends inclined to waver, and retrace their steps. In particular, this was the case with his old friend Staupitz. He had been suspected and accused, but had weakly consented to submit to the judgment of his Holiness : whereupon Luther wrote to him with much affection, but with great plainness, warning him of the terrible consequences of the course he was taking.

In the beginning of the year 1521, the first diet of the German States held since the accession of Charles to the empire convened at Worms. The occasion was one of great interest. The expected presence of the emperor, as well as the certainty that many difficult and important questions were to be decided, drew most of the German princes together. But the question of all others the most interesting and perplexing to the diet was that of the Reformation. Luther was an excommunicated man; and were the anathemas of the pope to be executed upon him? or was he to be sheltered and protected, at least until he could have a hearing?

Before the assembling of the diet, Charles had written to Frederic, requesting that he would bring Luther along with him; and Luther had determined at all hazards to go. But, as the time approached, the courage of the elector failed him. He feared that to take Luther to Worms would be to conduct him to a scaffold. And, as Providence would have it, the emperor himself (influenced chiefly by Aleander, the pope's legate) gave orders that Luther should be left at Wittenberg. In the absence of Luther, Aleander used every means with the members of the diet to effect his destruction. He accused him, not only of disobedience and heresy, but of sedition, rebellion, impiety, and blasphemy; and, when these failed to arouse the members, he resorted to the distribution of bribes. He wrote to Rome in the most pressing language for money; and, when it came, he freely gave it to all who would submit to receive it. He had liberty to address the diet, and furiously harangued them for three long hours. Still the princes could not be brought to accede to his wishes. Instead of formally condemning Luther, they brought forward a long list of grievances which the Germans were suffering from the hands of the pope, and which they demanded should be redressed.

It is remarkable that these grievances were presented by George, duke of Saxony, the most inveterate hater of Luther in the whole assembly. He complained of the *annats*, by which the empire was yearly drained of large sums of money; of the leasing and sale of ecclesiastical benefices; of the toleration granted to rich offenders, while the poor were severely punished; of the gross perversion of the funds of the Church for the private benefit of the pope and his dependants; of the shops kept open in the large cities for the sale of indulgences; that ecclesiastics were permitted to indulge in practices for which other men were degraded and punished; and that penances were so devised as to betray the pen-

itent into a repetition of his offence in order that more money might be exacted from him. "These," said the noble duke, "are some of the abuses which cry out to Rome for redress. All shame is laid aside, and one object alone incessantly pursued, — money, money, evermore money!"

After the duke had thus freely and plainly spoken, other members of the diet brought forward their grievances. Even the ecclesiastical princes concurred in these complaints. "The pontiff," said they, "is occupied only with pleasures and the chase; while the church-preferments of Germany are bestowed upon gunners, falconers, valets, ass-drivers, grooms, guardsmen, and other people of the same stamp, ignorant, inexperienced, corrupt, and strangers to our nation." Luther himself had never spoken with greater boldness of the abuses of Rome than did some of the Catholic members of the diet at Worms.

In consequence of these complaints, the diet appointed a committee to draw up and report a list of their grievances. The enumeration extended to a hundred and one; all which were duly reported to the emperor, with an earnest request that a reformation might be undertaken, and justice done.

This remonstrance of the diet surprised both Aleander and the emperor. It had not been expected. They were still more surprised to discover an unwillingness on the part of the assembly to decide upon the case of Luther in his absence. His friends insisted that he must be present, and face his accusers, that the assembly might learn from his own lips whether the charges against him could be sustained.

At these suggestions, Aleander was greatly disturbed and alarmed. He dreaded nothing so much as the presence of Luther in the diet. "How can you be sure," said he to the emperor, "that the genius of this audacious man, the flashes of his eye, the eloquence of his speech, and the mysterious spirit which seems to animate him, will not suffice to create a tumult?" Still the voice of the diet was not to be disregarded. As the appearance of Luther before the assembly seemed absolutely necessary in order to an adjustment of difficulties, Charles resolved to summon him. Accordingly, a special messenger was appointed to communicate the summons to Luther, to carry him a safe conduct, and to escort him to Worms. The sequel will be given in the next chapter.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

THE REFORMATION IN GERMANY.—LIFE OF LUTHER CONTINUED.

ON the 24th of March, 1521, the imperial herald arrived at Wittenberg, delivered to Luther his safe conduct, and summoned him to appear at Worms. To all the friends of the reformer it was a moment of anxiety and terror; but he received the message with entire composure. "The Papists," said he, "have no desire to see me at Worms; but they long for my condemnation and death. No matter! Pray, not for me, but for the word of God. My blood will scarcely be cold before thousands and tens of thousands in every land will be made to answer for the shedding of it. Christ will give me his Spirit to overcome these man-slayers, these ministers of Satan. I despise them while I live: I will conquer them when I die. They are striving hard to force me to recant. My recantation shall be this: *I once said that the pope was Christ's vicar upon earth. I now say that he is the adversary of the Lord, and the apostle of the Devil.*"

It was a providential occurrence for the Reformation that Bugenhagen (more frequently called Pomeranus), a noble and powerful preacher of the gospel, who had been driven out of Pomerania by persecution, sought a refuge at Wittenberg just as Luther was ready to depart. He was received with much cordiality, became pastor of the church, and ministered to it for the next thirty-six years.

It was on the 2d of April that Luther left Wittenberg. As he departed, he said to Melancthon with much emotion, "If I never return, cease not, brother, to teach and stand fast in the truth. Labor in my stead when I can no longer work. If you are spared, my death will matter little." He was accompanied in his carriage by a legal counsellor whose name was Schurff, by his friend Amsdorff, and a pious student. The imperial herald, in full costume, and wearing the imperial eagle, rode before them. In all

places through which they passed, there seemed to be a general presentiment that Luther was going to meet his doom: still he was unmoved. At Weimar he had an interview with Duke John, the elector's brother; at whose request he consented to preach. The sermon was blessed to the conversion of a Franciscan monk.

As he approached Erfurt, he was met by a troop of horsemen who came out of the town to do him honor. They escorted him to the convent of the Augustinians, — the same in which he formerly resided, — where he was to lodge. On the following Sunday, he preached to an immense crowd; saying not a word about himself or his peculiar circumstances, but publishing salvation by the blood of the cross.

At Erfurt, Luther became first acquainted with Justus Jonas, who solicited and obtained the privilege of accompanying him to Worms. Jonas afterwards became provost of the church at Wittenberg, where he continued to labor to the end of life.

At Eisenach, Luther was taken ill; but, in consequence of bleeding and the use of cordials, he was so much revived as to be able to pursue his journey the following day. Arrived at Frankfort, he rested a little, and dropped a line to Spalatin, — the only one he had written during his journey. "My enemies," said he, "would fain terrify me: but Christ lives; and we shall enter Worms in spite of all the councils of earth and hell. Therefore engage a lodging for me."

When the partisans of Popery found that Luther was really coming, they were alarmed. Some expedient must be resorted to to stop him, at least till the term of his safe conduct expired (and this lasted but three days more), when they might safely put him out of the way. And so they sent out messengers to meet him, with a view to draw him into a compromise; but he saw through it all, and refused to listen. "If you have any thing to say to me, you will find me at Worms. I repair to the place of summons."

Meanwhile Spalatin himself began to have some fearful apprehensions, and sent out a servant to say to him, "Better not venture to enter Worms now." It was on this occasion that Luther made to the servant the following memorable declaration: "Go tell your master that I shall enter the city of Worms although there may be as many devils there as there are tiles on the roofs of the houses." The intrepidity of Luther seemed to impart new life and animation to his friends.

It was on the morning of the 16th of April that Luther discovered the walls of the ancient city. All were expecting him. Not less than a hundred individuals — nobles, cavaliers, and other gentlemen — rode out to meet him, and escorted him to the gates. A train of two thousand persons accompanied him through the streets of the city. The concourse was even greater than at the public entry of the emperor. The herald of the empire at length stopped before the hotel of the Knights of Rhodes, where lodgings had been provided for him. As Luther alighted from his carriage, he said, "God will be my defence."

The news of his arrival was received with alarm by many, both friends and enemies, and with the deepest interest by all. The emperor immediately convened his confidential advisers to know what was to be done. Some said, "Let your Majesty rid yourself of this man at once. Did not Sigismund bring John Huss to the stake? One is under no obligations to observe a safe conduct in the case of heretics." But Charles could not consent to such diabolical counsels. It was therefore agreed that the reformer must be heard; and four o'clock on the following day was appointed for the public hearing.

The summons to appear was received by Luther with profound respect, though he was at that time suffering from an unusual degree of mental depression. He spent most of the intervening time in prayer, and such prayer as rarely, if ever before, fell from uninspired lips. "O Lord, help me! O faithful and unchangeable God, help me! I lean not upon man: that were vain. Whatever is from man is tottering; whatever proceeds from him must fail. But thou hast chosen me for this work: I know it. Therefore, O God! accomplish thine own will. Forsake me not, for the sake of thy well-beloved Son, Jesus Christ, my defence, my buckler, and my strong tower." In prayer such as this we see where Luther's great strength lay, — that strength which sustained him, comforted him, and brought him off a conqueror.

At four o'clock, the marshal of the empire appeared; and Luther prepared to accompany him. His prayer had been heard; and his mind was now calm and tranquil. But, as he passed out from his hotel, the crowd was so dense, that it was found impossible to advance, except through private paths and back ways, to the place where the diet was assembled. And, when they arrived at the town-hall, the gate could not be reached or forced until a passage was cleared by the soldiers with their halberds. But the interven-

ing difficulties were at length overcome ; and Luther was ushered into the presence of his judges. Never had any man appeared before a more august assembly. Here were the Emperor Charles, and his brother the archduke of Austria ; six electors of the empire ; twenty-four dukes ; eight margraves ; thirty archbishops and bishops ; seven ambassadors, including those of France and England ; the deputies of ten free cities ; several princes, counts, and barons, together with the pope's legates, — in all, two hundred persons. Such was the assemblage before which now stood Martin Luther.

His very appearance there was a victory over the Papacy. The man whom the pope has adjudged a heretic, and placed under an interdict, and thus struck him out from all human fellowship, is received before the noblest of human auditories. When the pope has declared that his lips shall be sealed forever, he is about to open them in the presence of thousands assembled from the remotest parts of Christendom.

When Luther had advanced to the foot of the throne, the archbishop of Trèves put to him the following questions: "First, Do you acknowledge these writings" (pointing to a pile of books lying on the table) "to have been composed by you? Secondly, Are you prepared to retract these works and the propositions contained therein? or do you persist in what you have published?"

When the titles of the books had been read, Luther answered the first question by saying, "Unless the books shall have been mutilated and altered, I acknowledge myself to be their author. But as to the second question, seeing that it relates to faith, and the salvation of souls, I cannot answer without reflection. I might say less than circumstances demand, or more than truth requires ; and so sin against Christ : therefore I most humbly desire his imperial Majesty to allow me time, that I may answer without offending against the word of God."

This reasonable request, after some deliberation, was granted ; and Luther was allowed to defer his answer till the next day. The enemies of Luther were much encouraged by his request for delay. "He has begged for time," said they : "he is going to retract." But Luther had no thought of a recantation. "By the help of God," said he after having returned to his hotel, "I will not retract a single letter of my writings."

At the hour appointed, Luther was conducted again to the hall where the diet was assembled. His mind was now serene and

happy ; his countenance shone ; and his heart was dilated with joy : the Eternal, in whom he trusted, had placed him on a rock. When the archbishop of Trèves demanded whether he wished to retract any part of his writings, or whether he was determined to defend them, he answered as follows : “ Most serene emperor, and you illustrious princes and gracious lords, I this day appear before you in all humility, according to your command ; and I implore your Majesty and your august Highnesses, by the mercies of God, to listen with favor to the defence of a cause which I am well assured is just and right. Two questions were put to me yesterday by his imperial Majesty, the first of which I answered ; and to that answer I adhere. As to the second, I have composed writings on very different subjects. In some, I have discussed faith and good works in a spirit so pure, clear, and Christian, that even my adversaries confess these writings to be profitable, and worthy to be perused by devout persons. What, then, should I be doing were I to retract any of these writings ? I should be found abandoning truths and opposing doctrines which the whole world glories in professing.

“ I have composed certain works against Popery, wherein I have assailed those who by false doctrines and scandalous practices afflict the Christian world, and ruin the bodies and souls of men ; and is not this confirmed to the grief of all who fear God ? Is it not manifest that the laws and doctrines of the popes entangle and distress the consciences of the faithful, whilst the crying and endless extortions of Rome ingulf the property and wealth of Christendom, and more particularly of this German nation ? If I were to revoke what I have written against Popery, should I not strengthen this tyranny, and open a wider door to so many and flagrant impieties ? And then we should behold these proud men bearing down all resistance ; swelling, foaming, and raging more than ever ; and I should become like an infamous cloak used to hide and cover over every species of malice and tyranny.

“ In the third place, I have written some books against private individuals who had undertaken to defend the tyranny of Rome, and to destroy the faith. I confess that I may have attacked such persons with more violence than was becoming my sacred profession. But neither can I retract these books ; because, by so doing, I should sanction the impiety of my opponents, who would thence take occasion more cruelly to crush the people of God. I can only say of them what Christ said of his opponents, ‘ *If I have spoken evil, bear witness of the evil.*’

“Most serene emperor, and you illustrious princes, I implore you, by the mercies of God, to prove to me by the writings of the apostles and prophets that I am in error. As soon as I shall be convinced on such grounds, I will retract all my errors, and will be the first to seize my writings and commit them to the flames.”

Luther concluded by warning his august hearers, lest, in their endeavors to heal discords, they should be found fighting against the word of God, and thus bring down upon their heads a frightful deluge of present disasters and everlasting desolations. He excuses himself for having spoken so plainly. “But I wish,” said he, “to acquit myself of a duty which Germany has a right to expect from all her children; and so, commending myself to your august Majesty and your most serene Highnesses, I beseech you in all humility not to permit the hatred of my enemies to rain upon me an indignation which I have not deserved.”

As soon as he was through, the archbishop of Trèves inquired of him angrily why he had not returned a clear and distinct answer to the question, “*Will you, or will you not, retract?*” To this Luther replied, “I cannot submit my faith either to the pope or the councils. Unless I am convinced from the Holy Scriptures or from reason, I neither can nor will retract any thing; for it cannot be right for a Christian to speak against his conscience.” And then, turning a look on that venerable assembly before which he stood, and which held in its hands his life or his death, he added, “Here I stand, and can say no more: God help me! Amen.”

After a few moments, during which the assembly sat motionless with astonishment, if not with admiration, the archbishop resumed: “If you have nothing to retract, the emperor and the princes will proceed to consider in what manner they shall deal with an obstinate heretic.” To which Luther replied, “The Lord be my helper! I can retract nothing.”

Luther now withdrew, but after a little time was called back; when the archbishop thus addressed him: “Martin, you have not spoken with that humility which befits your condition. It is absurd for you to require to be refuted by Scripture, when you are reviving heresies condemned by the great Council of Constance. The emperor requires you to say yes or no; whether you mean to affirm what you have advanced, or whether you desire to retract any thing.”—“I have no answer to give,” replied Luther, “except that which I have already given.” The

assembly understood him, and adjourned to meet the next morning to hear the emperor's decision.

The impression produced by the address and demeanor of Luther before the diet was deep and powerful. The elector of Saxony was delighted with him, and was evidently proud of having such a veteran under his patronage. He resolved from this time to afford him a more efficient protection. Other members of the diet were won over to his cause, and became at a later period the decided patrons of the Reformation.

The emperor, however, could not divest himself of his prejudices, and of the various insuaring influences with which he was surrounded. The day following, when the diet came together, he declared his unalterable resolution to tread in the footsteps of his ancestors, and defend the faith of Rome. "A single monk, led astray by his own madness, erects himself against the faith of Christendom. I will sacrifice my kingdoms, my power, my friends, my treasure, my body, and my blood, to stay the farther progress of this impiety. I am about to dismiss Luther, forbidding him to make the least disturbance among the people. I will then take measures against him and his adherents, and use every means necessary to their destruction. I call upon the members of the States to comport themselves as faithful Christians."

This indiscreet declaration on the part of the emperor produced great complaints and murmurs in the assembly. By giving his opinion first, he had broken the established rules of the diet. He had prejudged the cause of Luther; and the right of the princes to act freely in the matter was taken away. Party spirit ran high. The enemies of Luther were for killing him outright: his safe conduct ought not to be respected. But this disgraceful proposal found little favor among the Germans. Even Duke George cried out against it.

For the next two or three days, the most earnest efforts were made, in a private way, to bring Luther to a recantation; but neither exhortations nor promises, flatteries nor frowns, availed to change his resolution. Rather than give up the word of God, where the case was clear, he would willingly lay down his life.

When all other plans of compromise had failed, Luther was urged by his friends to renew his appeal to a general council. To this he consented, but on the express condition that the council should decide according to the Scriptures.

Some of the Romanists asked him, "What remedy would *you*

propose for the healing of these dissensions?" To this Luther replied in the words of Gamaliel, "Refrain from these men, and let them alone. If this work be of men, it will come to nought: but, if it be of God, ye cannot overthrow it; lest haply ye be found to fight even against God."

Shortly after this conversation, Luther received the emperor's orders to return to Wittenberg; pledging the public faith for his personal safety for twenty-one days. He returned his thanks to the emperor, and to the other members of the diet, for the patience with which they had listened to him. "I have not," said he, "and never have had, but one wish in regard to this matter; and that is a reformation of the Church according to the Scriptures. I am ready to do or suffer any thing in obedience to the emperor's will. Life or death, honor or dishonor, I will bear. I make but one reservation,—the word of God must not be bound; the preaching of the gospel must be free."

On Friday morning, April 26, Luther gave his blessing to those around him, and left Worms. Twenty gentlemen on horseback surrounded his carriage. A crowd accompanied him outside the city. As he passed those walls which many predicted would be his tomb, his heart overflowed with gratitude and praise to God. "The Devil has been obliged to confess," said he, "that Christ is mightier than he."

At Frankfort, he found time to write the following brief but characteristic letter in reference to what had been done at Worms: "I expected his Majesty would assemble fifty learned doctors to convict the monk outright; but nothing of this was done. 'Are these books of your writing?'—'Yes.'—'Will you retract them?'—'No.'—'Well, then, begone!' There is the whole story. Deluded Germans! how are we duped and defrauded by Rome!"

While on his journey, Luther found time to address messages to the emperor, and also to the princes whom he had left at Worms. In these he explained clearly the obedience which the Christian owes to his sovereign, and that which is due to God; and marked the point at which the former must give place to the latter. "Subjection in spiritual things," said he, "is a real worship, which should be rendered only to the Creator."

On his way to Wittenberg, Luther passed through Eisenach, which had been the scene of his childhood, and where he preached. He spent a day here with his relatives; which was the more grateful to him on account of the turmoils through which he had passed.

Soon after leaving here, he and his company encountered an incident which had a great effect upon the reformer's future life. As they were passing a narrow defile, suddenly five horsemen, masked, and armed from head to foot, fell upon them. Two of the assailants seized the driver and Amsdorff, and held them fast; while the other three took Luther from the carriage, threw a knight's cloak over him, and put him upon a horse which they had with them. This done, the whole five sprang into their saddles, leaving the driver and Amsdorff to shift for themselves; and in a moment they and their prisoner disappeared in the thick gloom of the forest. The news flew like lightning through all the towns and villages of the country that Luther had been carried off. Some rejoiced at the report; but the greater number were struck with astonishment and indignation; and soon a cry of grief resounded throughout Germany, "Luther has fallen into the hands of his enemies!"

The party which had captured Luther continued in the forest during the day; but, when night came, they took him directly to the ancient Castle of Wartburg. This was a lofty, isolated pile, situated on the summit of a hill, and surrounded on all sides, except one, by the forests of Thüringen. Here he was stripped of his ecclesiastical habit, and dressed throughout in the garb of a knight. He was commanded not to cut his hair or beard; and the attendants of the castle were to know him only by the name of Knight George.

This sudden capture and confinement of Luther was undoubtedly a plan of the elector of Saxony, who knew not how to protect him in any other way. It is possible that the plan was disclosed to Luther a short time before his departure from Worms; yet so deeply was the whole transaction involved in mystery, and so artfully was it accomplished, that even Frederic himself was for a long time ignorant of the place where Luther was concealed.

But we must return for a moment to the diet at Worms. Shortly after the departure of Luther, most of the princes who were favorable to him left the place. The Italians and Spaniards, with the strongly Catholic princes, alone remained. Alexander had every thing his own way. He therefore drew up an edict, and persuaded the emperor to sign it, charging upon Luther the most horrible crimes, and condemning him, and all who harbored or aided him, with the severest punishment. "We enjoin," says the edict, "that you seize him, or cause him to be seized, wherever he may be, and bring him before us without delay, or hold him in

durance until you shall be informed how to deal with him; and, if any one shall dare to act contrary to this decree, we command that he be placed under the ban of the empire."

This bloody decree was antedated several days, that it might seem to have been passed when the diet was full. It caused great joy among the bigoted Romanists. They exclaimed aloud, "The tragedy is over!" But events soon proved that it was not over. For various reasons, the decree fell powerless to the ground, and produced almost no effect. The Romanists soon began to complain, that, "before the ink with which it was written had time to dry, the edict was virtually torn to pieces." It could have been executed in Germany only at the point of the sword; and the emperor had enough else to do without staying there to enforce it.

For a time, Luther enjoyed the quiet of the castle, which he called his Patmos. But ere long his health began to suffer; and, as a natural consequence, his spirits were depressed. His table was too richly stored; and he found it necessary to return to the poorer fare to which he had been accustomed. He also took more exercise, and was allowed occasionally a degree of liberty. He continued to study the Holy Scriptures, and was often engaged in preparing letters and tracts. Indeed, his pen was never idle. His enemies thought him dead or silenced; but he soon convinced them that he was still able to make his voice to be heard. For almost a year, he continued to thunder from his mountain-height, — tract following tract in such rapid succession, that his astonished adversaries began to think that there was something supernatural in so prodigious an activity.

But Luther was destined to perform a more important work for his nation than any he had yet accomplished; and the foundations of this work were laid, and a considerable part of it completed, during his confinement in the Wartburg. It was to give to the Germans the Scriptures in their own mother-tongue. He commenced with the New Testament; and, at the time of his enlargement, this was nearly ready for the press.

While Luther was employed in translating the New Testament, he was tormented by seeming apparitions of the Wicked One. In imagination, "he saw him rearing before him his gigantic form, lifting his finger as if in threatening, grinning triumphantly, and grinding his teeth in fearful rage. One day, while he was translating, Luther thought that he saw his grand enemy moving round

him like a lion, and threatening to spring upon his prey. Aroused and alarmed, he seized his inkstand, and threw it at the Devil's head. The apparition vanished; the ink-bottle was dashed in pieces: and to this day the keeper of the Wartburg points out to travellers the mark made by Luther's inkstand against the wall."

During the captivity of Luther, the Reformation made very perceptible progress, more especially in its outward developments. Up to this time, the constitution of the Church, its ritual and discipline, had undergone no particular change. It was the policy of Luther to prepare the way for outward changes before he urged them. Instead of pressing them prematurely, and thereby creating revolution and confusion, he left them to come along as the natural and necessary results of the principles he had inculcated.

But the time had now come — the sooner, perhaps, because of Luther's absence — when these results began to be manifested. Two of the German pastors had entered into the marriage-state. The Popish mass had been exchanged for the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. The monks, too, began to oppose the monastic discipline and vows. Thirteen Augustinian monks quitted the convent in one day, threw aside the habit of their order, and assumed the dress of the laity.

But while these changes were taking place, and the Church was making visible progress, impure elements began to work. Fanatics made their appearance at Zwickau, not far from Wittenberg, who professed to be inspired, and to be sent of Heaven to complete the reformation which Luther had but feebly begun. "What is the use," they said, "of such perpetual application to the Bible? Can the Bible preach to us? Can the Bible suffice for our instruction? It is only the Spirit that can enlighten. God himself has spoken to us by his Spirit, and taught us what to do and say."

From Zwickau these men soon came to Wittenberg, and opened their dread commission there. At first, the professors and ministers, and even the elector, were puzzled with them; but soon Melancthon declared against them, and the elector thought that their inspiration was from a bad spirit, and not a good one. But Carlstadt, who, in the absence of Luther, held a conspicuous place among the professors, was rather taken with the new teachers. He did not receive all their doctrines, but deeply drank in the contagion of their enthusiasm. He instigated the populace to remove the pictures and images from the churches, and to destroy them. He also began to pour contempt upon human learning. He neg-

lected his studies, and advised the students at the university to return to their homes, and resume their ordinary avocations; insisting that they were quite as likely to become prophets in this way as in poring over books. Other teachers copied after Carlstadt, and advised the people to take their children from the schools. In consequence of these proceedings, some of the schools were broken up; the university was likely to be deserted; and the light of the Reformation might ere long be extinguished.

When Luther was apprised of the critical state of affairs at Wittenberg, he resolved that he would remain concealed no longer. At all hazards, he would be at his post; and, if he fell before his enemies, he would fall there. But, before commencing his journey, he wrote to the elector, acquainting him with the bold step which he was about to take. We give the following extract from this remarkable letter: "I have sufficiently shown my deference to your Highness in withdrawing from public view for a whole year. Satan knows that it was not from cowardice that I did so; nor have I now any thing to fear, so long as I continue in the way of duty. You tell me of Duke George, and of his rage against me. But, if what is now passing at Wittenberg were occurring at Leipsic (his usual place of residence), I would mount my horse, and repair thither, even though it should rain Duke Georges for nine days together, and every one of them should be nine times as fierce as he. What can he be thinking of in thus attacking me? Does he suppose that Christ, my Lord and Master, is a man of straw?"

"Be it known unto your Highness that I am about to repair to Wittenberg under a protection more powerful than that of an elector. I am so far from desiring *your* protection, that it is my purpose rather to protect you. If I knew that you could or would attempt my defence by force of arms, I certainly would not come to Wittenberg. But, since your Highness desires to know what you are to do, I answer in a word, *Do nothing*. Your Highness has done too much already. I expect you to perform your duty as an elector, and allow the instructions of his Imperial Majesty to be carried into effect in your towns and districts. Offer no impediment to any one who would seize or kill me. Leave your gates open; and, if my enemies come to make search for me, let them come. I wish that every thing may take its natural course, without trouble or prejudice to your Highness. I write this in haste, that you may not feel aggrieved or perplexed at my coming."

Having thus acquainted his sovereign with what he was about to do, Luther left his Patmos on the 3d of March, and turned his steps towards the haunts of men. He was still habited as a knight, and, in nearly all places through which he passed, was entirely unknown. In two or three instances, he was recognized; but those who knew him were his friends. After a journey of five days, he arrived safely at Wittenberg, where he was received with a sort of triumph. Doctors, students, burghers, peasants, all broke forth in rejoicing together; for they had now among them a pilot, who, they believed, could extricate the vessel from the reefs and perils with which it was surrounded.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

THE REFORMATION IN GERMANY. — LIFE OF LUTHER CONTINUED.

THE last chapter closed with an account of Luther's journey from the Wartburg to Wittenberg, and of his safe arrival and joyous reception at the latter place. But he soon found that he had something to do besides meeting friends and exchanging salutations. A work was before him of surpassing difficulty as well as importance, — a work such as he had never attempted before. It devolved on him to reduce to silence the noisy company of fanatics; to arrest the headlong course of the multitude; to calm their excited spirits, and restore them to order, peace, and reason; to break the force of that torrent which was beating against the yet unsettled edifice of the Reformation, and threatening to sweep it all away. Would it be possible to perform such a work as this? Could it be accomplished by any instrumentality whatever?

The second day after his return was the sabbath, when he was expected to meet that beloved flock which had been accustomed "to follow him like docile sheep, but some of whom had since broken from him in the spirit of an untamed heifer." And considering the natural temperament of the man, and the boldness and energy which at this time characterized all his movements, it is remarkable with what a spirit he appeared before them. His address was simple and noble, energetic and persuasive. He seemed like a tender father returning to his children, inquiring into their conduct and welfare, and communicating the reports which had reached him respecting them. He highly commended their progress in the faith, but went on to show them that they needed something besides faith; and that is *love*. "Observe the sun," says he: "he dispenses two gifts, — light and warmth. The mightiest monarch cannot turn aside his rays. They come straight on, and reach the earth by a direct course. Meanwhile his warmth goes forth, and diffuses itself in every direction. So faith, like

light, should be ever simple and unbending; while love, like warmth, should beam forth on all sides, and bend to every necessity of God's children."

He proceeded to speak of the mass, which had been abolished; approving of the thing done, but objecting to the manner in which it had been done. Instead of forcibly taking away the mass from the people, the people should have been drawn away from the mass by the force of truth and the influence of love. "Know you, my brethren, what the Devil thinks when he sees us resorting to violent methods for the purpose of spreading the gospel through the world? Sitting behind the fires of hell, and folding his arms, with malignant glance and horrid leer he says, 'See how those madmen play into our hands!'"

In the six following days, Luther delivered six public discourses, in which he reviewed the changes which had taken place at Wittenberg during his absence,—such as the destruction of images, the institution of the Lord's Supper, the restoration of the cup, &c.; in all which was exemplified, not only his unsparing faithfulness, but his wisdom, his tenderness, his moderation. He uttered no reproaches against those who had been disorderly, by which their feelings could be wounded or irritated. His manner was like that of Paul in his First Epistle to the Corinthians, or like that of the Saviour in his messages to the seven churches of Asia. There was no withstanding the power of such eloquence. Under the influence of it, difficulties disappeared, tumult subsided, the voice of sedition was hushed; and the chafed burghers of Wittenberg returned quietly to their homes and to their customary avocations. Even Carlstadt, although his countenance wore the air of disappointment, yet thought it not proper to make any resistance. He became reconciled to his colleague, at least in appearance, and resumed his studies in the university.

Soon after this, Luther had a stormy meeting with the fanatical prophets, otherwise called Anabaptists. He said but little; but what he did say was calculated to throw them off their guard, and show what manner of spirit they were of. Under the short but pithy rebukes of the reformer, they trembled from head to foot, smote the table with their fists, and roared aloud, "The Spirit! the Spirit!"—"I will slap your spirit on the snout!" said Luther. Whereupon they stormed till they foamed at the mouth; and their voices were inaudible from the tumult. The result was, that they abandoned the field, and, that very day, left Wittenberg.

No sooner was order re-established, than the reformer, assisted by Melancthon, entered on the work of revising his translation of the New Testament, and preparing it for the press. It was published on the 21st of September, 1522, in two volumes, with the simple title, "The New Testament in German." It was received with the utmost enthusiasm. Luther's translation was then regarded (and so it has been ever since) as a truly national work. It served, more than all his own writings, to diffuse a spirit of true Christian piety. It recalled the minds of men, which for ages had been wandering in the labyrinths of scholastic teaching, to the forgotten springs of heavenly truth. The success which attended this undertaking was prodigious. Within the next ten years, more than fifty editions were published in different parts of Germany.

Nor was Luther slow in preparing a translation of the Old Testament. This work was begun in 1522, and continued without intermission until it was completed. It was first published in detached portions, as these were got ready, for the double purpose of satisfying the impatience of the public, and of making the purchase easy to the poor.

But, if the Bible was thus joyfully received by the friends of the Reformation, it was as scornfully rejected by the advocates of Rome. The ignorant priests were dismayed at the thought that burghers and even rustics would now be able to dispute with them out of the Scriptures. The inveterate Duke George of Saxony, having labored in vain to exclude Luther's Testament from his dominions, directed Emser, one of his divines, to prepare a translation which might be safely circulated. He did so; and the work was published under the sanction of the duke. But it turned out, on examination, that Emser's Testament was little more than a transcript of Luther's. "In fact," says the reformer, "Emser has left out my preface, and inserted his own, and thus sold my translation almost word for word. I have determined, therefore, not to produce a syllable in print against it."

Coeval with the publication of Luther's Testament appeared another important work. It was Melancthon's "Loci Communes," — a connected system of biblical theology. This work was received with unbounded favor in that and the succeeding age. Even Erasmus commended it; Calvin extolled it; while Luther was never tired of recommending it to those who came to study theology at Wittenberg. The circulation of this work was great,

and its popularity enduring. Before the close of the sixteenth century, it had passed through sixty-seven editions, without including translations.

It was in the spring of 1522 that King Henry VIII. of England published his little spiteful book in opposition to Luther. He had long regarded him with strong detestation, and had been urging the German princes to destroy him; but now he felt constrained to do something more than this. He must lay aside for the time his royal dignity, and descend into the arena of theological strife. His work was entitled "A Defence of the Seven Sacraments, against Martin Luther. By the most invincible King of England, Henry VIII." The royal polemic commences by saying, "I will put myself in the fore-front of the Church to save her. I will receive into my bosom the poisoned darts of her assailant. What I hear from abroad constrains me to do this." The king proceeds to speak of Luther in terms of the greatest bitterness and reproach, styling him "an infernal wolf," "a venomous serpent," "an ape in purple," "a limb of the Devil;" and insisting much and often that he deserves, not merely confutation in argument, but a bitter death by the hand of the executioner.

The book was received by the Romanists with a profusion of adulation. One declared it to be "the most learned work that the sun ever looked upon." Some thought the writer "a Constantine, a Charlemagne, or more properly a second Solomon." The pope insisted that the work must have been written by the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, and immediately conferred upon its author the title of "Defender of the Faith," — a title, which, from this circumstance, the monarchs of England bear to the present day.

Such extravagant praises served but to augment the already insufferable vanity of Henry. Henceforward, he could endure no contradiction. Papal authority, in his view, was no longer at Rome, but at London; and infallibility was vested in his own person, — a feeling which at a later period tended much to promote the Reformation in England.

When Henry's book fell into the hands of Luther, he read it with mingled indignation and contempt. The falsehoods and insults which it contained, but, above all, the air of *pity* which the king sometimes assumed, provoked him to the last degree. It was under the influence of such feelings that he sat himself down to prepare an answer. The elector, Spalatin, Melancthon, and other

friends, tried to appease him ; but it was to no purpose. " I won't be gentle towards the king of England," said he : " it is useless for me to compromise and entreat and try peaceful methods with such men. I will show these wild beasts who are every day running at me with their horns how terrible I can be : I will turn upon my pursuers. They shall find Luther like a bear upon their track, and as a lion upon their path."

Luther reproaches King Henry with having supported his statements by mere appeals to custom and the fathers, and quotes against him the declaration of Paul, that our " faith should not stand in the wisdom of men, but in the power of God." " By this thunder-clap from heaven," he adds, " the apostle overturns and disperses, as the wind scatters the dust, all the foolish thoughts of such men as this Henry." In conclusion, Luther says, " The Lord is on my side : therefore I fear nothing. It is a small matter that I have here reviled an earthly king ; since he himself hath not feared to blaspheme the King of heaven, and to profane his holy name by the most daring falsehoods."

We shall not undertake to justify the spirit and manner in which this and some other of the controversial publications of Luther were written ; since he himself, in his sober moments, confessed that he had used too much asperity. As much as this, however, may be said : he was never, like his enemies, the advocate of persecution ; and his language, in point of coarseness and indelicacy, bears no comparison to that with which he was assailed. His answer to King Henry was replied to by Fisher, bishop of Rochester, and by Sir Thomas More, who was then a young man ; and it would seem as though all Billingsgate was exhausted in search of opprobrious names and epithets with which to reproach him. Fisher calls him " a mad dog," " a ravening wolf," " a cruel she-bear," or rather all these put together ; " for," says he, " the monster includes many beasts within himself." And More's coarseness and vulgarity defy all description : it is such as cannot be read or thought of without a blush.

At no period since the Reformation commenced was it in more evident and rapid progress than in the years 1522 and 1523. Opposed to it there were, indeed, the emperor, the pope, and almost the entire power of Church and State ; while those actively engaged in it were few in numbers, and feeble in strength, without organization, concert, or any thing like a concentration of plan. And yet there was a vitality, an energy, a power, in their ranks, which carried them forward in face of all opposition.

Great numbers of the monks in Germany, more especially the Augustinians and Franciscans, began to lift up their voices in favor of that holy and precious truth, which, after so many distressing doubts and inward conflicts, they had at last discovered. The superiors of the convents were, in some instances, first converted, and gave full liberty to those under their charge to dispense with their monastic vows, and leave the fraternity, if they desired it: so that, all over the country, monks might be seen laying aside the frock and cowl, and engaging in the active employments of life. And not only monks, but priests, in still larger numbers, ranged themselves under the standard of evangelical truth, and began to publish the new doctrines. These preachers, for the most part, were terribly persecuted: but, when driven from one city, they fled into another; and, like the disciples when scattered from Jerusalem, they went forth everywhere preaching the Word. In consequence of these labors, and of the free circulation of the Scriptures and other religious books, the people soon became wiser than their former religious teachers. It was matter of constant complaint among the Romanists, that women, children, artisans, and soldiers had acquired a greater knowledge of the Bible than learned doctors or surpliced priests.

The impulse which the Reformation had given to *popular literature* in Germany was prodigious. Whilst in the year 1513 there were only thirty-five books published, and in 1517 only thirty-seven, the number in 1522 was three hundred and forty-seven, and, in 1523, four hundred and ninety-eight. A vast majority of these publications were issued at Wittenberg; and, what is more strange, nearly half of them, regularly, were from the pen of Luther. In the year 1522 he alone sent forth a hundred and thirty publications, and in the following year a hundred and eighty-three; whilst the whole number of Roman-Catholic publications in the latter year amounted to but twenty.* No wonder these stupid Catholics dreaded and hated Luther! No wonder they thought him supernaturally assisted, either from above or beneath! The emperor and the reigning princes had indeed fulminated severe edicts against the writings of the reformers: but these edicts were worse than useless; they served only to whet the curiosity of the people to buy up the proscribed publications, and read them with increased ardor.

Notwithstanding all his other labors, Luther continued to

* See D'Aubigné's History, vol. ii. p. 116.

preach with his usual courage and zeal. He was indeed an outlaw, and every one that met him was at liberty to take his life; yet he went about safely in the discharge of his duties, as though the fulminations of his enemies had never been heard of. In one instance he disguised himself, and traversed the territory of the persecuting Duke George in a wagon, preaching in different places as opportunity presented. He came to Zwickau, which had been the principal theatre of the fanatical prophets; and there, from the balcony of the town-hall, he addressed a congregation of twenty-five thousand persons.

About this time, the gospel penetrated the Castle of Freyburg, the residence of Prince Henry, the brother of Duke George. The princess was first converted, and, by her kindness and gentleness, gradually won over the heart of her husband. These were the parents of the celebrated Maurice, now an infant, but who was destined in coming years to exert a controlling influence on the cause of the Reformation.

Luther's intrepidity at Worms had left a deep impression on the inhabitants of that city. Scarcely had the diet closed, and the members dispersed, when the gospel was preached there with great power and earnestness by those evangelists that were now traversing Germany. Though excluded from the churches, and proclaimed from the corners of the streets, it was listened to by thousands with the liveliest interest.

In Frankfort on the Main, the gospel was not only introduced at this time, but it fairly triumphed. The clergy opposed it with all their might; but the people favored it, and procured an ordinance to be passed by the city council, enjoining "all ministers to preach the pure word of God, or to quit the town."

In view of successes such as these, Luther felt his confidence increased. He had seen a feeble effort, commenced amidst many fears and trials, rapidly changing the face of the whole country; and he was himself astonished at a result which at the first he had never contemplated. He could but prostrate himself in the dust before God, and confess that the work was all *his*; and, if his, he could but rejoice in the assurance of further success in the prosecution of it.

We have before spoken, incidentally, of the decease of Pope Leo X. He died suddenly in December, 1521, during the confinement of Luther in the Wartburg. By his profligacy and prodigality, he had disgusted even the Italians; so that, before his body was

interred, they began to reproach and curse his memory. "Thou didst win the pontificate," they said, "like a fox; thou didst hold it like a lion; thou didst leave it like a dog."

He was succeeded by Adrian VI., a native of Utrecht, and professor at Louvain, who had acted as tutor to Charles V. He was venerable for his age and learning, of strict morals, and, in the Romish sense of the word, pious. He entered upon his high office with a determination to reform the Church, but soon found that he had obstacles to contend with, of which, previously, he had no idea. Some derided him, some hated him; while others, with a show of friendship, warned him to desist. "It has not been by reforms," they said, "that heresies have been extinguished, but by the sword and by fire."

Nor was this remark offensive to the new pontiff; for, with all his strictness and seeming goodness, Adrian was a bigot and a persecutor. This was manifest from his communications to the Diet of Nuremberg, which was in session at the very commencement of his pontificate. He endeavored to persuade the diet to an execution of the bloody Edict of Worms, and might have been successful but for the timely interference of the Turks. The crescent suddenly appeared in the provinces of Hungary: Belgrade was taken; and the victorious Solymán seriously threatened the eastern and central parts of Europe. The diet was constrained, therefore, to turn away from the anathematized reformer, and look after the terrific sultan of Constantinople.

But in December of the same year the diet re-assembled at Nuremberg, when Adrian sent a most earnest exhortation to the princes to commence at once to deal with the Lutherans, and to make thorough work of it. These suggestions were seconded with great zeal by his legate, Cheregati, who, holding up the pope's brief in his hand, declared it to be indispensable to the life of the Church that the gangrened members should be severed from the body. "Your fathers punished with death John Huss and Jerome of Prague; but both these, and much more, are now risen up in Luther. Follow, then, the glorious example of your ancestors; and, by the help of God and St. Peter, you shall gain a signal victory over this servant of hell."

While these things were urged with so much zeal in the diet, it was no small annoyance to the legate and his friends that the Lutheran doctrines were sounded forth from nearly all the pulpits in the city, and were listened to with deep seriousness, not only

by the common people, but by some of the princes of the empire. Cheregati insisted that these audacious preachers (among whom the celebrated Oriander was chief) should be arrested; and the diet were on the point of giving orders to that effect: but, as Nuremberg was one of the free cities of Germany, the city council interposed, and assured the Catholic members of the diet, that, if force was resorted to to deprive them of their beloved pastors, force would be employed on their part to retain them. The firmness of the council put a stop to all persecuting measures; and the preachers were permitted to continue their labors as before.

Despairing of success by a resort to force, the legate resolved to see what could be done by concession and flattery. He produced another paper from the pontiff, which hitherto he had kept concealed, in which his Holiness admits all that the reformers had ever asserted respecting the corruptions of the Romish court, and promises his best endeavors to produce an amendment. "We are well aware," says he, "that, for many years past, the Holy City has been a scene of corruption and abomination. The infection has spread from the head through the members,—from the popes to the rest of the clergy. Nothing shall be wanting on my part to effect a thorough reformation."

The partisans of Rome blushed to hear these unlooked-for concessions; while the friends of the Reformation rejoiced to listen to the Papal harlot proclaiming aloud her own corruptions. "Who could doubt that Luther had truth on his side, now that the pope himself had declared it?"

The members of the diet, profiting by the pope's confessions and promises, thought it a good time to set forth again their own grievances; which they did to the number of a hundred. They spoke of the scandals and profanations of the clerical orders; of the disorders and simony of the ecclesiastical courts; of the disgraceful arts which had been practised in order to squeeze money out of Germany; and of the alarming restrictions upon civil and religious freedom. The States distinctly traced all these abuses, not to the gospel, but to the *traditions of men*, and concluded by saying, "If these grievances are not, within a reasonable time, redressed, we shall seek relief from some other quarter."

The legate, perceiving the course that things were taking, abruptly took his departure from Nuremberg. In their concluding decree, the diet "demanded the convocation of a free council in the empire; and determined, that, until such council should

assemble, nothing should be preached but *the simple gospel*, and nothing printed without the sanction of a certain number of men of character and learning."

This decree was regarded as, on the whole, favorable to the Reformation. It virtually rescinded, or at least suspended, the cruel Edict of Worms. The reformed ministers all *claimed* to preach "the simple gospel;" and this they were now expressly authorized to do; and the regulation about printing was of so vague and undefined a character, and withal so difficult of execution, that it left the press comparatively free. But strong was the indignation with which the decree was received at Rome. Pope Adrian seems to have lost all patience under it; and he immediately commenced pouring out his wrath on the head of the venerable elector of Saxony. "We have waited long," said he, addressing the elector, "perhaps too long, to see whether God would visit thy soul, and deliver thee from the snare of the Devil. But, where we had hoped for grapes, we have found only wild grapes: the Spirit's promptings have been despised; thy wickedness has not been subdued. Open, then, thine eyes to behold the greatness of thy fall. If the unity of the Church is gone; if the simple have been turned out of the way; if the churches are deserted; if the people are without priests, and Christians without Christ, — to whom is it owing but to thee? If peace hath forsaken the earth; if discord, rebellion, pillage, and violence prevail; if the cry of war is heard from east to west, and universal conflict is at hand, — thou art the author of all these things." The pontiff proceeds with a terrible philippic against Luther, whom the elector is charged with having encouraged and patronized; and concludes his letter thus: "What punishment, then, dost thou think we judge thee to deserve? In the name of the Almighty God, and of our Lord Jesus Christ, of whom I am the vicegerent on earth, I warn thee that thou wilt be judged in this world, and be cast into the lake of everlasting fire in that which is to come."

The good Frederic shuddered as he read this lying, menacing, insulting epistle. Notwithstanding his age and infirmities, he was strongly inclined to take the sword, and contend for his own honor and for the liberty of his subjects. He was, however, dissuaded from such a purpose through the influence of Luther and the other reformers, and consented to revert to his usual system of caution. He replied to the pontiff and his legate in the most general terms, giving a brief explanation of the line of conduct

which he had thought it right to pursue in regard to Luther and the Reformation.

The fire of the pope's anger soon communicated itself to the Catholic princes throughout the empire; and persecution was generally determined on. Duke George of Saxony imprisoned all in his dominions who preached Luther's doctrines, and burned their books; and the same course was pursued in Austria, Wurtemberg, and the duchy of Brunswick. But it was in the Netherlands, which were under the immediate jurisdiction of the Emperor Charles, that the persecution broke out with the greatest violence. The Augustinian convent at Antwerp was razed to the ground; and several of the inmates who had become preachers of Christ were hunted with the utmost cruelty. Two of these brethren, Esch and Voes, were brought to the stake at Brussels, July 1, 1523, and had the honor to be the first martyrs of the Reformation in Germany. They died most triumphantly, with hymns of praise on their lips, and the love of Christ in their hearts. Others soon followed them in the same pathway of fire. But these executions more than defeated their own object: they were manifestly overruled, as such scenes almost invariably are, for the furtherance of the gospel.

Luther was greatly affected with the tidings which came to him from his suffering friends. Writing to them, he says, "I am bound with you in your bonds. Your dungeons and your burnings my soul takes part in. All of us are with you in spirit; and the Lord is above it all." He composed the following hymn in memory of young Esch and Voes, which was sung everywhere throughout Germany and the Low Countries:—

“Flung to the heedless winds,
 Or on the waters cast,
 Their ashes shall be watched,
 And gathered at the last;
 And from that sacred dust,
 Around us and abroad,
 Shall spring a plenteous seed
 Of witnesses for God.
 Jesus hath now received
 Their parting, dying breath:
 Yet vain is Satan's boast
 Of victory in their death;
 For still, though dead, they speak,
 And, trumpet-tongued, proclaim
 In many a waking land
 The all-availing Name.”

These persecutions would doubtless have been continued, had not Providence interposed, and cut off the head of the Romish Church at a stroke. Pope Adrian died in September, 1523; and the Romans, overjoyed at his departure, suspended a crown of garlands at the door of his physician, with this inscription attached to it: "To the savior of his country."

CHAPTER XXXIX.

THE REFORMATION IN GERMANY. — LIFE OF LUTHER CONCLUDED.

THE last chapter closed with the death of the persecuting Pope Adrian, in September, 1523. He was succeeded by Julio de Medicis, cousin to Leo X., who took the name of Clement VII. From the hour of his election, all ideas of religious reformation were at an end. Like most of his predecessors, he thought only of maintaining the assumed rights and privileges of the Papacy and of aggrandizing himself.

Another diet of the empire was held at Nuremberg in January, 1524; and Cardinal Campeggio, the ablest prelate of the Roman court, was commissioned by the new pontiff to be his legate.

When Campeggio entered Germany, he was surprised to find how little notice was taken of him, and with what slight demonstrations of public honor he was received; and, when he arrived at Nuremberg, he found the state of things there not at all agreeable to his wishes. Osiander and his companions were preaching the reformed doctrines with great boldness and power: the Romish ceremonies were omitted; and, on Palm Sunday, four thousand persons had partaken of the Lord's Supper in both kinds, among whom was the queen of Denmark, a sister of the Archduke Ferdinand and of the Emperor Charles V.

Campeggio was greatly moved by what he saw, and, referring at once to the Edict of Worms, demanded that it should be executed, and the Reformation be put down by force. "And pray," inquired the princes, "what has become of the memorial of grievances presented to the pope by the people of Germany?" The legate answered, that their memorial had not been officially communicated: "And for my part," said he, "I could never believe that so unseemly a paper could have emanated from your Highnesses." The diet was stung by this reply. "If this," thought they, "be the spirit in which the pope receives *our* representations, we shall

know what reception to give to such as he may please to address to us.”

The final decree of this diet was quite as favorable to the Reformation as that of the former. The members promised to observe the Edict of Worms *so far as they could*, but with the express understanding on the part of many that *they could do nothing about it*. They repeated the demand for a general council; and appointed the 11th of November next ensuing for a new assembly of the States to meet at Spire, and settle all questions as to religion until the council should be called.

This proposed assembly at Spire never met. The reformers were not favorable to it; the pope abhorred it, as taking questions of religion out from under his cognizance, and placing them in the hands of a civil body; and the emperor, set on by the pope, positively forbade it.

Instead of the general assembly at Spire, a *partisan* meeting of the Catholic princes was held in the course of the year at Ratisbon, that, by mutual conference and confederation, they might strengthen themselves against the growing influence of the reformers. By this meeting at Ratisbon, the Romanists were the *first* to violate the unity of Germany. They set an example of those party leagues and confederations which were afterwards formed on one side and the other, and which ultimately deluged the German States in blood.

Nor were the friends of the Reformation slow in profiting by this example. Scarcely had the princes at Ratisbon separated, and returned to their homes, when deputies from the free cities and towns assembled in large numbers at Spire, and published strong resolutions in favor of the simple preaching of the gospel. A still larger meeting was held at Ulm near the close of the year, at which the members bound themselves by solemn oath to assist one another in case of an attack.

It might readily be perceived that measures of this nature betokened blood; nor was it long before the blood of martyrs began again to flow. At Vienna, at Buda, in Wurtemberg, and in Bavaria, many were imprisoned, some shockingly mutilated, and others were put to death. In Holstein, belonging to Denmark, Henry Müller was destroyed by a mob under circumstances the most terrible that can be conceived. His murderers, set on by the Dominicans, broke into his house at midnight, tore him from his bed, bound his hands behind him, and hurried him away half naked, in

the depth of winter, to the place of execution. As he travelled along over ice and snow, his feet began to bleed profusely; and he begged to be carried on a horse: but the favor was denied him. Arrived at the spot, he found a pile prepared for his destruction; but the wood would not burn. Here he stood for two long hours in presence of the infuriated rabble, calm, and lifting up his eyes to heaven. Despairing of being able to effect their purpose by fire, the mob at length fell upon him with clubs, and literally beat his breath from his body. Henry was warned of his danger before he went to preach at Holstein; but he despised it, saying, "Heaven is as easily reached from thence as from any other place. I will go and preach."

It was at this time that Philip, landgrave of Hesse, who was destined to bear so important a part in the subsequent struggles of the Reformation, became established in the truth. He embraced the gospel with all the energy that marked his character, and published an edict directing that it should be preached in its purity throughout his dominions. Other princes followed the same example. The elector palatine granted liberty of worship in his dominions, and would not countenance the slightest persecution. The duke of Luneburg, nephew of the elector of Saxony, also patronized the Reformation; and, what was more important than either, Albert, the marquis of Brandenburg, and sovereign of the Prussian States, began to exhibit movements in the same direction. He encouraged the Lutheran divines to settle in his dominions, and afforded them an efficient protection. One of his bishops, the good bishop of Samland, is said to have been the first of the Popish prelates who came out decidedly in favor of the Reformation.

In the city of Strasburg, several priests had embraced the reformed religion, and entered into the marriage-state. They were cited by their bishop to appear before him, and receive sentence for what they had done. They insisted that they ought not to be punished without a trial, and appealed to the senate of the city to protect them. The senate interposed accordingly, and rescued them from the tyranny of the bishop. The bishop now complained to the legate, Campeggio, that he had been hindered from exercising his just authority in punishing those of his clergy who had become husbands. As might be expected, the legate took part with the bishop, and administered a severe rebuke to the senators for their disorderly proceeding. To this the senators replied as follows: "A great part of the Strasburg clergy cohabit

with harlots in the most shameful manner, giving great offence to the people, and setting the very worst example. Yet there is not an instance of any one of them being punished by the bishop on this account: on the contrary, the bishop is known to have received money from them as the price of their wickedness." To this the legate replied, that one sin was no excuse for another; and that, though the licentious priests had hitherto escaped punishment, they might be called to an account at some future time. Whereupon the senate dryly answered, "When the bishop shall begin to punish the whoremongers, we may be able to support him with more advantage in his animadversions upon others." As the result of this affair, the reformed religion soon became triumphant in Strasburg; and from it went forth an influence which tended much to promote the Reformation in France.

At Wittenberg, the Lord's Supper had long before taken the place of the mass in all the churches except one; viz., that of All Saints. Here private masses were still celebrated, much to the grief of all the better and more enlightened citizens. Luther exerted his influence with the elector and with the chapter to have this abomination done away; and, after much pleading and warning, he succeeded. A new order of service was instituted, which began to be observed on Christmas Day, 1524. The fall of the mass in this renowned sanctuary hastened its abolition in many other places. In most cases, there was resistance; but this was followed by a speedy victory.

But it was not in public worship alone that the Reformation was destined to work a change. Its influence was powerfully felt in promoting the cause of public education. Luther addressed a letter at this time to the councillors of all the towns in Germany, urging them to establish Christian schools. "How is it," says he, "when so much money is expended annually in purchasing arms, making roads, and constructing bridges and dikes, that so little is expended in paying schoolmasters to instruct our poor children? The prosperity of a town does not consist so much in its wealth, its walls, its mansions, or its means of defence, as in its having within its walls a large proportion of learned, serious, kind, well-educated citizens. And who is to blame that there are found in our day so few of this stamp? The blame attaches to you the magistrates, who suffer our children and youth to grow up like the neglected trees of the forest."

Luther insisted strongly in this letter on the importance of

giving attention to the learned languages. "We are asked," says he, "what is the use of studying the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, when we have the whole Bible in German?" And to this he replies, "But for the languages, we should never have received the gospel. Languages are the scabbard in which the sword of the Spirit rests: they are the casket which holds the jewels, the vessels which contain the new wine, the baskets in which are kept the loaves and fishes which are to feed the multitude. If the languages had not given *me* the certainty as to the true sense of the Word, I might still have been a pious monk, shut up in the obscurity of the cloister. If we cease to study the learned languages, we shall not only lose the gospel, but shall eventually be unable to speak in our own mother-tongue."

Luther also urged upon the towns the importance of establishing *libraries*, not limited to the works of the scholastic divines and fathers of the Church, but furnished with the productions of poets and orators; also with books of law, medicine, and history. This effort of Luther in behalf of general education is one of the most important of his whole life. It wrested learning from the hands of priests and sophists, and rendered it accessible to all. Literary men who decry the Reformation forget that they are themselves the offspring of it. But for the influence of the Reformation, they might themselves have been at this hour in the deepest ignorance, under the authority of a domineering clergy and church.

From this point, it is necessary that we turn and contemplate one of the most distressing occurrences in the whole history of the Reformation,—an occurrence to which, at the distance of more than three centuries, the enlightened Christian can never direct his thoughts without pain. I refer to that most embarrassing dispute among the reformers themselves relative to the presence of Christ in the Holy Supper. This controversy originated at Wittenberg between Luther and Carlstadt. At an earlier period, Luther had been strongly inclined to the same views which he afterwards condemned in Carlstadt: but new circumstances had arisen; and his mind had undergone a change. The fanaticism of the pretended prophets, and the countenance which Carlstadt was induced to afford them, may account, in part, for his altered views. At any rate, from the time of his return from the Wartburg, and his encounters with the fanatics and their supporters, all attempts to exhibit the merely *commemorative*, *symbolical* import of the supper met with a determined resistance from Luther. He seemed to

perceive in all such attempts the danger of weakening the authority of Scripture, and of admitting, in place of its true meaning, mere arbitrary and fanciful allegories. He feared, too, that such interpreters would be likely to substitute in place of religion a sort of dreamy, mystic fanaticism, which would be sure to be its grave.

Carlstadt was an honest advocate for the *symbolical* import of the supper, as the doctrine was then held by Zwingli and his associates, and as it is held by evangelical churches generally at the present day. Finding that he could not freely inculcate his views at Wittenberg, he retired to Orlamund in 1524, and (with some irregularity) was established over the church in that place. He earnestly inculcated his doctrines concerning the sacrament, in opposition to those of Luther; and began to declaim, as formerly, against pictures and images, and excited the people to remove them forcibly from the churches. The elector interposed his authority to prevent such proceedings; but he was not obeyed. He determined, therefore, to despatch Luther to Orlamund, in hope that he might be able to restore tranquillity. But the journey was one of no credit to the reformer, and of no profit to any one. He received only angry words; nor did he refrain altogether from returning the same. The people at Orlamund grossly insulted him; and, when he left them, they cried after him, saying, "Begone, in the name of all the devils! and may you break your neck before you are out of town!" Never had the reformer met with such contemptuous treatment, even from Papists.

The elector now took up the matter in good earnest. He issued orders depriving Carlstadt of his appointments, and banishing him, not only from Orlamund, but from the States of the Electorate. It was in vain that the people of Orlamund interceded on his behalf. Frederic would not listen to their entreaties; nor would he afford the unhappy Carlstadt any assistance in effecting his removal.

After leaving Saxony, Carlstadt went first to Strasburg, and then to Switzerland. His views of the sacrament being in accordance with those of the Swiss reformers, he was here received with much kindness, and his instructions excited a good degree of attention. This was by far the happiest and most useful portion of his life.

Of this controversy respecting the sacrament we shall hear more at a later period. We turn from it at present to consider another

occurrence, which was of dangerous influence to Germany and the Reformation. This was the terrible *rustic war*, or *war of the peasants*. That the laboring-classes in Germany were greatly oppressed, and had been for a long course of years, there can be no doubt. There had been repeated insurrections, in the vain hope of bettering their condition, long before the Reformation commenced. Unquestionably the circulation of the Scriptures and the publication of the gospel had poured light on the darkened minds of men, quickened their thoughts and feelings, and thus made them more sensible of their burthens; but that there was any direct connection between the rebellion of which we are to speak and the Reformation, or that the latter was in any culpable sense the cause of the former (though perpetually insisted on by Romanists), has not the slightest foundation in truth. From his tower in the Wartburg, Luther had early warned the lower classes in regard to the sin and danger of rebellion. "Rebellion," he said, "never obtains for us the benefits we seek. The Devil tries to stir those up to rebellion who have embraced the gospel, that so it may be covered with reproach and shame; but they who have rightly received the truth will not be insnared and ruined by his wiles."

There seems not to have been any connection, in the first instance, between the insurgent peasants and the *fanatical prophets*, or *Anabaptists*; although the latter naturally and speedily fell into the current, and placed themselves at the head of the blinded multitude.

The rebellion broke out in the districts of the Black Forest, near the source of the Danube, — a country somewhat noted for popular insurrections. It spread with inconceivable rapidity through South-western Germany, from Suabia to the Rhenish provinces: so that, by the beginning of the year 1525, all that region was in a state of open rebellion. The insurgents put forth a declaration in twelve articles; stating the grounds of their proceeding, and the claims which they advanced.* Each demand was backed by a passage of Scripture; and the paper concluded with these words: "If we are wrong, let Luther set us right from the Scriptures."

Appealed to in this way, Luther immediately published an

* At a later period, Luther added in derision a thirteenth article, which ran as follows: "Henceforth the wagon shall guide the horses, and the horses shall hold the reins; and all shall move on prosperously, according to the glorious system set forth in the preceding articles."

address, — first to the princes and bishops, and then to the insurgents. Addressing the former class, he says, “It is *you* who have caused this revolt. It is *your* guilty oppression of the poor of the flock which has driven the people to despair. It is not, my dear lords, the peasants that have risen up against you: God himself has risen up, and is reproving your madness. The peasants are but the instruments which he employs to humble you. And, if you could succeed in exterminating *all* the peasants, from the stones God could raise up others to chastise your pride. For the love of God, then, I beseech you to calm your irritation. Grant reasonable conditions to these poor people. Appease their commotion by gentle methods, lest they give rise to a conflagration that shall set all Germany in a flame.”

After such an exordium, which was calculated to gain the confidence of the peasants, and prepare them to listen to his further suggestions, Luther proceeded to press home the truth upon them. He told them that Christians were called to suffer, not to fight; and that if they persisted in their revolt in the name of the gospel, but contrary to the plainest precepts of the gospel, he should consider them as worse enemies than the pope.

But in vain did Luther inculcate these Christian precepts. The insurgents and their inflamed leaders — Munzer, Stubner, and Storek — were deaf to his words. “He is playing the hypocrite,” they said, “and flattering the nobles. He has himself made war upon the pope, but expects us to submit to our oppressors.”

The insurrection now spread rapidly; and the most horrible atrocities were in many instances committed. Throughout the empire, a terrible revolution was in progress. When Luther perceived that the infatuated leaders would yield to no reason, and submit to no restraint, he came out against them in a much more decided manner. He exhorted the rulers to take up arms; and “if you fall,” said he, “you cannot have a more blessed end. He who dies in this cause, fighting with a good conscience, will be a martyr.”

It was early in May that the imperial forces marched into Germany from the south-west, and effected a junction with such of the princes as had taken up arms. They soon came upon the rebel multitude, and it was completely routed. And now the nobles, the bishops, and the imperial troops, gave themselves up to unheard-of cruelties. Prisoners were hanged by the roadside. The innocent and the guilty were executed together. It is computed

that not less than fifty thousand persons perished; and those that survived, instead of finding their condition improved by the rebellion, lost much of the little liberty which they had before enjoyed.

But the evil was not confined to the south and west of Germany. Munzer, the chief of the fanatics, had his headquarters at Mulhausen, in Thuringia, where he had exercised an almost unlimited power for a considerable time. The revolt in Southern Germany encouraged him to make new and vigorous efforts to extend his power. He told the people that the time for their deliverance was come, and urged them to put themselves immediately under his direction. The deluded people flocked to his standard. Throughout Mansfeld, Stolburg, Hesse, and Brunswick, the peasantry arose almost *en masse*. Terror spread far and wide. Even at Wittenberg, those who had not feared emperor nor pope began to tremble in presence of a madman. Melancthon wrote, "We are here in imminent peril. If Munzer prevails, it is all over with us."

But Munzer was not suffered to prevail. The princes took up arms against him; and his rabble multitude were dispersed at a stroke. Five thousand were slain upon the spot. Munzer was discovered in his concealment, brought forth, and beheaded. Mulhausen was taken; and the rebellion was quenched in blood. It is remarkable that in the States of the elector of Saxony there were no executions or punishments. The word of God, set forth in its purity, had been sufficient to control the tumult of the people.

The situation of Luther and his fellow-laborers at this critical period was a painful one. The Romanists charged him (as they have always done) with being the cause of the rebellion, and, with a malicious sneer, demanded if he did not know that it was easier to kindle a fire than to extinguish it. On the other hand, the leaders of the sedition represented him as a vile hypocrite, and flatterer of the great; and their calumnies easily obtained belief. But, on a review of the case, Luther seems to have acted with entire conscientiousness, and with much wisdom and prudence, in reference to the whole of this distressing business. Knowing the sufferings of the lower classes, and the danger of tumults, he faithfully warned the people against rebellion long before it broke out. In the early stages of its progress, he again warned both princes and people, and gave them the best advice in his power. As the insurrection proceeded, and the designs of the leaders became more manifest, he took strong and decisive ground against

them. How could he do otherwise, unless he would see his native land desolated, and its institutions of religion, learning, and government, all swept away. Nor was he satisfied with merely using his pen. At great personal hazard, he visited some of the districts where the agitation was greatest, endeavoring to soften the minds of the people, and imbue them with a spirit of forbearance and moderation. Many others of the reformed preachers did the same; and their success in this timely but perilous labor was very great.

It was only a few days before the defeat of Munzer that the venerable elector of Saxony descended to the tomb. His residence was in the Castle of Lochaw, where he was constantly attended by his faithful chaplain Spalatin. A short time before his death, he made a humble confession of his sins, and received the communion in both kinds. He also destroyed a will made some years before, in which he had commended his soul to "the mother of God;" and dictated another, in which he cast himself "upon the spotless and availing merit of Jesus Christ for the forgiveness of sins;" and expressed an assurance that "he had been redeemed by the precious blood of his Lord and Saviour." He asked the forgiveness of all about him, even of his servants; and added, "My strength fails me: I can say no more." At five o'clock the same evening, he fell asleep.

It is a remarkable fact, and one going to illustrate the reserved and cautious character of Frederic, that notwithstanding all the interest he had felt in Luther, and the many communications which had passed between them by letter and through the intervention of others, still they had never met, and held conversation, face to face. Indeed, Luther had never seen the elector but at a distance and on great public occasions. Still they were essentially one in spirit, and were in the highest degree *necessary* to each other. Without the cautious protection of Frederic, Luther could never have succeeded in the work of reformation; and without the boldness, the strength, and the ardor of Luther, the wisdom and prudence of Frederic had accomplished nothing. God knows how to raise up and modify and join together instruments to carry forward the righteous counsels of his will.

Frederic was succeeded in the government by his brother John, who was a firm friend of Luther and of the Reformation. In regard to religion, his measures were of a much more bold and decided character than those of his brother. What Frederic had

merely connived at and permitted, John openly countenanced and established. He required of his clergy to preach nothing but the word of God, and assisted the reformers in introducing those external changes which the altered condition of the Church required. Indeed, the establishing of the Lutheran Church, and giving to it form and organization, is due rather to John than to Frederic. The new elector had an excellent assistant in his son and heir, John Frederic, who, though at this time but a youth, had given many proofs of wisdom and piety.

It is evidence of the stability of Luther's character, and his aversion to premature and sudden changes, that he continued to wear his monk's frock, and to reside in the convent at Wittenberg until he was left entirely alone there; all the other inmates having renounced their profession, and departed. He walked alone through "the long-drawn aisles." He sat alone in the refectory, so lately vocal with the babble of the monks. It was then that Luther finally laid aside the monastic habit, and appeared in the garb of a secular priest. It was then (December, 1524) that he sent the keys of the monastery to the elector; thereby intimating, that, as the convent no longer existed, the disposal of the premises belonged of right to him. The elector made a present of the building to the university; and it afterwards became the abode of Luther's family.

The marriage of Luther was on this wise: In one of the cloisters of Saxony there was a class of nuns, who, by the daily and prayerful reading of the Scriptures, had become satisfied that their course of life was not in accordance with the divine will, and tended rather to hinder than promote their salvation. They resolved, therefore, to forsake the nunnery, return into society, and engage in the appropriate duties of the Christian life. They concerted a plan for their escape, which they were enabled to carry into effect; and, having arrived safely at Wittenberg, the citizens received them into their homes. Among these emancipated females was Catherine Bora, who, after about two years from the time of her leaving the convent, became the wife of Luther.

The marriage of Luther took place on the 11th of June, 1525. The event was regretted by many of his friends, and was matter of loud reproach and scandal to his enemies. Henry VIII. of England, who was remarkably conscientious in regard to such matters, pronounced the connection incestuous, and declared that the parties ought to be cut to pieces. Others thought that Antichrist

would be the fruit of the union ; for, said they, “ It hath been predicted that Antichrist is to be the offspring of a monk and a nun.” To this Erasmus made answer, after his peculiar manner, “ If that prophecy be true, the world has seen already many Antichrists.”

But, after all that could be said one way and the other, Luther’s marriage proved a happy one. It was a great blessing to him personally, and tended rather to the furtherance of the gospel. He thus separated himself more entirely than ever from the institutions of Popery. He sealed his doctrine by his example, and encouraged the hesitating and the timid to make a full and final renunciation of Papal delusions. From this period, he was less subject than before to seasons of darkness and dependency. His mind acquired a steady cheerfulness, which was not lost in the most trying circumstances.

We have now traced the Reformation in Germany through the early stages of it down to the middle of the year 1525. Thus far, this year had been signalized, as we have seen, by several important events ; such as the wars of the peasants, the death of the elector of Saxony, the accession of his brother John, and the marriage of the great reformer. From this point, the religious divisions in Germany began to assume more of a political aspect ; and parties were forming on either side, betokening a future issue in blood. But, before tracing the history farther, it will be necessary to give an account of the rise and progress of the Reformation in some of the surrounding countries, commencing with Switzerland.

CHAPTER XL.

THE REFORMATION IN SWITZERLAND.

THE father and founder of the Reformation in Switzerland was Ulric Zwingle. He was born Jan. 1, 1484, at Wilderhausen, among the mountains of the Tockenburg, a few months after the birth of Luther. His father was a magistrate in his little Alpine village, and gave his son the privileges of a good education. The young man pursued his studies first at Basle, then at Berne, and afterwards at the University of Vienna. At the end of two years, he returned to Basle, had an office in the university, and applied himself with great earnestness to the study of languages. Through life he was regarded as one of the most eminent classical scholars in Europe. He made himself familiar with Plato, Aristotle, Demosthenes, Sallust, Horace, Seneca, and Pliny,—a fact which may account for the elegance of his style. He was a correspondent of Erasmus; and several of his published letters were written in Greek. He studied theology at Basle under the direction of Thomas Wyttenback, and by him was instructed in the doctrine of salvation by faith. Like Luther and Milton, he was fond of music, and not only composed several pieces, but wrote lyrics to accompany them.

In the year 1506, Zwingle took his master's degree, and was presented to the important cure of Glaris, where he remained ten years. From the time of his ordination, he commenced his theological course anew, and devoted himself almost entirely to the Greek Testament. For the Epistles of Paul he had a peculiar attachment. He not only copied them with his own hand, but he committed the most of them to memory. He also studied the early Christian fathers, and pondered the anathematized writings of Wickliffe and Huss. He soon learned the corruptions and abuses of his Church, and began to speak out his convictions for the benefit of others. During his residence at Glaris, Zwingle twice

accompanied the Swiss armies into Italy in the capacity of chaplain.

In the year 1516, Zwingle was removed from Glaris, and became preacher to a Benedictine monastery at Einsiedeln. He was here associated with several persons whose views of truth were similar to his own, particularly with Myconius and Leo Juda. In connection with them he studied the Scriptures in the original languages, and also the writings of Reuchlin and Erasmus. He began to denounce the superstitions of Rome, and to preach the pure gospel of salvation, at least a year before Luther commenced his attack upon indulgences.

In 1518, the chapter of Zurich conferred upon Zwingle the cure of the first parish in that city. He now entered upon a continuous exposition of the books of the New Testament, which he pursued in order until the whole was finished. He inveighed freely, as he passed along, against the superstitions and enormities of the Church and clergy, and called loudly for a reformation.

It was at this time that a cordelier, by the name of Sampson, came into the canton as a seller of indulgences. He had pursued this traffic in Switzerland for eighteen years, and was generally detested both by priests and people. Through the influence of Zwingle, he was expelled from Zurich. Zwingle took occasion, in this connection, to declare more fully than he had done the scriptural doctrine of forgiveness, or absolution; insisting that it was to be secured, not by any purchased priestly indulgence, but only through the death and merits of Christ.

His labors at Zurich were attended with such success, that, at the close of the year 1519, two thousand persons confessed their adherence to the truth; and the town council passed a decree, that, within their jurisdiction, nothing should be preached which could not be established by the word of God. At the same time, it was resolved that all preachers and pastors are at liberty to reject the mass and other human inventions, and to celebrate the Holy Supper according to the Scriptures. In 1520, Zwingle renounced the pension which he had been receiving from Rome; "bidding," to use his own language, "the pontiff and his gifts a long farewell."

Still these successes were not achieved without violent opposition. The following letter to Myconius refers to this opposition, and shows the spirit with which it was met: "The attacks upon me are so incessant, and the blows so vehement, of those who try to overthrow the Church of God, that one might justly think them,

not wind and rain, but hail and thunder; and, were I not sure that the Lord is in the ship, I had long ago abandoned the helm. But when I behold him strengthening the cords, adjusting the yards, controlling the winds, and spreading the sails, I should be a dastard if I deserted my station, even at the risk of perishing ignominiously. I will, therefore, leave all to his benignity. Let him rule, conduct, hasten, delay, or immerge, at his pleasure; I will not rebel: I am his poor vessel, which he may use either to honor or dishonor, as seemeth him good."

Through most of the year 1522, Zwingli and his fellow-laborers were endeavoring to procure the same religious liberty in other parts of Switzerland which was enjoyed at Zurich; also to obtain the release of some who were in prison for conscience' sake. Zwingli addressed a letter to Hugo, bishop of Constance, inviting him to put himself at the head of the reform, and allow that "to be removed with caution and prudence which had been added with temerity." But this effort, so far from being successful, aroused all the fury of the priests and monks, who denounced him in the grossest manner.

About this time, Pope Adrian addressed a letter to Zwingli, in which, by flatteries and promises, he strove to detach him from the cause of the Reformation, and bind him to the holy see. He instructed his legate to manage the matter with all prudence, and leave nothing untried in order to gain the bold reformer. This letter, however, was not delivered; because, on the arrival of the legate, it was found that Zwingli had already committed himself in another direction. He had come before the grand council of his canton, and requested a *public conference* in which he might give an account of his doctrine before the deputies of the bishop. He promised to retract if it could be shown that he was in error; but he demanded the special protection of the government in case he proved his adversaries to be in the wrong. The grand council consented, and notified all the clergy of the canton to assemble on the 29th of January, 1523; granting to each one full "liberty to indicate such opinions as he judged heretical, and to combat them on the ground of the gospel." In preparation for the conference, Zwingli issued sixty-seven theses, setting forth the main points of difference between himself and the Romish Church.

The following are some of them: —

"They who assert that the gospel is nothing until confirmed to us by the Church utter blasphemy against God.

“Jesus Christ is the only way of salvation for all who ever have been saved or shall be.

“Christians have no fathers upon earth, but are all brethren in Christ, and one of another. Hence there should be no religious orders, sects, or parties, among them.

“No compulsion should be employed in the case of such as are in error, unless by their seditious conduct they disturb the peace of society.”

At the time appointed, more than six hundred persons assembled in the hall of the great council at Zurich. Many from the neighboring cantons were present as spectators. The bishop of Constance was represented by John Faber, his vicar-general, and by other theologians; the clergy of the canton of Zurich, by Zwingli and his friends. The burgomaster Roust presided, explained the object of the meeting, and invited all persons to express their opinions without fear.

Zwingli arose, and said, “I have proclaimed that salvation is to be found in Christ alone. It is for this that I am charged throughout Switzerland with being a heretic, a seducer, and a rebel. Here then, in God’s name, I stand.”

Upon this, all eyes were turned towards Faber. “I am not sent here to dispute,” said he, “but to report. The Diet of Nuremberg has promised a general council within a year: we must wait for its assembling.”

“But,” replied Zwingli, “is not this large and intelligent meeting as competent as a council?”

A solemn silence now ensued, which was interrupted by the burgomaster: “If any one present has aught to say, let him speak.” Still all were silent. “I implore those who have accused me,” said Zwingli,—“and some of them I know are present,—to come forward and rebuke me for the truth’s sake.” Not a word was spoken. Again and again, Zwingli repeated his request; but it was all in vain. Faber was shrewd enough to perceive, that, if the controversy went on, it must turn against him; and therefore he declined to proceed.

In the afternoon the conference assembled, and resolved, that “as Zwingli had not been convicted of heresy, nor refuted, he should continue to preach the gospel as he had done; and that, in future, the pastors of Zurich and its territory should base all their preaching upon the Scriptures.”

This decision was received by the Papists with cries of dissat-

isfaction; but it assured the reformers of their triumph, and encouraged them to go forward with their work. Concerning this conference, Hoornbeck remarks, that he knew of no public disputation which had been conducted with more dignity or advantage. The good effects of it were soon visible. Clergymen began to enter the marriage-state; nunneries were thrown open; the baptismal service was performed without exorcism and the other Popish ceremonies; the chapter of the great minster was turned into a school for theological students; and the surplus revenues were devoted to charity. The doctrine prevailed among both clergy and laity, that the mass was no sacrifice, and that the invocation of saints was forbidden.

Such was the zeal of the populace against image-worship, that a shoemaker named Huttenger, assisted by a large body of citizens, proceeded to throw down the great cross of Stadelhofer, standing just outside the city gates. This and some other like proceedings aroused the Popish party; and, to prevent a tumult, the council caused the offenders to be arrested. Zwingle conceded that their act was *civilly* unlawful, but denied that it was intrinsically evil or sinful. In their perplexity, the council resolved to convoke a second conference to decide whether the worship of images was authorized by the gospel, and whether the mass should be abolished. This conference met in the city of Zurich on the 28th of October, 1523, and was attended by more than nine hundred persons from St. Gall, Schaffhausen, Zurich, and some other cantons. The sessions continued for three days. The bishops of Coira, of Constance, and of Basle, were invited to be present; but they declined, remembering the little credit which they had gained on the former occasion, and having no wish for a repetition of so humiliating a scene.

The discussions, as in the previous conference, were chiefly on one side. The leading Romanists were not present; or, if present, they chose to keep silence, and remain concealed. Near the close of the sessions, some *fanatical* teachers arose, declaimed (as was their wont) about the Spirit, and demanded abrupt and violent changes; but their counsels were not heeded. Zwingle made a great impression on the meeting by his closing address. His feelings overcame him; he wept; and many others were affected to tears.

The result of this second conference was very happy. Many of the priests who were present returned to their respective stations

full of zeal for the gospel; and their influence was felt in every part of Switzerland. The church of Zurich, which in its connection with the see of Constance had always maintained a measure of independence, was now fully emancipated. Instead of resting on the bishop and the pope, henceforward it rested on the word of God. From this time, image-processions were prohibited; the pastors generally abandoned the mass, and the people refused to assist at it or receive it.

The celibacy of the clergy came up for discussion in this second conference; and Zwingle showed that it has no foundation in the Scriptures. The government of Zurich, however, came to no decision on the subject, but allowed the priests to marry if they chose. Accordingly, on the 2d of April, 1524, Zwingle was married to Madame Anne Reinhard, a wealthy lady of noble descent, the widow of a magistrate. By her he had two children, — a son, who was afterwards archdeacon of Zurich; and a daughter, who became the wife of an excellent Protestant minister.*

As early as the year 1524, several persons came to Zurich to confer with Zwingle respecting the Lord's Supper. In his conference with them, he expounded the words, "This is my body," to mean, "This *signifies or represents* my body;" showing that his mind was even then made up as to the doctrine of the real presence. He also insisted on the propriety of administering the sacrament in *both kinds*, according to the command of Christ.

As a natural consequence of the Reformation at Zurich, several religious houses were suppressed. Among them was an ancient abbey near the city, which was in possession of valuable privileges and revenues. With the consent of the inmates, the lady abbess delivered to the magistrates all their property, only requesting that the income of it might be appropriated for religious purposes and for the relief of the poor. This example was followed by several convents; the old members being supported out of the income of the houses, and the young men being apprenticed to different trades. Much of the wealth of the suppressed houses was employed for the endowment of professorships in the university. This was organized with great skill by Zwingle, who gathered around him some of the most learned men of the age. Among the professors were Conrad Pellican, a Hebraist from the school of Reuchlin, and Collinus, an eminent Greek scholar. Such was the

* There was a third public disputation held at Zurich in January, 1524; which terminated, like the two previous ones, in the discomfiture of Rome.

influence of the university at Zurich, that, twenty years after, it was no uncommon thing to meet with merchants and magistrates who could read the whole Bible in the original tongues.

Every thing was now moving forward at Zurich. Men's minds were becoming enlightened; their hearts were more steadfast; the Reformation was gaining strength. Zurich was a fortress in which the new doctrine had intrenched itself, and from which it was ready to pour itself abroad over the whole confederation. The enemies of the gospel saw all this. They felt that they had remained quiet too long already. It was now time to strike a vigorous blow. The general diet of the Swiss cantons was about to assemble at Lucerne. The priests were resolved to enlist the great council of the nation in their favor; and, to a considerable extent, they were successful. They caused an edict to be passed, "forbidding all persons to inculcate or preach any new or Lutheran doctrine, either secretly or publicly, or to discuss such matters at home or abroad." This edict was adopted by all the States except Zurich, and transmitted to all the bailiffs, with strict orders to see it executed. At the same time, the diet sent a deputation to Zurich to demand of the council and the citizens that they should renounce their new religion. The deputies came, and delivered their message faithfully: "Confederates of Zurich, join your efforts with ours. Root out this new doctrine. Dismiss Zwingle and his followers; and let us all unite to remedy the abuses which have arisen against the Holy Church of Rome."

To this arrogant demand the reply of the Council of Zurich was calm and dignified: "*We can make no concessions in what concerns the word of God.*" And this reply in words they followed out with corresponding deeds. Instead of treading back in the work they had undertaken, they went forward to perfect it and make it more complete. The pictures and images were removed from the churches; the relics were decently interred; and a new form of baptism was established, from which every thing unscriptural was excluded.

The advocates of Popery, finding that their demands upon Zurich had not been heeded, resolved to make another effort. At the call of the pontiff, the diet assembled at Hug in the month of July, and sent another deputation to Zurich, assuring the government and people of their determination that the new doctrine should be suppressed, and its adherents subjected to the forfeiture of property, honors, and even of life itself.

Such an announcement could not fail of exciting a strong sensation at Zurich : but a resolute answer was again returned, — that, in matters of faith, *the word of God was supreme* ; that *this, and this only, should be obeyed*.

When this reply was communicated to the diet, the greatest indignation was manifested by the Catholic members. They resolved that they would no longer sit with Zurich in the diet : and not only so ; they entered at once upon the bloody work of persecution. Several excellent men — ministers and others — were arrested and put to death ; and the Reformation in Switzerland was early baptized in blood.

But the Zurichers, so far from being terrified by these proceedings, were the rather strengthened in their resolution to go forward. The sacrifice of the mass had been before abolished ; but the old form of celebration was still continued. Now it was resolved that the form also should be changed, and should give place to the simple supper of the Lord ; and, for three days together, the ordinance was administered according to the scriptural pattern, so that all persons who wished to partake of it might be accommodated : At the commencement of the service, the deacons read aloud such passages of Scripture as refer to the sacrament. Next the pastors addressed the flock in language of pressing admonition, charging all those whose wilful indulgence of sin would bring dishonor upon the body of Christ to withdraw from the sacred feast. The people then fell on their knees : the bread was carried round on large wooden platters, and the wine was distributed in wooden cups. The hearts of all who engaged in this solemn transaction were affected with alternate emotions of wonder and joy ; and the celebration was followed by a remarkable outpouring of the spirit of love. The love which had glowed so brightly in the first age of Christianity seemed kindled anew. Persons who before had been at variance were seen weeping together, and embracing each other at the table of the Lord.

The Papists were not the only enemies with which the reformers in Switzerland were called to contend. The same fanatical Anabaptists who had made so much disturbance in Germany found their way into this country also. We have heard of them already in the second conference held at Zurich in 1523 ; but, two years later, they had so increased in numbers, and were so bold and defiant in their claims, that it was thought best to give them a public hearing at Zurich. The debate lasted three days, and, in

some of its stages, was very violent. Some of the ranters insisted that baptism was no better than the washing of a dog. Some cast the New Testament into the fire, exclaiming, "The letter killeth; but the spirit giveth life." Some girded themselves with ropes, and ran through the streets, crying, "Woe, woe to thee, Zurich! In a few days more, Zurich shall be destroyed!"

While Zwingle was trying to stem the torrent of fanaticism at Zurich, it broke out with increased violence in St. Gall. Grebel, one of the leaders, made his appearance there, and succeeded in producing an immense excitement. Multitudes from the neighboring cantons, and not a few from Zurich, flocked to his place of meeting to receive his baptism. But the ferment was not destined to continue long. It soon came to a crisis, and passed away in blood.

In the neighborhood of St. Gall lived an aged farmer by the name of Shucker, who had five sons. The whole family had received the new baptism; and two of the sons, Thomas and Leonard, were distinguished for their zeal. In the evening of the 7th of February, 1526, there was a meeting of Anabaptists at the house of the Shuckers; and the whole night was spent in fanatical excitement, convulsions, visions, and revelations. In the morning, Thomas, still agitated with the night's disorder, approached his brother Leonard, and said, "Brother, fall on your knees!" and Leonard knelt down. Then he said, "Brother, arise!" and Leonard rose up. Pretty soon he said, "Brother, kneel down again!" and he knelt down. At that moment, Thomas snatched a sword, brought it down with all his might upon the neck of his brother, and severed his head from his body; crying out at the same time, "Now is the will of the Lord accomplished!" At once the dreadful tidings spread through St. Gall. The murderer was arrested; and, nine days afterwards, he was executed.

But fanaticism had now run its course; men's eyes were opened; and, to use the words of an early historian, "The same blow took off the head of Thomas Shucker and of Anabaptism in St. Gall." It survived, however, for a time in Zurich, and, by its excesses, provoked the civil authorities to put some of the ringleaders to death. These executions were not approved by Zwingle; though he exerted himself in every way possible to convince the fanatics, to restrain them in their mischievous course, and bring them to submit to reason and the word of God. And, although for this he incurred their severest reproaches, his known opposition

to them was, in the eyes of all sober people, creditable to the cause of the Reformation in Switzerland.

But to return to the Catholics. As the Reformation had now been accomplished in Zurich, the principal object of Zwingli and his associates was to sustain it there, and spread it into the other cantons; while the Romanists were as much engaged to crush it out at Zurich, and prevent its diffusion. Among the inhabitants of the Tockenburg and of the Grisons, religious liberty had been proclaimed; and preachers were required to confine themselves, in their discourses, to the word of God. But the greatest interest was manifested in regard to the important cantons of Berne and Basle. Will they take their stand on the side of the truth? or will they remain in subjection to Rome?

These questions were not soon or easily answered. In both cantons, the Reformation had powerful supporters; and, in both, the powers of Rome were strongly entrenched. Popery was advocated in these places, not only by the priests, but by many of the oligarchs, — the rulers who had been receiving pensions from Rome, and whose prejudices were fortified by considerations of interest. Among the reformers at Berne were Berthold, Haller, and the noble family of the Wattsvilles: among those at Basle were Capito and *Œcolampadius*. Erasmus had also fixed his residence at Basle, partly on account of its high literary character, and partly that he might be near Frobenius, the publisher of his works.

As the conferences at Zurich had been such an eminent means of spreading the reformed doctrines there, the general diet of the Swiss cantons resolved to have a conference which should be under a decidedly Catholic influence, in hope thereby of counteracting and suppressing the new religion. After much consultation and debate, it was resolved that the conference should meet at Baden, one of the most decidedly Catholic districts in Switzerland; and that it should be opened on the 16th of May, 1526. Only a week previous to the meeting, two excellent ministers were put to death, — the one by drowning, and the other by fire. So dissatisfied were the Zurichers with the place of meeting, and with all the circumstances attending it, that they resolved to have no part in it; nor would they suffer Zwingli to be present, though he kept up a constant correspondence with it by reporters and runners.

Chief among the disputants on the Catholic side was the pompous and boastful Dr. Eck, bedizened with rings, chains, and crosses, and threatening to crush all opposition under his feet. On

the other side were the modest and gentle *Œcolampadius* from Basle, and the still more timid *Haller* from Berne. The discussion lasted eighteen days. *Eck* was vehement in manner, as he always was, using the most insulting language, interlarded, not unfrequently, with oaths. A contemporary poet describes him thus:—

“*Eck* stamps his foot, and claps his hands;
 He raves, he swears, he scolds:
 ‘I do,’ he cries, ‘what Rome commands,
 And teach whate’er she holds.’”

Œcolampadius, on the contrary, spoke with so much mildness and gentleness, and at the same time with such ability and courage, that even his antagonists were affected and impressed.

The discussion terminated, as might have been expected, in a nominal victory for the Catholics; and yet, in its results, it was a great injury to them. Those who had contended for the gospel, being returned to their homes, infused into their fellow-citizens an enthusiasm for the cause they had defended; and, from this time, Berne and Basle began to fall away from the ranks of the Papacy. Also the preachers of St. Gall, on their return from the conference, proclaimed with new earnestness the gospel. The images were removed from some of the churches; and the people stripped themselves of their ornaments, that they might employ the money in works of charity. At *Mulhausen*, the gospel was preached with great boldness; while, in *Thurgovia* and the *Rhenish* provinces, the people became more than ever interested in the doctrines of *Zwingle*. Even at *Baden*, where the conference was held, almost the whole district received the gospel. Facts such as these clearly show which party really triumphed in the conference. The Catholics secured a majority of votes; but the permanent good results were chiefly on the other side.

Two years after this (1528), the city and canton of Berne made a more formal profession of the gospel than ever before. A convention was held at Berne for the discussion of the new doctrines. *Zwingle* was present, with *Œcolampadius*, *Pellican*, *Ballinger*, *Capito*, *Baur*, and *Haller*. They discussed ten theses drawn up by *Haller*, and were employed upon them several days. At the close, a great majority of the clergy and people of Berne subscribed the theses, declaring them to be in their judgment consonant with the Scriptures. During the time of the convention, the reformed clergy preached by turns in the Cathedral of Berne,—

the same pulpit where, ten years before, Sampson had published the sale of indulgences.

In the following year (1529) was the famous conference at Marburg, between the German and Swiss theologians, respecting the presence of Christ in the eucharist. Of this we shall give a more full account in another place. Suffice it to say here, that the conference was proposed by the landgrave of Hesse, in the hope of bringing about an agreement between the reformers of the two countries, that so they might be mutually strengthened against their common enemy. But it was soon found that an agreement was impossible. The parties could only agree to differ, and hardly that.

At the diet of Augsburg, in 1530, Zwingle presented a confession of faith to the emperor, Charles V., which was less acceptable to him than the Lutheran Confession, and was replied to by Eck with great bitterness.

In 1531, the controversies in Switzerland, which had come to be political as well as religious, broke out into open war. The Roman-Catholic cantons had entered into an alliance with Austria, which was exceedingly offensive to the other branches of the confederacy. On the 6th of October, the five Romish cantons published their manifesto, and took the field. The Zurichers, who were left almost alone to contend with them, could not muster more than a few hundred men; and Zwingle was ordered to accompany them as chaplain. It had been the invariable custom of the canton, when engaged in war, to send one of their best ministers with the army to perform religious services; and Zwingle was not a man to shrink from duty in the hour of peril. "Our cause is good," said he; "but it is ill defended. The expedition will cost me my life; but no matter for that: God will not abandon those who serve him."

The engagement was at Cappel, only a few miles from Zurich; but the road was mountainous, which impeded the heavy armed soldiery. Meanwhile the roar of cannon announced that the battle was begun. "Let us hasten our march," said Zwingle, "or we shall arrive too late. Let us fly to the assistance of our brethren, that so we may stand or fall together."

In the very beginning of the battle, while Zwingle was urging forward the troops, he received a mortal wound in the throat. He was struck down senseless at the time; but, recovering his consciousness, he crossed his feeble hands upon his breast, and said,

“Well, they may kill the body; but the soul they cannot kill.” Some Romish soldiers found him, and offered to bring him a confessor; but he declined seeing one. They exhorted him to pray to the Holy Virgin; but he would not. “Then die, obstinate heretic!” cried one of them, and thrust him through with his sword. His body was soon recognized, and was burned to ashes by his ruthless enemies.

Thus died Ulric Zwingle, the hero and martyr of Switzerland, at the early age of forty-seven. That he was a great and good man, learned, eloquent, and brave, there can be no doubt; that he performed his part manfully in the troublous times on which he fell, and died heroically for his religion and his country, is equally clear; that he commenced the work of reformation earlier than Luther, and pursued it in its first stages, independent of him, is certain. He pursued it, too, on *different principles*; and was, on that account, a more thorough reformer. With all his fire and zeal, Luther was naturally *conservative*: he was averse to unnecessary, uncalled-for changes. He made the Scriptures his rule, but was for retaining as much of the old religion as was not *positively forbidden in the Scriptures*. Zwingle, on the contrary, was for rejecting all which could not be *established by the Scriptures*. Hence his removal of pictures and images from the churches, his restoration of the sacraments to their primitive forms, and the changes which he introduced in the government of the church.* The views of the two reformers on all the great points of Christian doctrine were coincident; and, if it be asked why Zwingle did not accomplish so great a work as Luther, the answer is plain: Luther had a much wider field on which to operate,—the great field of Germany and the surrounding countries; while Zwingle was shut up to the little canton of Zurich, and to such influence as he could exert upon the cities around him. Then Luther lived almost to the middle of the century; while Zwingle was smitten down in the midst of his days and usefulness.

In one respect, Luther may be regarded as in advance of his brother reformer. He had less of the politician in him, and was far more averse to war. Luther was for putting his trust in God,

* The difference here noticed in the principles of the original reformers shows itself in their followers even to this day. The Lutheran Church approximates much more nearly to the Catholic than the generality of the reformed churches.

leaning on him in faith and prayer, and leaving worldly affairs to worldly men; while Zwingli, though not destitute of these Christian qualities, had more of worldly wisdom, and was inclined to lean more on an arm of flesh. He would wield carnal as well as spiritual weapons; and hence his early and lamented death.

CHAPTER XLI.

THE REFORMATION IN FRANCE.

AS the Reformation in Switzerland commenced previous to and independent of that in Germany, so it may be said of the Reformation in France, that it commenced previous to and independent of them both. The first seeds of it were sown in Paris, and, what is more strange, in the university, — among the doctors of the Sorbonne. James Lefèvre began to teach and preach the doctrine of justification by faith, and to call the attention of his pupils from scholastic learning to the Holy Scriptures, as early as the year 1512. Among these pupils was a Dauphinese youth of peculiar interest and promise, — William Farel. Scarcely had his teacher begun to proclaim *salvation by grace*, when Farel embraced it with all his heart. He had experienced enough of labor and conflict to know that he could never save himself: therefore, when he learned that the salvation of the gospel is freely offered, and that it is all of grace, through faith, he received the truth, and began to rejoice in it with unspeakable joy. And not only so; the truth weaned him, set him free, from all the errors and superstitions of Rome. “From that moment,” says he, “the Papacy was dethroned within me. I began to abhor it as a devilish imposture: the blessed truth of God held the first place in my heart.”

Farel was not the only pupil to whom the teachings of Lefèvre proved a blessing. He was the instructor of the brothers Roussel, who afterwards did good service for Christ. At a later period, he was the teacher of Calvin, and helped to prepare his mind and heart for that career of distinguished usefulness to which he was destined. Nor was this all: in the years 1524, 1525, he published a French translation of the New Testament and the Psalms; thus putting it in the power of the people to read the Scriptures in their own tongue.

After Lefèvre left Paris, he led, for the most part, a wandering life, fleeing from his persecutors, and taking refuge wherever he could find a place. Still he never came out fully and formally from the Church of Rome. Repulsed and persecuted by this corrupt Church, he still clung to it. In his last years he was sheltered by Margaret, queen of Navarre; and died at her residence, a hundred years old.

This Margaret was sister of Francis I., the king of France. She was first married to the duke of Alençon, and afterwards to the king of Navarre; and was the grandmother of Henry IV., one of the most illustrious of the French kings. She had naturally a pure and thoughtful mind; and through the instrumentality of Lefèvre and Farel, and more especially of Briconnet, bishop of Meaux, she was brought early to the knowledge of the truth. She had great influence over her brother the king, and was a means of saving many of Christ's faithful servants from persecution and death. On the other hand, her brother had much influence over her, and prevented her from making that formal separation from the religion of Rome which otherwise she might have accomplished.

The history of her principal counsellor, Briconnet, bishop of Meaux, is one of deep and painful interest. Through the influence of Lefèvre, he was enlightened, and apparently converted. He seemed to understand the gospel; was deeply interested in it; and, when the little company of reformers was driven away from Paris, he invited them to follow him to Meaux, and set up their banner there. They did so; and the first congregation of French believers was formed in his diocese, and under his protection. He visited the clergy of his diocese, removed the incompetent and unfaithful, and endeavored to bring about a general reformation; but by his zeal and faithfulness he provoked opposition, was complained of to his superiors, and a persecution arose. Lefèvre, Farel, and the other preachers, were scattered; several were put to death; and at length the bishop himself was arrested, and brought to trial. For a time he wavered, and then fell away. He signed a recantation which was prepared for him, and became reconciled to the Church of Rome. On his final condition we pretend not to pass judgment. He is said to have been a visionary, mystical character; and many have expressed the hope that his heart was essentially right in the sight of God. Certain it is that his fall was a great hinderance and discouragement to the infant cause of the Reformation in France.

Francis I., the brother of Margaret, queen of Navarre, and the rival of Charles V., came to the throne in the year 1515. His course in regard to the Reformation was variable, but, on the whole, severe and cruel. He was a friend of learning and of learned men; and this induced him to invite them to his court, and sustain them there, without regard to their religious opinions. His sister Margaret, too, had much influence over him, which she exerted in favor of the reformers; and she often persuaded him to succor those who otherwise might have been destroyed. But the king was surrounded by evil counsellors, who excited his prejudices, inflamed his zeal, and led him, in many instances, to oppose and persecute those who dared to dissent from the established religion.

We have already heard of the persecution at Meaux, by which the reformed preachers were scattered; some fleeing in one direction, and some in another. Farel repaired to Dauphiny, his native region; but John Le Clerc, Chatelain, and some others, went to Metz. Le Clerc, though no more than a wool-comber by trade, was an unwearied laborer for Christ, and soon laid the foundation of a little church at Metz: but his zeal was greater than his discretion; and this brought him to an untimely end. On one occasion, he went privately into a chapel standing a little way out of the city of Metz, and broke and scattered all the images. The deed was soon discovered, and the perpetrator of it; and he was sentenced to be burnt alive.

At the place of execution, an awful scene awaited him. His persecutors began by cutting off his right hand; then, taking up red-hot pincers, they tore away his nose; after this, with the same instrument, they lacerated his arms, and ended by applying the burning pincers to his breast. All this while, the soul of the sufferer was kept in perfect peace. He continued repeating the hundred and fifteenth psalm: "Their idols are silver and gold, the work of men's hands. They have mouths, but they speak not; eyes have they, but they see not; they have ears, but they hear not; noses have they, but they smell not; they have hands, but they handle not; feet have they, but they walk not; neither speak they through their throat. They that make them are like unto them; and so is every one that trusteth in them. *O Israel! trust thou in the Lord: he is their help and their shield.*" By the sight of so much composure, his enemies were awed; believers were confirmed in their faith; and the people were astonished and affected. After undergoing

every torture, Le Clere was consumed by a slow fire. He was the first martyr of the Reformation in France.

But the priests of Metz were not satisfied with a single victim. His friend Chatelain soon followed him, and, like him, was committed to the flames. Other leaders of the Church escaped, and took refuge in Basle. Meanwhile, Farel was preaching the gospel in Dauphiny and among the Alps; and many of the dwellers in those rough regions received the truth from his lips. Among these was a knight named Anemond, who became at once a fellow-laborer with Farel and a powerful helper in the work of the Lord. Leaving Dauphiny, the friends ere long met in Basle, where a French church was organized, and from which an influence went forth to bless the surrounding country.

While Farel was at Basle, he had an earnest invitation to visit Montbeliard, and publish the gospel-message there. As he had never received ordination in any form, before proceeding on his mission he was privately ordained by *Cœcolampadius*. At Montbeliard, he entered immediately upon his work of preaching Christ and him crucified; exhorting all men to come to him, and to persevere in their attachment to his cause. He was here like a general stationed on a hill, surveying with searching vigilance the field before him, cheering on those who were actively engaged, and encouraging others who were inclined to fall away. Nor were his labors without effect. Converts were multiplied, gainsayers were confounded; and the cause of truth was making evident progress.

At this time, the gospel began to be preached in Lyons. The king was marching an army into Italy; and his sister, the queen of Navarre, attended by some of her ministers, had followed him as far as Lyons. They at once commenced publishing the gospel-message; and their word was with power. Numbers were convinced, and embraced the truth. Nor did they confine their labors to Lyons. Supported and encouraged by Christians in the city, they published salvation in several of the adjacent provinces where before it was not known. But soon their prospects were clouded and their efforts checked. One of the queen's preachers was cast into prison; nor, with all her patronage and influence, was she able to procure his release.

The campaign of the king in Italy proved a most disastrous one. The battle of Pavia occurred in February, 1525, when Francis was defeated and taken prisoner by Charles V. During his captivity, which lasted about a year, the enemies of the Reformation raged in

France with unwonted fury. The queen-mother (who acted as regent), the parliament, the Sorbonne,—all united their forces to persecute the friends of religion, and crush out what remained of the new doctrine. To accomplish this the more surely, a board of inquisitors was organized (consisting of some of the more violent Romanists), whose office it was to seek out, try, condemn, and destroy all who were known as friends of the gospel. It was before these inquisitors that Bricconet, bishop of Meaux, was arraigned, of whose trial and recantation I have already spoken. Lefèvre was next sought for; but he fled to Strasburg, and escaped their hands. At Strasburg he found Farel, Roussel, and many other refugees from France, who covenanted together, and formed a little church, to which Farel preached the doctrine of salvation.

The first victim who suffered death at the hands of the inquisitors was a pastor by the name of Schuek. He was burned in the city of Nancy, Aug. 19, 1525. When he came to the place of execution, his books were first burned; and he was called upon to recant. He refused, and began repeating with a loud voice the fifty-first psalm: "Have mercy upon me, O God! according to thy loving-kindness; according unto the multitude of thy tender mercies, blot out my transgressions." Having mounted the pile, he continued to repeat the psalm until his voice was stifled with smoke and flame.

James Pavanné had been once tried for heresy, and had been persuaded to retract; but the consequence was, that his peace of mind was utterly destroyed. He could do nothing but sigh and weep, and utter reproaches against himself for having denied his Lord and Saviour. He was seized, and brought before the inquisitors; and, when he found himself condemned to death, his mind was greatly relieved. He died full of joy, encouraging by his example all around him, who, whether secretly or openly, had embraced the gospel.

In the Forest of Livry, three leagues from Paris, lived a hermit, who, having learned the way of life, was very earnest in unfolding it to others. He went from cottage to cottage in the surrounding villages, speaking to the poor peasants of the gospel, and of the free pardon which it offers to every burthened soul. It was not long before intelligence of what the hermit was doing reached the ears of the inquisitors; and he was seized. He was dragged from his retreat in the forest, thrown into prison, and sentenced to the common punishment of being "burned by a slow fire."

Other executions followed: and the inquisitors even aimed to get into their hands the good queen of Navarre, the king's sister; but she escaped them by being sent into Spain, at her own request, to effect the release of the king, her brother; which she happily accomplished. By a treaty entitled "The Peace of Madrid," entered into on the 14th of January, 1526, the king of France obtained his liberty. The terms of his liberation were unreasonably severe. He renounced all claims to his Italian possessions, ceded Burgundy, relinquished his feudal sovereignty over Flanders and Artois, and promised to withdraw his protection from the king of Navarre. He left his two elder sons with the Emperor Charles as hostages, and took an oath, that, if all the provisions of the treaty were not complied with, he would return into captivity. Still he never complied with them, and never meant to comply. He insisted that his concessions were extorted from him by compulsory means; and Pope Clement VII. formally released him from the obligations of his oath.

After his return from captivity, the king of France pursued a more dubious, vacillating course in regard to religion than ever before. His hatred of the emperor induced him to form alliances with the king of England and with some of the German and Swiss reformers. His plan was, by means of compromise and treaty, to bring about a sort of reformation, in which all (unless it were the emperor) might coincide without a formal separation from the Romish Church. And some of the reformers seemed not unwilling, for a time, to listen to him, and to forward his plans. But Luther and the great body of them had no confidence in him, or in his method of reforming the Church. And they were the more confirmed in this opinion from the fact that the fires of persecution were still burning in France, and numbers of their dear brethren were yielding up their lives. The king tried, indeed, to throw off the responsibility of these persecutions, and to persuade the Protestants that they were confined to certain fanatics and Anabaptists. But the facts of the case could not long be concealed. The truth is, the king was acting a double part. He must conciliate the pontiff as well as the Protestants; and hence the vacillating, inconsistent course which he was led to pursue.

It would be tedious to mention all the instances of martyrdom which occurred in France during the next eight or ten years; and yet the names of a few which have come down to us should not be omitted.

Bartholomew Milo, a shoemaker of Paris, was a cripple in all his limbs except his arms. He had been a wicked youth, and cast much reproach upon the people of God. A pious man, being ridiculed by him as he passed his shop, gave him a New Testament to read. He read it continually, was greatly affected by it, and became a sincere convert to the faith of the gospel. And now he was as much in earnest to promote the truth as before he had been to ridicule and oppose it. His sick-chamber was a little school in which the gospel was made known, and out of which the honor and majesty of the Lord shone brightly forth. Of course, he could not escape the notice of the king's commissioners. He was dragged from his humble home, and condemned to be burned by a slow fire on the Place de Grève. His courage and patience afforded his fellow-prisoners unspeakable comfort and increased resolution. He honored God in death as he had done in his life.

Nicolas Valetton saw the inquisitor coming to his house, and removed his books to a secret place. And this was all that could be proved against him. The books contained nothing that had been forbidden; but the fact of his concealing them implied, it was thought, an heretical disposition. He died with great firmness; being burnt alive with wood that had been brought from his own house.

John Du Bourg, a merchant of Paris, bore testimony to the truth in the same way. No regard for relatives, no thought of riches, no earthly bond whatever, could move him to deny the faith. He, too, was burned at Paris.

Henry Poillé, a poor bricklayer, gave similar proof of the power of a lively faith. His persecutors, fearing that his word at the stake might work upon the feelings of the spectators, bored through his tongue, and fastened it with an iron pin to his cheek. It was very common at this time to gag the martyrs, to prevent them from bearing testimony to the truth in their dying hours.

Stephen La Forge of Tournay, a rich and benevolent merchant, published Bibles at his own expense for gratuitous circulation. This was deemed an unpardonable offence; and he sealed his profession in the flames at the churchyard of St. John.

At some of these executions, the king himself was present. Thus when Dymond Levoy and five others were burned, in 1528, he went bareheaded to witness the horrible transaction, accompanied by a procession of priests and monks.

It is true, indeed, that the friends of the gospel were not always

as discreet in their measures as they should have been. On one occasion, they affixed to the gates of the palace, and in other public places, papers containing indecent reflections on the rites and doctrines of the Church, and particularly on the mass. Infatuated with rage, the king decreed a public procession in honor of the holy sacrament. "The procession," says Lorimer, "issued from the Church of St. Germain, bearing the relics of all the martyrs that were preserved in the sanctuaries of Paris; among the rest the beard of St. Louis, which had not been exposed since his death. There were present many cardinals, bishops, abbots, and other prelates, the faculties of the colleges, and the bishop of Paris, bearing the holy sacrament. Then followed the king, uncovered, holding in his hand a wax candle; and after him the queen, the princes, two hundred gentlemen of the court, the guard, the parliament, the judges, and the ambassadors of foreign States and princes.

"The procession passed slowly through all quarters of the city; and in six principal places there had been erected an altar for the holy sacrament, and beside it a scaffold and a funeral-pile. At each of these six places, *six persons were burned alive*. By the king's order, these unhappy victims were fastened to a beam, which was so balanced, that, when it was let down, they were plunged into the fire; but, when it was elevated, they were raised up again, so as in this way to prolong their sufferings. And this was repeated until the cords that bound them were consumed, and they fell into the fire. It was so arranged that the victims should fall just as the king, in the procession, reached each place; and then the king, handing his candle to one of the attendants, prostrated himself upon the earth, and implored mercy on his people, until the victims were consumed. The procession finally stopped at the Church of St. Geneviève, where the sacrament was deposited on the altar, and mass was celebrated." It was during this procession that the king is reported to have said, that, if the blood in his right arm were tainted with heresy, he would cut it off; and that he would not spare even his own children if they proved unfaithful to the ancient faith.

But, frequent and terrible as these executions had been, they were as nothing compared with the destruction which fell upon the descendants of the ancient Vaudois or Waldenses in the south of France. In the first part of the sixteenth century, their settlements had extended through several provinces; and their numbers

were estimated at eight hundred thousand. Their doctrines were the same with those of the reformers ; and the two bodies regarded each other as brethren.

In 1540, a severe sentence had been pronounced against the Waldenses of Provence by the Parliament of Aix ; but the infliction was for several years suspended. In the year 1545, Baron d'Oppede assured Francis that the Waldenses were preparing to attack Marseilles, and prayed that the Edict of Aix might be executed upon them. The king was entreated, on the other hand, to stay the execution ; but he replied, that, as he was purging the other parts of his dominion of heretics, he could not be expected to spare those in Provence. He issued an order, therefore, that the edict should be executed, and committed the execution of it to the Baron d'Oppede. The edict declared that every dissentient from the holy mother-church who did not, within a specified period, acknowledge his errors, and obtain absolution, should be proceeded against with the utmost severity ; and, as Merindole was considered the principal seat of the heresy, that that devoted city should be razed to the ground. The edict declared "that all the caverns, cellars, vaults, and hiding-places in the city and vicinity should be carefully searched out and destroyed ; that the woods should be cut down, and all the gardens and vineyards laid waste ; that none who possessed houses or any other property in Merindole or the vicinity should ever occupy them again ; and, in short, that the memory of the excommunicated sect should be utterly obliterated in the province, and the place be made a desert."

This was a horrible decree, and still more horribly was it executed. "Twenty-two towns or villages were burned or sacked with a degree of barbarity beyond example. The miserable inhabitants, surprised during the night, and pursued from rock to rock by the light of the fires which consumed their own dwellings, frequently escaped one snare only to fall into another. The pitiful cries of the old men, women, and children, far from softening the hearts of the soldiers, only set them upon following the fugitives, and pointed out the places whither to direct their fury. Voluntary surrender did not exempt the men from execution, nor the women from excesses of brutality which makes Nature blush. It was forbidden, under pain of death, to afford them any refuge or succor.

"At Cabrières, more than seven hundred men were murdered in cold blood ; while the women were shut up in barns filled with

straw, which was set on fire. If any attempted to escape by the windows, they were driven back with swords and pikes. Finally, according to the letter of the edict, the houses were razed, the woods cut down, the fruit-trees pulled up by the roots; and the whole country, before so fertile and populous, became a waste and a desert.

“From Cabrières, the army proceeded to La Coste. Here the inhabitants, who had prepared for a defence, were assured of kind treatment if they would surrender. But the same cruelties were inflicted as at Cabrières. The town was destroyed; and all who could not escape were murdered without mercy. The women were treated with such violence and barbarity, that many of them died either from grief, or from the torments to which they were subjected. Those who escaped wandered among the mountains, until they reached Geneva and the reformed Swiss cantons.” In describing this massacre, Maimbourg, a Catholic historian, says that “more than three thousand persons were killed; and nine hundred houses were plundered, and then destroyed.”

The miseries that have been described occurred in Provence, but were not confined to that locality. Dauphiny and Languedoc experienced the same horrid treatment. Few were the Waldenses that were spared; and fewer still had the courage to acknowledge that they belonged to the proscribed party. We have the name of one of their preachers (Aymond de la Voye) who openly maintained the truth, and labored to encourage the desponding people of God; but he was arrested, and cruelly put to death.

Francis was severely censured for permitting such atrocities in his dominions; but he threw the blame on the Parliament of Aix, and ordered that the prosecution of the remaining heretics should be continued. He seems to have relented a little on his death-bed; and ordered his son to inquire into the matter, and see that justice was done. He died in 1547. His excellent sister Margaret survived him, and died in 1549.

While these struggles and conflicts were going on in France, the Lord was raising up there an instrument for the propagation of his truth, who should be second in influence to none who had gone before him. I refer to the celebrated John Calvin. Calvin was born at Noyon in Picardy, a province of France, July 10, 1509. His father, Gerard Chauvin, or Calvin, was in easy circumstances, and enjoyed an unblemished reputation. He was esteemed by the nobility in his neighborhood; and had the privilege of liberally

educating his son in the family of Mommer, one of the most distinguished in the province. In this noble family Calvin was trained up, and received the rudiments of a thorough education. With the children of Mommer, he was sent to Paris, and placed in the College of La Manche, under the tuition of the learned Maturin Cordier. This Cordier afterwards abjured Popery, and lived with Calvin at Geneva. Under him, Calvin obtained that correct knowledge of Latin which enabled him to write it with such elegance and ease.

From La Manche, Calvin was removed to the College of Montaigne, where he was instructed in mathematics and philosophy. Being of a sedate and thoughtful disposition, his father procured him a benefice in the Cathedral Church of Gesine when he was only twelve years old. At this time he received the tonsure, which was the first step towards priestly orders in the Church of Rome. In 1527, he was presented to an additional benefice, the rectory of Martville, which he exchanged for a curacy in his father's native place. Here he sometimes preached with great acceptance, though then only twenty years of age.

His promise of distinction was now so great, that his father changed his purpose respecting him, and, instead of making him a priest, resolved that he should enter upon the study of law. It is remarkable that both Luther and Calvin were lawyers before they became ministers of Christ. Calvin entered upon his new course of study reluctantly, and only in obedience to the will of his father. That he might the more successfully pursue the study of law, he went to the University of Orleans, and afterwards to that of Bourges. At this time, he lost his father. He also made the acquaintance of a kinsman by the name of Olivetan, who encouraged him to study the Holy Scriptures; and from this period they became almost his only study. He lost all relish for other pursuits, and devoted every leisure hour to the perusal of the Sacred Word. At Bourges he also became acquainted with Melchior Wolmar, a Protestant from Germany, who taught him Greek, and who contributed much to settle his still-wavering purpose on the subject of religion. To Wolmar, Calvin was chiefly indebted, under God, for his conversion; and through life he speaks of him in terms of warm affection and of strong obligation.

The conversion of Calvin, so deep and thorough, was not effected without a struggle. In his own experience, he learned the inefficacy of all Catholic forms and penances to give peace to

the soul. "When I had attended to these things," said he, "and while I yet trusted to them, very far was I from having peace of conscience; for whenever I descended into myself, or raised my heart to God, such extreme horror surprised me, that neither purifications nor satisfactions could bring any relief. Alas! the more closely I examined myself, so much the sharper became the stings of my conscience. To such a degree was this the case, that I could find neither solace nor comfort, except so far as I could deceive myself or forget myself." In this state of mind, Calvin could have no peace till he found it in Christ. After his change, he could say with Paul and with ten thousand others, "Being justified by *faith*, we have peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ."

After leaving the university, Calvin went to Paris, where he frequented the private assemblies of Christians, and preached to them the gospel. His ministrations were received with great joy by the faithful; among whom was the excellent Stephen La Forge, of whose martyrdom I have already spoken.

The horrible insensibility with which men raged against the gospel deeply affected the heart of Calvin; and he was resolved to make an effort to shame the persecutors. With this object in view, he published with notes and comments the two books of "Seneca de Clementia," which the philosopher had addressed to Nero during his persecution of the Christians. But as these books, when originally published, produced no softening effect upon the heart of Nero, so the republication of them by Calvin was equally inefficacious upon the heart of Francis and his persecuting court.

On the 1st of November, 1532, Nicolas Cop, rector of the University of Paris, delivered an address at the celebration of the festival of *All Saints*. The discourse was prepared by Calvin. It treated of the inefficacy of Romish superstitions to give peace to the soul, and insisted on the necessity of justification by faith. Of course, it gave great offence, and Cop was sought for; but he made his escape to Basle, his native place. Calvin, too, was sought for; but he escaped, and took refuge with Margaret, queen of Navarre. She sent for him to her palace, heard him discourse, and used her influence with the king for his personal safety.

While Calvin was absent from Paris, he went to Nerac, in the province of Aquitaine, to visit the venerable James Lefèvre, the father of the Reformation in France, who was here protected and provided for by the queen of Navarre. The excellent old man

received young Calvin with joy, and predicted that he would be the instrument, in the hands of God, of establishing the true religion in France.

From Nerac, Calvin returned privately to Paris, where he remained a little time, and where Michael Servetus requested an interview with him, and a public disputation. Calvin agreed to meet him, and, at the hazard of his life, repaired to the appointed place; but Servetus did not appear.

After the king's murderous procession in honor of the sacrament, of which we have before spoken, Calvin took a more decided stand in favor of the Reformation than ever before. He renounced all fellowship with the Romish Church, resigned the benefices which had been given him in early life, and retired to Orleans, where he published his "Psychopannachia," — a refutation of the doctrine of the sleep of the soul between death and the resurrection.

From Orleans, Calvin retired to Strasburg, where he formed an acquaintance with those early reformers, Grynæus and Capito. He here applied himself to the study of Hebrew, of which before he had little knowledge.

In the year 1535, Calvin published at Basle the first edition of his "Institutes," with a long and elaborate preface, addressed to the king of France. His hope was, that, by making the king acquainted with the doctrines of the reformers, he might soften his prejudices, and stay the further effusion of human blood. But it is doubtful whether the king ever read the work, or even the preface. This work has been one of inestimable value to the church and the world; but it seems to have produced no good effect upon the king.

After the publication of his "Institutes," Calvin retired into Italy, and made a visit to the celebrated duchess of Ferrara. This estimable woman was a daughter of Louis XII. of France, and cousin to Margaret, queen of Navarre. She had imbibed the principles of the reformers, and was eminently distinguished for her learning and piety. Her home was a refuge for the persecuted people of God in Italy, as that of Margaret had been in France. She received Calvin with great kindness, and was much profited by his instructions. She corresponded with him as long as he lived, and, after his death, gave proof of her grateful attachment to his memory. She continued for thirty years to be a nursing-mother to the reformed churches.

Calvin spent but a short time in Italy, when he returned pri-

vately to France to settle his pecuniary affairs at Noyon. He soon left Noyon, taking with him his only surviving brother, Anthony Calvin, intending to fix his residence at Basle or Strasburg, where he might quietly pursue his studies. The direct route from France to Strasburg being obstructed by troops, Calvin was led to take another road, which brought him to Geneva, intending to stop there but for a night. But, from this time, Geneva became his home, — the home of his unwearied studies and labors ; the post of his influence, his fame, and his power.

CHAPTER XLII.

THE REFORMATION IN DENMARK, SWEDEN, THE NETHERLANDS,
BOHEMIA, ITALY, AND SPAIN.

I.—DENMARK AND SWEDEN.

WHEN the Reformation commenced, the tyrannical Christian II. was ruling over Denmark, Sweden, and Norway. In all these kingdoms, the bishops were in possession of large property and privileges; and by them and the nobles the royal power was very much curtailed. With a view to restrict the power of the clergy, Christian favored the Reformation, and invited Martin Reinhard, a disciple of Carlstadt, to be professor of theology at Copenhagen. He also issued a law encouraging the marriage of the priests. At the same time, in Sweden, he was endeavoring to strengthen his dominion by favoring the pope and the clergy. He even went so far as to put some of the Swedish nobles to death. By his crooked, inconsistent policy, as well as by his cruelties, he provoked his people to rise against him, and dethrone him.

In consequence of this revolution, Sweden and Denmark were separated; Gustavus Vaso reigning over the former kingdom, and Frederic, duke of Holstein, over the latter. Both of these were wise and good kings; and both proceeded in the work of reformation with moderation and success. Gustavus had resided in Germany, and become acquainted with the Lutheran doctrines. He procured a translation of the Bible into the Swedish language; introduced teachers from Germany to instruct his people; and in an assembly of the States, in 1527, he so earnestly recommended the Lutheran doctrines, that after long discussion, and much opposition from the clergy, it was decided that the new religion might be introduced. Gustavus declared publicly at this time that he would rather resign his kingdom than reign over a people who

were subject to the laws and the authority of Rome. The religious affairs of the nation were, however, unsettled during the reigns of his two sons, Erich and John; but under the reign of his youngest son, Charles IX., Lutheranism became firmly established, and has continued to be so to the present time.

In Denmark the change was accomplished gradually, and without violent resistance. Frederic could not be induced to persecute the Protestants; he favored them, so far as he could safely do it: and in the Diet of Odensee, in 1527, a decree was passed, giving full liberty to the people, either to continue in the old religion, or to embrace the new. Under the influence of this decree, the Protestant preachers discharged their functions with so much ability and success, that the greater part of the Danes abandoned the pontiff of Rome. Christian III., the son and successor of Frederic, consummated the work which his father had begun. He stripped the bishops of their great power and ill-gotten wealth, and, by the aid of Bugenhagen of Wittenberg, settled the religious affairs of the nation in the most judicious manner. Bugenhagen crowned the king and queen in the year 1537, and consecrated the new evangelical bishops. He assisted the king in organizing anew the University of Copenhagen, and in preparing and publishing the new ecclesiastical order for the kingdom; and, in an assembly of the States in 1539, the chiefs gave their sanction to all that had been done.

The Reformation in these northern kingdoms had come to be, at the time, a matter of *necessity*; for the bishops, by various artifices, had acquired so much wealth, so many castles, such princely revenues, and so great authority, that they were more powerful than the kings, and were able to control the realm at their pleasure. They must therefore be put down, or the government must be subverted; and they were effectually put down in the manner above described.

II.—THE NETHERLANDS.

The seventeen Belgian provinces composing the Netherlands were a part of the hereditary dominions of Charles V., which he governed by his viceroys. While these provinces were under the dukes of Burgundy, they enjoyed a great degree of civil freedom. Their affairs were regulated by an assembly of the States; and they may almost be said to have constituted a republic. This form of goverment stimulated industry and enterprise; and in their trade,

their commerce, and the useful arts, they were highly prospered. Agriculture flourished; and lands naturally sterile and unproductive (in many places recovered from the sea) were brought into a high state of cultivation. Bruges, in West Flanders, was the great emporium of the nations until the sixteenth century; when Antwerp, which had long been its rival in commerce, became the principal mart of Europe. Even as late as the time of Queen Elizabeth, the foreign commerce of England was confined chiefly to the Netherlands.

Owing to their liberty and commerce, the writings of Luther were early introduced into the Netherlands, and produced a decided impression there. Many were converted, not only in Holland, but in the flourishing cities of Flanders and Brabant. The Emperor Charles earnestly desired to suppress the heresy in his hereditary dominions, and, as early as 1521, published a severe law against it. We have before spoken of the execution of two Augustinian friars under this law; viz., Esch and Voes, who had the honor to be the first martyrs of the Reformation. Other laws against heretics were enacted; and executions were frequent for the next thirty years. Scarcely a year passed in which some were not called to yield up their lives, either on the burning pile or by the axe of the executioner. And these cases of martyrdom would have been more frequent, but that the viceroys who governed under Charles were not heartily inclined to carry out his wishes. Besides, as the execution of these bloody laws depended upon the provincial and city authorities, it was frequently passed over through their connivance or neglect. The result was, that the adherents of the Reformation, instead of being diminished, were constantly increased; and they would have increased more rapidly, but that the excesses of the Anabaptists and other fanatics created a prejudice against the reformed religion.

As the persecuting edicts of Charles were not likely to secure their object, he instituted a regular inquisition, after the pattern of that existing in Spain; but this terrible engine could not be worked to advantage, and, in some of the provinces, could not exist at all. Such, in general, was the state of things in these provinces up to the year 1555; when Charles resigned the government of them to his son Philip II., under a solemn charge that he should watch over the interests of the Catholic religion, and see that heresy was extirpated, — a charge which Philip was most persistently determined to fulfil.

Of his cruel war against the Reformation in these provinces, — a war in which streams of blood were continually flowing, and which finally resulted in the establishment of the Dutch republic, — I shall speak in another place.

III. — BOHEMIA AND MORAVIA.

We pass next to notice the beginnings of the Reformation in *Bohemia* and *Moravia*. The Reformation in Bohemia may be said to have commenced with the labors of John Huss and Jerome of Prague. These men were burned by the Council of Constance; but they left a precious seed behind them in Bohemia to lament and avenge their death. It is no part of my present purpose to speak of the terrible Hussite wars under Ziska and others; of the division among the Hussites into two parties, the Calixtines and Taborites; and of their terrible persecutions during the next fifty years. Suffice it to say, that these persecutions served to purify them, to sift out from among them unworthy materials, and to prepare them for future and better service in the cause of God. In the year 1457, the genuine followers of Huss first organized their church. They entered into a formal union among themselves; and the rules and principles of their church were adopted.

For the next sixty or seventy years, these poor people may be said to have had no continuing city. They resided wherever they could, and had communion one with another, and with God, as they had opportunity. With some short intervals of rest, they were almost continually persecuted, — often cruelly, grievously persecuted. On one occasion, great numbers of them were driven from their homes, and compelled to seek an asylum in the thickest forests, and in the clefts and recesses of the rocks. They kindled their fires only in the night, lest the places of their retreat should be discovered by the smoke; and during the winter, while snow was on the ground, they used the precaution, when going out, to walk one after another, the last person dragging a brush after him to erase the traces of their feet.

But under the title of *Unitas Fratrum*, or United Brethren, they lived through till the time of Luther; and, when they heard of the Reformation which he had commenced, they welcomed it with exceeding joy. In the year 1522, they wrote to Luther, making him acquainted with their trials and persecutions, and asking his advice. He replied to them in a letter of encouragement and

counsel, advising them to adhere strictly to the word of God, and to the administration of the sacrament in both kinds, and to hold in veneration, as they ever had done, the memory of Huss. "Although all Bohemia should apostatize," said he, "yet would I celebrate and commend the doctrines of Huss to all posterity." He exhorted the brethren to persevere in the way they had hitherto defended with the loss of so much blood, and not bring a reproach upon the gospel by turning back, and yielding to their enemies. Several letters passed afterwards between the brethren and Luther, in which they set forth more fully the doctrines and usages of their church. Luther found fault with some things, more especially with their views of the sacrament, in which they accorded more nearly with the Swiss doctors than with him. Nevertheless, a good understanding prevailed between the brethren and the Lutherans; and mutual fellowship was maintained.

But a long period of darkness and persecution was still before the United Brethren. In the year 1627, through the influence of the Jesuits, the last traces of religious liberty were obliterated in Bohemia; and all who would not embrace the Catholic religion were required to leave their country. Some yielded to the necessity, at least externally; some fled to other lands; while a few were enabled, with the greatest secrecy, to remain in Bohemia and Moravia. By the grace of God, they were sustained through another hundred years of trial and conflict; when at length they found a resting-place on the estates of Count Zinzendorf, at Hernhut, in Saxony. From them have descended the Moravians, or United Brethren, of our own times.

IV.—ITALY.

Of all the countries of Europe, none seemed better prepared for the Reformation, at the time when it commenced, than Italy. Here learning was first revived, and had been most assiduously cultivated. Here lived and labored most of those men, who, without knowing it, were preparing the way for a reformation. Here, too, the corruptions of the Romish hierarchy were best understood, and the need of a reformation was most deeply felt. Accordingly, the writings of Luther and the other reformers were early and earnestly received in Italy; though many of them appeared under fictitious names, that they might be circulated without impediment. The Scriptures, too, were much studied. Several imperfect trans-

lations of the Bible were early attempted; but a correct and readable version was published by Antonio Brucioli in 1530. It was a circumstance peculiar to the Reformation in Italy, that it first appeared, and was chiefly promoted, among the higher and more cultivated classes. The common people were not so much affected by it.

The more decided advocates of the Reformation first appeared at Ferrara, after the marriage of Renata, a French princess, with the duke of Ferrara, in 1527. This excellent woman was the second daughter of Louis XII.,—one of the best monarchs that France ever had, who, when urged to renew the crusades against the poor Waldenses, replied, “They are much better Christians than we are.” She had been instructed in the gospel before she left her native land, and gave evidence that her heart was deeply interested in it. Under her auspices, Ferrara became, for several years, a “city of refuge” to unfortunate scholars and to persecuted Protestants. Calvin made a visit here, as we have before said, and helped to confirm the duchess in the doctrines of the Reformation. Almost all the distinguished Protestants of Italy visited Ferrara occasionally, and spent more or less time there. From this point the Reformation spread into Modena, and was welcomed there, more especially in the academy. In Venice, too, it had friends very early; and their numbers rapidly increased. They found powerful advocates, and were diffused through the territory of the republic. So great was the progress of truth in the Venetian territories between the years 1530 and 1542, that its friends began to deliberate on the propriety of organizing themselves into regular congregations, and of assembling in public.

The duchy of Milan was favorably situated for receiving the Reformation. The people were not unacquainted with the doctrine of the Waldenses, who lived on their borders; and, as their country touched upon Switzerland, the writings of Zwingli and Bucer gained, not only an early entrance, but a wide diffusion. Owing to these and other causes, the new opinions had made great progress among the Milanese previous to the year 1540.

In Mantua also, and Cremona and Locarno and Florence, the Reformation found friends and advocates. It was in Florence that Brucioli made his translation of the Scriptures, of which I have before spoken. Perhaps no man in Italy rendered such important service to the cause of truth as he. Besides his version of the Scriptures, he wrote a commentary on the whole Bible, extending

to seven folio volumes,—a work of great value, and replete with evangelical truth.

The Reformation found friends in several parts of the pope's dominions; as Bologna, Ancona, Imola, and other places. The truth found an entrance, also, at Pisa, Sienna, and at Lucca. At Lucca, Peter Martyr formed a church, over which he presided. He also founded a college, and employed several professors, who were lovers of the truth. A rich blessing attended the instructions of these learned and pious men.

Into Naples, the doctrines of the Reformation were first introduced by the soldiers of Charles V. Unknown to him, there were faithful Christians in his army who went forth to fight, not only his battles, but also the battles of the Lord. The cause of truth was greatly promoted in Naples by three excellent men; viz., John Valder, Bernard Ochino, and Peter Martyr. The two last of these were afterwards invited by Archbishop Cranmer into England to help forward the Reformation there.

It will be seen by these statements that Italy at this time was pretty thoroughly permeated by evangelical truth, and that this truth was likely to break forth at any time, and prevail. And why did it not? Why was not Italy as thoroughly reformed in the sixteenth century as Switzerland or Germany?

In the first place, controversies sprang up there which divided the Protestants, and hindered their efforts. There was the standing controversy about the personal presence of Christ in the sacrament. The most of the Italian reformers inclined to the doctrine of the Swiss on this subject; while others held with Luther, and were as obstinate as he.

Then there were some in Italy who denied the proper divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ. These anti-Trinitarian speculations seem to have originated at Sienna, the birthplace of the Socini, and thence to have been transferred to the Venetian territories, where they chiefly prevailed. The seeds of the error may have been planted by Michael Servetus. In his visit to Italy, he became acquainted with several of the reformers, upon whose minds he doubtless endeavored to make an impression, both by his correspondence and his books.

But that which fatally interrupted the Reformation in Italy, and finally extirpated it, was the working of the terrible Inquisition. This was set up in 1542; and Cardinal Caraffa was commissioned to direct it. He took such energetic measures against all suspected

persons, that multitudes of them forsook their native land, and sought security in Switzerland and Germany. Among these were Bernard Ochino and Peter Martyr; the latter of whom went to Strasburg, and there became professor of theology.

The Inquisition became still more cruel when its leading spirit, Caraffa, was called to the Papal chair in the year 1555. He took the title of Paul V., and published a list of prohibited books which were to be seized and burned. Among those who were assailed at this time was the good Renata, duchess of Ferrara. One indignity after another was heaped upon her. Her attendants were sent away; and even her children were forbidden to approach her. But she was not a person to be persuaded or frightened into an abandonment of what she conceived to be her duty. Fortunately, her brutal, Catholic husband died about this time, and she returned to France. She took up her abode in the Castle of Montargis, some forty miles south-east of Paris, where she spent the remainder of her days.

The reformed religion lingered longer in Venice than in any other part of Italy. As late as 1560, those that followed the truth met regularly in a private house for the worship of God, and called a minister to organize them into a church. But at length the fatal Inquisition was established there, and entered on its work of misery and death. The mode of execution in Venice was not burning, but drowning. The prisoner was taken from his cell in the night, and placed in a gondola, with no other attendants than the rowers and a priest. After being carried into the outer harbor, another boat came alongside: the prisoner was laid on a plank, whose ends rested on the two boats; his hands were tied; and a heavy stone was attached to his feet. At a given signal, the boats separated, and the victim was plunged into the deep, to rise no more until "the sea shall give up her dead."

Time would fail to speak of the persecutions in other places, as Locarno, Mantua, Milan, Cremona, Lucca, Florence, and Naples, where thousands upon thousands were driven into exile, and other thousands were put to death with every species of torture that a hellish ingenuity could invent. But we must describe in few words the treatment of a large colony of Waldenses, who had been settled some two hundred years in Calabria, the southernmost point of the Italian peninsula. As the truth made progress in Italy, it waked up a new interest in this branch of the Waldensian Church. Faithful ministers from Piedmont came and labored

among them to revive the true spirit of piety in their hearts ; but they, in their almost insular seclusion, could not long be let alone. Rome roused herself like a lioness to pounce upon them, and make them her prey. Inquisitors were sent among them, resolved either to effect their destruction, or bring them over to the Catholic faith ; and, as the latter was found to be impracticable, the former was terribly accomplished. The most of them were destroyed in war ; and on the remnant was inflicted every kind of torture and of death. The following description of what took place at Montalto in the year 1558 is from the pen of an eye-witness and a Roman Catholic : “ Eighty-eight men were penned up in one house as in a sheepfold. The executioner went in, and, bringing out one of them, covered his face with a napkin. He led him out into a field near by, caused him to kneel down, and cut his throat with a knife ; then, taking off the bloody napkin, he went and brought out another, whom he put to death in the same way : and in this way the whole number were butchered. I leave you to picture to yourself the frightful spectacle ; for I can scarcely refrain from tears while I write. The meekness and patience with which these poor creatures went to martyrdom are incredible. I still shudder while I think of the executioner, with the bloody knife between his teeth, the dripping napkin in his hand, and his arms besmeared with gore, going to the house, and taking out one victim after another, just as the butcher does the lamb which he is about to kill.”

Should any one doubt the above statement, let him take what follows from a Catholic historian of that age : “ Some,” says he, “ had their throats cut, others were sawn asunder, and others thrown from the top of a high cliff. It was strange to hear of their obstinacy ; for while the father saw the son put to death, and the son the father, they not only exhibited no symptoms of grief, but said joyfully to one another, ‘ We shall soon be as the angels of God.’ ”

I cannot draw out further this painful, dreadful narrative. Enough has been said to show how the Reformation was suppressed in Italy. It was literally burned out in the fires of the Inquisition : it was crushed out under the heel of a most violent and relentless persecution. The blood of the martyrs is not always the seed of the Church ; but the souls of the ten thousand martyrs which the idolatrous Church of Rome has caused to be slain are still crying under the heavenly altar, “ How long, Holy

and True, dost thou not judge, and avenge our blood on them that dwell upon the earth?"

V.—SPAIN.

The end of the Reformation in Spain was very like to that which has been described in Italy. The Albigenses of Languedoc and Provence had migrated into Northern Spain; and efforts were made to expel them as early as the twelfth century. In the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries, great numbers of people who sympathized with the Vaudois and the Wickliffites were committed to the flames in Aragon, Valencia, and Majorca. These facts show, that, for hundreds of years before the Reformation of Luther, heretical opinions were prevalent in some parts of Spain.

In the year 1478, Pope Sixtus IV. issued a bull for establishing the Inquisition in Castile. Ferdinand and Isabella assented to the measure; and in 1483 it went into operation under the merciless Torquemada, who had been appointed inquisitor-general. "In the course of the first year," says Dr. McCrie, "two thousand persons were committed to the flames; and on a moderate computation, from the same date to 1517 (the year in which Luther commenced his attack upon indulgences), thirteen thousand more were burnt alive."

As I have had frequent occasion already to speak of the Inquisition, and shall be under the necessity of referring to it often in the following pages, it may be well to sketch its history here. It was founded by St. Dominic, near the commencement of the thirteenth century, and was in the hands of the Dominicans ever afterwards. It was first brought to bear upon the poor Albigenses of Toulouse and Languedoc, and upon those of the same people who fled over the Pyrenees into Spain. The method of proceeding in the Inquisition was at first simple, not differing materially from that in other courts: but gradually the Dominicans rendered it more complex, after the model of the confessional; and so shaped it, that the prisoner was made to convict himself. When the inquisitors were led to suspect any person, he was cited at once to appear before them; and, if he did not appear, he was forthwith condemned. When a supposed heretic was in their hands, no one dared to inquire after him, or write to him, or intercede for him. After many days, and perhaps months, which the accused dragged out in a loathsome dungeon, the keeper would ask him, as it were

incidentally, if he wished to have a hearing. When he appeared before his judges, they would inquire, as though they knew nothing about him, who he was, and what he wanted: If he wished to know what offence he had committed, he was admonished to confess his faults himself. If he confessed nothing, time was given him for reflection; and he was remanded back to prison. If, after a long time, he still confessed nothing, he must swear to answer truly all the questions that were put to him. If he took the oath, he was then questioned in regard to his whole past life, without intimating any thing as to his offence. He was promised a pardon if he would truly confess his offences,—an artifice by which his judges often learned more against him than they knew before.

If his answers did not satisfy the judges, resort was had to torture, which was inflicted in different ways. If tortured by rope, the rope was passed under his arms, which were tied behind him, and he was drawn up by a pulley, to swing for a time; then he was suddenly dropped to within a foot of the floor, by which means his arms were dislocated. If he still confessed nothing, the torture by water was applied. A great quantity of water was poured down his throat; after which he was laid on his back upon a hollowed bench, across which a piece of timber was passed, which bent up the middle of the body, and caused the intensest pain in the backbone. But the most cruel torture was that by fire, in which the feet, being smeared with grease, were placed near a hot fire; and the soles were left to burn until he would confess. These tortures, in some instances, were repeated in order to draw out the motives of the accused, and also his accomplices.

When the trial was ended, the prisoner was sentenced according to the nature of his offence. He was then delivered over to the civil authorities, which were entreated to spare his life, since the Church never persecutes, or thirsts for blood. And yet the civil officers would have experienced the same treatment had they refused to carry the sentence into execution.

Such was the Inquisition, which was committed to the hands of Torquemada in Spain, and which had destroyed some fifteen thousand lives before the Reformation in Germany commenced.

The Lutheran Reformation was extended into Spain in several ways. In 1519, a collection of Luther's tracts, in the Latin language, were sent from Basle into Spain. Other writings of the reformer were printed at Antwerp, sent into Spain, and pretty widely circulated. Spain also became enlightened by means of

those theologians whom Charles V. took with him into Germany to confute the heretics ; for in some instances these same theologians returned to their own country confirmed Lutherans, and did what they could to spread the Lutheran doctrines. And the same was done by some of the officers and soldiers of the emperor's army. By mingling with the reformed in other countries, they became enlightened and convinced, and exerted much influence in favor of the gospel.

Previous to the year 1543, Spain was destitute of the Scriptures in the vernacular tongue ; but in that year Enzinas published the New Testament at Antwerp, and presented a copy to the emperor. Other editions followed ; and the whole Bible in Spanish was published in 1569. But these were all snatched up as soon as possible by the inquisitors, and, with high exultation, were committed to the flames.

Notwithstanding the vigilance of the holy office, there was in Seville a secretly-organized church of the reformed, of which several individuals of opulence and rank were members. In several of the convents, also, the reformed doctrines were held and taught : so that nothing remained of the old system but external ceremonies and the monastic garb. In the eastern provinces of the kingdom, as Grenada, Murcia, and Valencia, the seeds of heresy were widely disseminated ; but it was in the northern provinces, at the foot of the Pyrenees, that the advocates of the reformed doctrines were most numerous.

Such, then, was the state of religious-feeling in Spain at the close of the year 1557. The three great doctrines of the Reformation, — viz., that “ the Church of Rome is idolatrous, that the pope is Antichrist, and that the sinner is justified of God by faith,” — these doctrines were so widely diffused, and so earnestly preached, that Popish writers have been constrained to admit, that, “ had not the Inquisition taken care to put a stop to them, they would have run through Spain like wildfire, and people of all ranks would have been disposed to embrace them.”

But, in 1556, Philip II. succeeded his father, Charles V., in the government of Spain ; and, three years after, a treaty of peace was entered into between Spain, France, and England. Philip was now at leisure to regulate the internal affairs of his kingdom, and at once took measures for the suppression of heresy. Confessors were required to be more strict in their investigations, and to expose all persons, without regard to rank or condition, who were

justly suspected of heretical opinions. The king revived an antiquated statute, which gave to informers against heretics a fourth part of their confiscated property. The inquisitors were soon apprised of the extent of heretical pravity in the kingdom; and their zeal pursued it through all its ramifications. And most effectual and complete were their efforts for its extirpation. By a simultaneous movement, the Protestants were seized in Seville, Valladolid, and all the surrounding country. They made no resistance. Overwhelmed with consternation, many of them voluntarily appeared before the inquisitors, and informed against themselves. The castles, the common prisons, the convents, and even private houses, were crowded with prisoners. Numbers in the northern provinces succeeded in escaping to the mountains, and passed over into France, Germany, and Switzerland.

The unresisting Protestants were everywhere immolated on the altar of Popish bigotry and superstition. Loathsome and protracted imprisonment, aggravated by every device which could increase their sufferings, tortures, — the rack, and the *auto da fé*, — was inflicted upon them with the most unrelenting severity.

It is needless to go into a recital of particular instances of suffering and death. Not less than half a million, in the course of a few years, fell victims to Popish persecution in this devoted country. The Reformation was so effectually prostrated, that, in the year 1570, scarcely a vestige of the Protestant religion was remaining anywhere in Spain.

CHAPTER XLIII.

THE REFORMATION IN GERMANY. — CONCLUDED.

IN a previous chapter, we traced the progress of the Reformation in Germany to about the middle of the year 1525. This year had been signalized by several important events; such as the war of the peasants, the death of Frederic, elector of Saxony, the accession of his brother John, and the marriage of Luther. Having noticed in several chapters the rise and progress of the Reformation in the surrounding countries, we turn again to its history in Germany.

We have already remarked, that the new elector, John, was much more decided in maintaining the reformed religion than his brother Frederic had been. He took the responsibility of establishing reformed churches within his territories, and abolishing the superstitious rites and forms observed in the Papal Church. In the year 1527, the new ecclesiastical establishment was completed by a system of laws and regulations drawn up by Luther and Melancthon. The princes and states of Germany which had adopted the same religious principles followed the example of the elector; and the Lutheran Church was placed at once upon a solid basis.

A diet assembled at Spire, on the Rhine, in May, 1526. Ferdinand, the brother of Charles, presided. Notwithstanding the urgent demands of the emperor, that the sentence pronounced against Luther and his followers in the Diet at Worms five years before should now be executed, the Popish party were defeated in this, as they were in all other measures for the suppression of heresy. A general council, it was contended, was the only proper tribunal for deciding upon ecclesiastical matters. The diet, therefore, sent a request to the emperor, that he would immediately call such a council. Meanwhile, it was resolved that the several German principalities should regulate, each in its own territories, its ecclesiasti-

cal affairs, responsible to a council, to the emperor, and to God. Nothing could have been more favorable to the reformed churches than this result. They acquired by it another respite, and were at liberty to push forward their schemes of reformation in any manner they pleased.

We have already heard of the success of the emperor's arms in Italy, of the capture of the French king, and of the disadvantageous treaty under which he had obtained his release. These things led to the apprehension that Charles was becoming too strong, and that the balance of power in Europe was likely to be disturbed. No one entertained such thoughts more vividly than the pontiff. He therefore released Francis from his obligations to fulfil the hard treaty into which he had entered, and formed a league between the French, the English, the Swiss, and some of the States of Italy, having for its object to humble the emperor, and limit his power. This brought the imperial army again into Italy. Milan was soon taken; and in May, 1527, Rome was besieged by the emperor's forces. After an obstinate resistance, the city was taken by assault, and given up to wanton pillage and indiscriminate slaughter. The palaces were despoiled of their wealth; the nobles and prelates were seized and imprisoned; and the severest tortures were inflicted upon them to compel them to disclose their treasures. Defenceless females were violated on the sacred altars to which they had fled for protection. The pope himself, having taken refuge in the Castle of St. Angelo, was captured, and, after having been treated with much indignity by the soldiers, was retained as a prisoner of war.

Such were the bitter fruits which his Holiness reaped from his faithless intrigues and his short-sighted diplomacy. The hypocritical emperor affected a deep regret at the violence which had been offered to the pontiff. By his orders, the imperial court went into mourning; and prayers were offered up for his deliverance. Many months after his capture, the pontiff succeeded in making his escape. He seems never to have forgotten, however, the disastrous issue of this conspiracy against Charles. He feared a power which he had so sensibly felt, and dreaded to offend a monarch who had inflicted on him so severe a punishment.

In the year 1529, political affairs in Europe assumed a new aspect. Tranquillity had been established; the pope and emperor were on terms of mutual friendship; and the latter went through the formality of a coronation from the hands of the former.

Charles now directed his attention to the religious differences which distracted his dominions; and a diet was again appointed to be held at Spire. In this diet a decree was passed, *revoking* the power granted three years before to every prince, — to regulate religious matters as he saw fit in his own territories until the meeting of a general council. In place of this liberal decree, it was now declared that *all changes in religion should be considered unlawful until sanctioned by a general council*. This put the Reformation upon a different footing, and was exceedingly offensive to all its friends. And, when they found that they could not prevent it, they entered a solemn *protest* against it; and hence originated the term “Protestant,” which has since been applied to all those who are not in communion with the Roman pontiff. It grew out of the *protest* which these reformed German princes entered against the decision of the second Diet of Spire.

The Protestants, on this occasion, immediately despatched envoys to acquaint the emperor with the stand which they had taken; but, instead of receiving the envoys courteously, the emperor put them under arrest, and held them in durance for several days. When the Protestant princes were informed of this, they justly concluded that their own safety depended wholly upon their union, and their ability to defend themselves; and therefore several conventions were held for the purpose of entering into a closer alliance for repelling the attacks of their enemies. But nothing definite could be agreed upon, because of the diversity of their opinions and views, more especially in regard to the question of the sacrament.

Hoping to remove this obstacle, and bring this troublesome controversy to a close, the landgrave of Hesse appointed a conference between Luther and Zwingli, and some other principal doctors of both parties, to be held at Marpurg, with a view to a compromise. Œcolampadius and Melancthon attended,—the former to assist Zwingli, and the latter Luther, in maintaining their respective opinions. Besides these, numerous other theologians were present as spectators. But through the whole discussion, which lasted several days, Luther was inflexible. Upon seating himself at the table with his companions, he took a piece of chalk, and wrote upon the velvet cloth which covered it, “*Hoc est corpus meum*” (“This is my body”); and, whatever arguments or explanations were urged, he replied chiefly by pointing to this. He would allow

no argument or illustration or metaphysical objection to move him at all from his position : “ *This is my body.* ”

When it was found that an agreement in doctrine was impossible, it was urged that there ought to be at least a unity of affection and co-operation in the great work to which they were all committed ; and, after much persuasion on the part of the landgrave and his friends, this object was in good measure secured. Luther drew up a series of articles, to which the Swiss divines assented, and to which they all affixed their names, the concluding sentence of which was in these words : “ Although at present we are not agreed on the question, whether the real body and blood of Christ are corporeally present in the bread and wine, yet both parties shall cherish more and more a truly Christian charity for one another so far as conscience permits ; and we will all earnestly implore the Lord to condescend, by his Spirit, to confirm us in the sound doctrine. ”

Such was the issue of the famous conference at Marpurg. If it did not accomplish all that could be desired, it was not altogether a vain effort. It brought the two parties together ; it made them spiritually acquainted. The closing sessions were fraternal and tender : the parties separated in mutual charity, and with a determination to help forward together, so far as practicable, the work of the Lord.

. If it be inquired why Luther was so pertinacious on the question of the *real bodily presence of Christ in the sacrament*, when is it known, that, in the early part of the Reformation, his opinions leaned to the other side, the answer is, that his change of views grew out of his contests with the fanatical Anabaptists and with Carlstadt. He connected the fanatical proceedings of Carlstadt with what he considered his loose views of the sacrament ; and with Carlstadt he associated the Swiss reformers. He regarded them all as virtually *abrogating* the sacrament ; and, having done this, they were prepared to run out into all sorts of extravagance. As much as this should be said in excuse for what many have regarded as the unwarrantable obstinacy of the great reformer in regard to this matter.

The period had now arrived when the religious world imperatively called for a clear exposition of the doctrines for which the reformers were contending ; and an explanation of the abuses and corruptions alleged against the Papal Church. Hence, at the suggestion of the elector of Saxony, Luther drew up a com-

pendium of scriptural doctrines, consisting of seventeen articles, which he presented to the elector at Torgau. These were afterwards known as the Articles of Torgau.

The emperor had summoned a diet to meet at Augsburg in the summer of 1530, intending to be present at it in person. The object of the diet was to consider and settle, so far as practicable, the religious differences in Germany; and also to provide means of defence against the Turks, who had extended their conquests to the walls of Vienna, and were menacing Hungary and the dominions of Austria. The emperor had agreed that the religious differences should first be considered, and had promised the Protestants a fair and impartial hearing.

The diet was opened June 20, 1530, and was numerously attended. The elector of Saxony arrived early with some of his best theologians,—as Spalatin, Melancthon, Justus Jonas, and Agricola. Luther, being an outlaw, was left behind at Coburg, the nearest Saxon city, whence he might readily confer with his friends at Augsburg. Before the opening of the diet, the Articles of Torgau were submitted for revision to Melancthon; and from them was drawn out the Confession of Augsburg. This confession, consisting of twenty-eight articles, was read before the diet, and has ever been considered as the symbol of the Luthéran Church.

As the emperor was journeying slowly from Italy to Augsburg, he was met by several of the more violent Popish princes of Germany, that they might enlist him more fully against the Reformation. His hostility was made manifest, even before his arrival, in the reproaches which he addressed to the elector of Saxony. On the very day of his arrival, he undertook to humble the Protestant princes by requiring them to stop their preaching exercises, and to take part in the procession of Corpus Christi, which was to occur on the following day. Their determined bearing, however, soon convinced him that nothing was to be gained by menace and fear.

Great efforts were made by the legate and the Popish clergy to prevent the reading of the confession in public; but their designs were overruled. The confession was read before the diet on the 25th of June, 1530; and copies were handed to the emperor both in German and Latin. This was a very important event in the history of the Reformation. By it many objections which had been urged against it were obviated; and its opponents in Germany and

elsewhere obtained more correct views concerning it than they had before. The confession was speedily published in several languages, and circulated in every part of Europe.

The emperor caused a *confutation* of the confession to be drawn up by three of his most able theologians, which was also read in the diet. This the Protestants were required to accept, and so end the controversy; but they were not at all disposed to yield to the requisition. They requested a copy of the confutation, that they might reply to it; but this was denied them. They succeeded, however, in getting a copy; and Melancthon prepared a reply, which the emperor refused to receive.

Four of the free cities of Germany also sent in a formula of doctrine, which was called "The Tetrapolitan Confession." Still another confession was forwarded by Zwingli; so that the emperor had ample means of knowing the views of the different reformers.

During the remainder of the session, every available means were used with the reformers—menace, artifice, compromise, flattery—to bring them back into the Romish Church; but all in vain. They were inflexible. At length, tired out with delay, and fearing for his own personal liberty, the landgrave of Hesse privately left Augsburg, and returned to his own dominions; and, after a few weeks, the other Protestant princes followed his example.

When threats and negotiations had been tried in vain, the final decree of the diet was drawn up according to the views of the Catholic majority, and was published on the 19th of November, 1530. It confirmed, with stronger sanctions, the old Edict of Worms, and commended in a highly-wrought eulogy the rites, doctrines, and forms of the Roman-Catholic Church. The emperor called imperatively on all the princes, states, and cities to return to their allegiance to the Romish hierarchy, and submit to the government and worship of the ancient religion. Severe penalties were denounced upon the refractory and disobedient. The Protestants were allowed time for consideration until the following April, when the decree would be enforced; and, to secure its rigid enforcement, the emperor and the Popish princes entered into a solemn compact to unite their efforts, and actively exert their respective forces.

Immediately after the publication of this edict, the Protestant princes assembled at Smalcald, and entered into an alliance for mutual defence. To this alliance the free cities were admitted, who held to the Zwinglian views of the sacrament. Under these

circumstances, the emperor dared not carry into execution the threats of the final decree at Augsburg; and the necessity for conciliation became more imperative from the exposed situation of Hungary and Austria. In the spring of 1532, the sultan invaded these countries with an immense armament. Of course, the Protestants of Germany would afford no assistance in opposing them, so long as they were threatened with war and subjugation upon their own soil. Nothing remained, therefore, to Charles, but to conclude a treaty with the Protestants on the best terms he could; and such a treaty was formed at Nuremberg in the year 1532. Charles agreed, on his part, to annul the edicts of Worms and Augsburg, and give the reformers full liberty to regulate their religious matters as they pleased, until either a general council or a diet of the empire should determine what religious principles were to be received and obeyed. On these conditions, the Protestants agreed to afford assistance in the Turkish war, and to acknowledge Ferdinand, the emperor's brother, as king of the Romans.

Thus Providence wrought out another decisive deliverance for the Protestants. To be sure, the peace of Nuremberg was not likely to be permanent. Yet a respite, a season of quiet development, was secured to the Protestants, while their cause was gathering strength, not only in Germany, but among the other countries of Europe.

Scarcely was the treaty of Nuremberg adopted, when John, the elector of Saxony, died, and was succeeded by his magnanimous but unfortunate son, John Frederic. It was about this time, or a little earlier, that Luther heard of the death of his father. The good old man had renounced Popery, and fell asleep in the faith of Jesus. "Alas!" cried Luther when he heard of it, "it was the sweat of his dear old brow that made me what I am."

When the dread of the Turks had somewhat subsided, Charles returned to his favorite project of a general council. But the pontiff was averse to it, as the later pontiffs had always been. He remembered the Council of Constance, which deposed three popes, and created another. Besides, the very idea of a council was a reflection upon that of Papal sufficiency and infallibility. But, in 1534, Pope Clement died, and was succeeded by Paul III. He expressed a willingness to convoke a general council, and issued letters appointing one at Mantua, to be held in the spring of 1537. This council was never held; yet, in prospect of it, the Protestants procured a new summary of their religious faith to be drawn up

by Luther, which they might present to the bishops in case they should assemble. This writing is called "The Articles of Smalcald;" and in style and manner, if not in substance, it is exceedingly different from the Confession of Augsburg. The latter was designed to conciliate the Catholics, and was drawn up by the polished and gentle Melancthon: the former was a manifesto in preparation for a campaign, in which the only alternative was victory or death. Of course, all delicacy towards the Catholics was avoided; and Luther's fiery style was adopted, and was allowed full scope.

During this interval of peace to the Protestants, there was a new and violent insurrection of the Anabaptists. They came to Munster, a city of Westphalia, alleging that they were divinely commissioned to set up a holy, spiritual empire upon the ruins of all human institutions. They proceeded to organize their new commonwealth, and placed John Bockholdt, a tailor of Leyden, at the head of it. But the city was taken by the bishop of Munster, assisted by the landgrave of Hesse and by other princes. Bockholdt and his followers were slain; and the new commonwealth was overthrown almost as soon as established. This was a fatal blow to the Anabaptists in Germany; but the interests of Protestantism were not involved in it, since it was well understood that these were entirely distinct from Anabaptism.

At a diet convened at Spire in the year 1542, Paul III. publicly announced his determination to convene a general council at Trent, situated on the confines of Italy and Germany. The Catholic princes gave their assent: but the Protestants rejected both the place and the council, and demanded a *free* council; i.e., one that should be exempt from the prescriptions and authority of the pontiff. Nevertheless, the council was appointed, and commenced its sessions on the 13th of December, 1545. The Protestant princes protested against its proceeding and its authority; and both parties prepared for war.

While the storm was gathering, Luther, who was always disposed to contend with prayers and patience rather than with arms, met a peaceful death at Eisleben, his native town, on the 18th of February, 1546.

He had gone to Eisleben to assist in settling some disputes in that vicinity, when he was smitten with a fatal disease of the lungs. As he lay gasping for breath, he said, "I am dying; but we have a God to rest upon. Lord, into thy hands I commend my spirit." One of his friends asked him, "Reverend father, do you die in the

faith of the doctrines you have preached?" With a loud voice, he replied, "Yes, yes!" and these were the last words he ever uttered.

In the commencement of this war, the Saxon and Hessian princes led their forces into Bavaria, and cannonaded the emperor's camp at Ingolstadt. But here they were destined to meet with a repulse. During the absence of John Frederic, elector of Saxony, Maurice, duke of Saxony, was induced to invade his uncle's territories; and the elector was under the necessity of returning from Ingolstadt to repel the invasion. This divided and broke up the Protestant army. On his retreat, John Frederic was pursued, beaten, and taken prisoner; and the landgrave, the other Protestant leader, who was induced to throw himself upon the merey of the emperor, was treated no better. He, also, was kept a prisoner.

By this defeat, the cause of the Protestants seemed to be irrecoverably ruined. In a diet held soon after at Augsburg, the emperor demanded of the Protestants that they should submit their cause to the Council of Trent. The great part consented; and, in particular, Maurice, who had received from Charles the electoral dignity of which John Frederic had been deprived.

But the emperor lost the benefit of this assent; for, upon a rumor that a pestilence had appeared at Trent, the holy fathers were frightened, and retired to Bologna; and the council was broken up. This rumor, it afterwards appeared, was a mere pretence, got up by the pontiff for the purpose of dispersing the council.

As the time for the re-assembling of the council was uncertain, the emperor deemed it necessary, in the interim, to adopt some plan which might preserve the peace in regard to religion. Hence he caused a paper to be drawn up by three Catholic priests, which should serve as a rule of faith and worship to the professors of both the old religion and the new until the meeting of the council; and this paper, because it had not the force of a permanent law, was commonly called "The Interim." But "The Interim" was equally displeasing to the pontiff and to the Lutherans. The imposing of it, instead of promoting peace, led to endless contentions and divisions. Maurice, the new elector of Saxony, had several consultations with his theologians on the subject. Melancthon decided that the whole instrument called "The Interim" could by no means be admitted; but that there was no objection to receiving and adopting it so far as it concerned *adiaphoris*, or *things indifferent*. But this decision divided the Lutheran Church on the question of

things *indifferent*. Some made the catalogue of things indifferent much larger than others. The controversy which grew up on this subject was appropriately called "The Adiaphoristic Controversy."

In the midst of these contests, Julius III., who had succeeded Paul III. in the government of the Romish Church, being overcome by the entreaties of the emperor, consented to revive the Council of Trent. The emperor, therefore, at the Diet of Augsburg, — which he had surrounded with his troops, — conferred with the princes as to the prosecution of the council. The major part agreed that the council should go on; and Maurice consented, though on certain conditions; which conditions were not fulfilled. At the close of the diet, therefore, all parties were directed to prepare themselves for the council.

Charles, at this time, felt quite satisfied with his position. He had humbled the refractory princes of the empire, and felt confident that he should be able, by the help of his theologians, so to direct the doings of the council as to reduce the Papal power, and make it subservient to his designs. But his expectations were all frustrated through that very Maurice by whose assistance he had before been able to break the power of the Protestants.

Long had Maurice solicited in vain for the liberation of his father-in-law, the landgrave of Hesse; and other German princes had been equally importunate that the late elector of Saxony might also be set at liberty. Well-founded suspicions were indulged, that Charles had designs, not only against Protestantism, but against the liberties of Germany. Under these impressions, Maurice entered into an alliance with the king of France, and with certain German princes, for asserting the rights of the Germanic nation: and, in the year 1552, he led forth a well-appointed army against the emperor; and with such celerity and vigor did he conduct the enterprise, that he came near taking him by surprise as he lay in fancied security at Innspruck, with only a small detachment of his army about him. This sudden attack so terrified Charles, that he appeared quite ready to agree to any terms; and soon after, at Passau, he not only gave present tranquillity to the Protestants, but promised to assemble a diet within six months, at which the long-protracted religious contests should be finally settled. Thus the very Maurice who had given a severer blow, perhaps, than any other individual, to the Protestant cause, was the man to establish and give triumph to that cause when it was well-nigh prostrated and abandoned. Such is the wonder-working providence

of God in the care and protection which he affords to his people. Yet Maurice himself did not long live to witness the results of his great undertaking. He fell the next year in a battle with Albert of Brandenburg.

The diet which the emperor promised at Passau could not be assembled until the year 1555; but in this year, at Augsburg, in presence of Ferdinand, the emperor's brother, that memorable convention was held, which gave to the Protestants, after so much slaughter and so many calamities, a firm and stable religious peace. On the 25th of September, after various discussions, the religious liberties of the German Protestants were recognized and secured on the following basis: 1. That the Protestants who followed the Confession at Augsburg should for the future be considered as entirely exempt from the jurisdiction of the Roman pontiff, and from the authority and superintendence of the Romish bishops. 2. That they were at perfect liberty to enact laws for themselves relating to their religious sentiments, discipline, and worship. 3. That all the inhabitants of the German Empire should be at liberty to judge for themselves in religious matters, and to join themselves to that church whose doctrine and worship they thought the purest, and the most consonant to the spirit of pure Christianity. And, 4. That all those who should injure or persecute any person, under religious pretexs, or on account of their opinions, should be proceeded against as enemies of the empire, invaders of its liberty, and disturbers of its peace.

Nothing more clearly shows the superstition, ignorance, and wretchedness of that age, and the necessity there was for a reformation, than the fact that the great German nation needed to be instructed by so many writings, controversies, and wars, before they could assent to regulations so equitable as these, and so consonant to reason and the word of God.

There remained some minor questions to be settled after the above treaty had been ratified; but this was the grand pacification of Germany, — the foundation, under God, of the Protestant religion in that country, from those times to the present. And here the *Reformation* in Germany, so far as it partook of a revolutionary character, may be said to end. Henceforward, the religious state of Germany, like that of other nations, was subject to change; and these changes belong to the religious history of the country: but the history of the *Reformation*, properly speaking, terminates with the Peace of Augsburg, which was settled on the 25th of September, 1555.

CHAPTER XLIV.

THE REFORMATION IN ENGLAND.

THE Reformation in England may be said to have commenced with Wickliffe, about the middle of the fourteenth century. By his preaching, by his various writings, by his translation of the Bible into English, and more especially by the system of itineracy which he instituted, — his “poor preachers,” as he called them, but which in our day would be called “colporters,” who went everywhere reading and distributing his books, and teaching the people the way of life, — this heroic man set on foot means and influences, the results of which have never been lost. He held up a light which the floods of the enemy could not extinguish, which continued to shine upon the darkness until it was merged in the brighter light of the Protestant Reformation. His followers were called Wickliffites and Lollards, and were hunted and persecuted for a century and a half. The first statute in England, *de heretico comburendo*; was issued in the reign of Henry IV., about the year 1400, and was not repealed until the year 1677. Under this fiery statute, hundreds of the poor Lollards went to the stake. The most conspicuous martyr of the times was Sir John Oldecastle, baron of Cobham. In order to prejudice the king the more against him, he was accused of treasonable practices. He was seized, tried, and committed to the Tower; but he contrived to make his escape, and fled into Wales, where he remained concealed several years. At length he was discovered, and delivered over to his enemies. His sentence was, to be hanged up by a chain around his waist over a slow fire, and there to remain until he was consumed. This barbarous sentence was speedily executed amidst the imprecations and curses of the priests, and the tears and prayers of vast numbers of the common people. These persecutions continued under all the succeeding kings until the latter part of the reign of Henry VIII. Still the number of the Lol-

lards continued to increase ; and, when the Reformation at length dawned upon benighted England, they were ready to welcome it with exceeding joy.

Henry VIII. ascended the throne of England on the 20th of April, 1509. He was by nature a despot, and, through the first twenty years of his reign, was a decided Catholic. He hated Luther with a perfect hatred, and was exceedingly annoyed when he discovered that some of Luther's publications had found their way into England. In 1521, he issued his famous book against Luther, for which the pope rewarded him with a new title, — *Defender of the Faith*.

Henry was early married to Catharine of Aragon, the widow of his deceased brother Arthur, and an aunt of Charles V. Some scruples were entertained at the time as to the legality of the marriage, on account of her previous connection with his brother ; but the pope granted a dispensation, which was thought to make the matter clear. We hear nothing of Henry's anxieties on the subject until the appearance of Anne Boleyn at court in the year 1527. Anne was grand-daughter of the duke of Norfolk, and had been a maid of honor at the court of the king of France. Upon her return to England, she was received in the same capacity into the service of Queen Catharine. Her beauty and accomplishments quite captivated Henry ; and he determined to dissolve his marriage with Catharine, and espouse the fair maid of honor.

His scruples about the legality of the existing marriage were at once revived ; and he sent messengers to Pope Clement VII. to procure a divorce. There was nothing in the way of the pope's granting his request, had he been so disposed ; for the popes had often done such things before, and have done them since. As late as the year 1807, Pope Pius VII. divorced Bonaparte from his faithful wife Josephine, to make way for his marriage with a princess of Austria. But Catharine was aunt to the emperor, Charles V., whom the pontiff did not care to offend. Hence there was hesitation, diplomacy, and vexatious delay.

For years, Henry had entertained at court, as his special favorite and prime minister, Cardinal Wolsey. From humble life, the cardinal had risen to a height of power and dignity such as no English subject had before enjoyed. He had great influence with the monarch, and was intrusted by him with the management of his most important concerns. Of course, the cardinal was an obsequious servant of the pope of Rome ; and Henry had commit-

ted to him chiefly the delicate negotiation respecting a divorce. And now the delay in procuring it was in great measure imputed to him. Anne Boleyn ascribed to the cardinal's machinations and ambitious projects the frustration of her fond expectations; and, by her persuasion, the royal favor was withdrawn from him. The process instituted against this great prelate was the first measure adopted by Henry tending to his rejection of the Papal authority, and the introduction into his kingdom, by legislative enactments, of the religious reformation. The great seal was taken from Wolsey; and, under an indictment in the Star Chamber, a sentence of condemnation was pronounced upon him. He was declared to be out of the king's protection; his lands and goods were forfeited; and he continued in disgrace to the day of his death.

Henry's next movement towards procuring a divorce was to submit the question as to the lawfulness of his marriage to the several universities of Europe. Those on the continent, without any hesitation, declared the marriage unlawful; and those in England (though with more hesitation) came to the same conclusion. Thus strengthened in his purpose, Henry renewed his application to the pope; and the pope replied by summoning the king to appear in person, or by proxy, before him at Rome. Such was the state of affairs at the commencement of the year 1531.

On the 16th of January, parliament convened; and the convocation of Canterbury was summoned to meet at the same time. In these meetings, measures were taken effectually to humble the bishops and clergy; and, before they separated, they were made to acknowledge the king as "the protector and supreme head of the church and the clergy of England."

Shortly after these occurrences, the queen was directed to withdraw from the court at Windsor. The pontiff remonstrated against this indignity; and the king replied with some asperity. Another embassy, however, was sent to Rome, to see if a divorce, even then, could not be procured; but as the pope was still inclined to prevaricate, and put the ambassadors off, they told him plainly that "the Church of England was an independent body, and that the matter could be decided without any reference to him whatever."

In January, 1532, an act of parliament was passed, forbidding the levying, in future, of what the Church of Rome calls *annats*. These *annats* are a year's rent of all the benefices which become

vacant, to be paid to the bishop of Rome by those who succeed to such vacant benefices. "Since the second year of Henry VII.," says Hume, "no less than a hundred and sixty-seven thousand pounds have been transmitted to Rome on account of this claim."

At the beginning of the following year, the king resolved that he would no longer delay his marriage with Anne Boleyn. Accordingly, the ceremony was performed on the 25th of January, 1533. In May of the same year, Dr. Thomas Cranmer was promoted to the see of Canterbury. Soon after this, the king's marriage to Catharine was pronounced null and void; his recent marriage to Anne Boleyn was duly ratified, and she was publicly crowned queen of England.

When these occurrences were communicated to the court of Rome, they awakened in the conclave the direst indignation. The pontiff was advised to proceed at once to the utmost extremities with the king, and fulminate against him a bull of excommunication; and this advice was very soon taken. His pretended marriage to Anne Boleyn was dissolved; and a solemn sentence of excommunication was published.

But, in effect, this was but a *brutum fulmen*: it neither terrified the king, nor deterred the parliament from carrying out his assumed supremacy. In the year 1534, it was enacted that "all Papal provisions, bulls, and dispensations were abolished; that monasteries were subjected in future to the visitation and government of the king only; that the ancient right of nominating to vacant sees was restored to the crown; and that all applications to Rome for palls, bulls, or provisions, were prohibited." No convocation could be assembled without an express warrant from the king; nor, when assembled, could the convocation put in execution any canons repugnant to the king's authority. As head of the Church, there was an ultimate appeal to him from the sentence of any and every ecclesiastical judge. The bishops even went so far as to take out new commissions from the crown, in which all their official authority was affirmed to be derived from him, and to be entirely dependent on his pleasure. In short, it was enacted in parliament in this year (1534), that "the king is, and rightfully ought to be, the supreme head, under God, of the Church of England, and has so been recognized by the clergy in their convocation." At the close of this year, therefore, the Church of England may be said to have been permanently established by the laws of the realm.

Its doctrines and rites were as yet but slightly changed ; but it had renounced one pope, and taken another. Its supreme head was no longer the bishop of Rome, but Henry VIII. of England and his successors.

The king was still strongly attached to the tenets of the ancient religion ; and, when any were brought before him for assailing these tenets, the flames were at once kindled for their punishment. He was immovably fixed, also, in the notion of his own supremacy ; and, when any were found who would not submit to this, they, too, were punished with equal rigor. Hence the martyrs of this period (and they were not a few) may be divided into two classes, — the outspoken Lollards on the one hand ; and rigid, unyielding Papists on the other.*

It may be thought, that thus far the Reformation in England did not amount to much ; and in itself it did not. And yet a foundation was laid, on which the most important changes were afterwards accomplished. Among the courtiers of Henry were some good advisers, yielding, but yet persuasive, who secured his confidence by deserving it. This was specially true of Archbishop Cranmer. With the king's license, he visited all the churches within his metropolitan see, and not only erased the name of the pope from the offices of the Church, but required the clergy to acknowledge the supremacy of the king. A visitation of the monasteries throughout the realm was also undertaken ; and the most frightful state of morals in them was disclosed. It was high time, manifestly, that they should be either expurgated or broken up. The king preferred to take the latter course. In the year 1536, three hundred and seventy-six monasteries were suppressed ; and their revenues, amounting to thirty-two thousand pounds a year, were granted to the king. Their goods, chattels, and plate, which were also confiscated, amounted to a hundred thousand pounds more. In 1538, the work of suppressing the monasteries was again undertaken, and was carried through. Their store of relics was exposed to the gaze and laugh of the community ; and their wealth, which was enormous, passed over to the crown. The shrine of Thomas à Becket, which had become a principal object of worship, was also demolished ; and its riches were transferred to the public treasury. St. Thomas himself, though he had been dead more than four hundred years, was formally arraigned before the court, and condemned

* Among the Papists who suffered were Fisher, bishop of Rochester, and Sir Thomas More.

as a traitor. His bones were burned; and his name was struck from the calendar of saints. The pontiff of Rome, who still claimed England as a fief of the holy see, was roused to the intensest indignation when informed of these proceedings of Henry. He renewed against him the most terrific denunciations and anathemas; absolved his subjects from their allegiance, and his allies from their treaties; and exhorted all Christians to make war upon him, and extirpate him from the face of the earth. Yea, more than this: he delivered over his soul to the powers of Satan and the everlasting torments of hell. But the days of the Gregories and the Innocents had passed away; and the thunders of the Vatican no longer awakened any superstitious fears. Henry was a pope in his own dominions; and he wielded all the powers of the government to maintain his ecclesiastical authority and jurisdiction.

In the year 1536, a beginning was made in reforming the doctrines, rites, and ceremonies of the Church. The result was a compromise between the friends of the old religion and the new. The Protestants agreed to accept, at least for the time, auricular confession, penance, the real presence of Christ in the eucharist, the use of pictures and images (though not as objects of worship), the expediency of invoking the saints, the use of holy water, &c. On the other hand, the Popish party admitted as their standard of faith the *Scriptures*, together with the Apostolic, the Nicene, and the Athanasian Creeds. The year following, the attention of the convocation was again called to the same subject. A committee was appointed, who prepared a volume, entitled "The Godly and Pious Institute of a Christian Man." It was also called "The Bishops' Book." The first part of this formula contains an exposition of the Apostles' Creed; the second, the doctrine of the sacraments; the third, a comment on the Ten Commandments; and the fourth, an explanation of the Pater Noster and the Ave, with the articles of justification and purgatory. In this book, the idea of a compromise is still kept up. Its definitions of justification, free-will, faith, good works, and grace, accord, for the most part, with the views of the Protestants; but, in the matter of the sacraments, the tenets of the Romish Church are retained.

At a pretty early period of the Reformation in England, attention had been called to the circulation of the Scriptures. In the year 1526, an edition of the New Testament was published at Antwerp by William Tyndal. This was bought up by Tonsal and Sir Thomas More to prevent its circulation among the people:

but their object was defeated; for, with the money received for his first edition, Tyndal was enabled to get out a much better Testament in 1530. Two years later, he published the whole Bible in English; soon after which he was arrested on a charge of heresy, and burned in Flanders, by an order from the emperor, Charles V.

In 1535, a revised edition of Tyndal's Bible was published by Miles Coverdale, afterwards bishop of Exeter, and dedicated to Henry VIII. In 1537, a more thorough revision of Tyndal was made by Coverdale, assisted by John Rogers the martyr, and published under the assumed name of Thomas Matthews. The next year, Cranmer's Bible was published in London. This Bible Cromwell presented to the king, and procured his warrant, allowing all his subjects to read it without hazard or control. It was directed, also, that copies of it should be placed in all the churches. At a later period, the Popish party endeavored to stop the free circulation of the Scriptures. They complained of the translation, and pretended that there were hundreds of Latin words in the Vulgate which could never be translated into English. They persuaded the king to modify his previous proclamations, encouraging a general study of the Scriptures, and limiting the reading of them to the higher classes.

In fact, the course of King Henry in regard to the Reformation during the ten last years of his life was not uniform or consistent. He was consistent in one thing; which was, to maintain his supremacy in opposition to all the pretensions of Rome, and to persecute those among his people who had the hardihood to dispute it; but as to favoring or discouraging Popish doctrines, rites, and superstitions, he wavered, and was not consistent. Thus in April, 1539, he enjoined upon his parliament "to extirpate from his kingdom all heresy and diversity of opinion in matters of religion;" and a committee was appointed for this purpose. It was at this time that the bloody law of the six articles was enacted, which, says Blackstone, "established the six most contested points of Popery, — viz., transubstantiation, communion in only one kind, the celibacy of the clergy, monastic vows, the sacrifice of the mass, and auricular confession, — and which declared all oppugners of these doctrines to be heretics, and worthy of death." Up to this time, Cranmer had been a married man, and known to be such; but he was now obliged to dismiss his wife, and send her into Germany, which was her native country. And hundreds of other clergymen were tried in the same way.

These changes in Henry's religious policy were owing, partly to the freaks and prejudices of his hasty and suspicious temper, but more probably to changes in his domestic life, and to the counsellors by whom he was surrounded. While Anna Boleyn and Jane Seymour lived, and Cromwell retained his place as lord high-chamberlain of England, the king was favorably disposed towards the Protestant party, and was willing to take measures — though very slowly and cautiously — to promote the Reformation. But after his unfortunate marriage with Anna of Cleves, and their speedy divorce, and the consequent fall of Cromwell, and especially after his marriage to Catharine Howard, and the promotion of her uncle the duke of Norfolk, a strict Papist, into the place of the fallen Cromwell, we find him turning his back upon the Reformation, sustaining the Popish rites, and persecuting those who would not observe them.

But the cup of sorrow was passing round; and Catharine Howard and her Popish uncle must drink their share. The queen is deservedly cast off; the uncle is disgraced; and the way is open for Henry's sixth and last marriage, — to Catharine Parr. She is a discreet woman, and partial to the Reformation; and some of Henry's last acts were regarded as favorable to the same cause. Repeated attempts were made, near the close of his reign, to bring Cranmer into trouble; but the king's regard for him, and confidence in him, could not be shaken. He stood by him and defended him to the last.

Henry VIII. died in January, 1547; having prepared the way, in some measure, for a reformation in the Church of England, though he did not accomplish much himself. The principal changes effected under his administration were the following: He renounced on his own behalf, and on that of the Church of England, all allegiance to and dependence upon the pope of Rome; he suppressed the monasteries; he gave to the English a better translation of the Bible than they had before, and legalized the reading of it. Henry was succeeded, the same year in which he died, by his only son, Edward VI., who was at this time about ten years old. Edward was the son of Jane Seymour, and was under the guardianship of his uncle, Sir Edward Seymour, afterwards duke of Somerset. He was a thoughtful, pious youth, wise beyond his years, whose surroundings, connections, and education all led him to favor and promote the Reformation. Consequently, during the six years of his reign, the Reformation made rapid progress. The

work was commenced by a general visitation of the churches, with a view to correct such abuses, and suppress such superstitious practices, as the purity of divine worship demanded. A Bible was to be placed in every church, accompanied by an English translation of Erasmus' paraphrase of the New Testament. A book of homilies was also prepared for the better instruction of the people in the way of salvation as taught in the Scriptures. Images were removed from the churches; and the sale of indulgences, which had been privately practised in the preceding reign, was forever prohibited. An order of council was passed, annulling the carrying of candles on Candlemas Day, and ashes on Ash Wednesday, and palms on Palm Sunday; also the ceremonies of creeping to the cross, and taking holy bread and water. Private masses were abolished; new regulations for the communion were introduced; the liturgy was revised and amended; and the whole service was to be conducted, not, as formerly, in Latin, but in English. The communion was, of course, to be administered in both kinds. A new form of ordination was appointed, and the laws enjoining celibacy upon the clergy were rescinded.

In the year 1549, Martin Bucer and Peter Martyn were invited over from Germany to be teachers of theology in the two English universities. These two distinguished men exerted a happy influence at this period upon the progress of events, and aided directly in the due organization and regulation of the Church. By their help, the English articles of faith were drawn up, numbering at that time forty-two; but they were subsequently reduced to thirty-nine, as they are at present.

It cannot be supposed that these and other connected alterations were made in the service of the Church of England without opposition. The Princess Mary was opposed to them all; and she was allowed to retain in her chapel the rites and forms that were in use during the reign of her father. Many of the bishops also were opposed to them. Some of them conformed, so as to retain their bishoprics; but others refused, and were deprived. Bonner was not only deprived of his see, but was imprisoned. Tonstall was deprived, and his goods were confiscated. Gardiner, Day, Heath, and Voisey were severally divested of their bishoprics.

The law *de heretico comburendo* was still on the statute-book; but it was not enforced, except in two instances, during the reign of Edward, and, in both these, against the wishes of the king. The first victim was Joan of Kent, a fanatic, an Arian, and an

Anabaptist, who was thought to be much fitter for bedlam than for the stake. It was with great difficulty that Edward could be brought to sign the warrant for her execution. He did it with tearful eyes, saying at the same time to Cranmer, "If I am wrong in this, the sin must lie at your door." The other victim was George Van Parr, a Dutchman, who was condemned and burnt for denying the proper divinity of Christ.

Edward was contemplating other reforms in the government of the Church, more especially in the ecclesiastical courts; but disease and death came, and relieved him from all earthly responsibilities. He died of pulmonary consumption on the 6th of July, 1553, loved and honored by all his subjects, and greatly lamented by all good men. Some called him *Josiah*; others, *Edward the Saint*; and others, *the Phoenix*, because he rose out of his mother's ashes.

After some ineffectual attempts to turn aside the natural course of events, Mary was proclaimed queen on the 19th of the same month in which her brother died. She gave strong assurances, before her coronation, that she would do nothing to the prejudice of the established religion; but it was soon evident that her promises were not likely to be remembered. She began by restoring the deprived bishops — Gardiner, Bonner, Tonstall, Day, Heath, and Voisey — to their respective sees, and by ordering several of the Protestants bishops — as Holdgate, Coverdale, Ridley, Hooper, and Latimer — into close confinement. Cranmer was arrested and convicted; but his execution was delayed. Peter Martyn fled from the kingdom; but his wife's body was disinterred, and buried in a dunghill. The bones of Bucer, who had died in 1551, were dug up, and burnt. The Protestants from abroad generally returned to the Continent; and many Englishmen who professed the reformed doctrines took refuge in other lands.

The first parliament convened in October, 1553, and by one sweeping clause repealed all statutes pertaining to religion which had been enacted in the reign of Edward VI.; thus putting matters back into the state in which they were at the death of Henry VIII. The mass was everywhere re-established; marriage was forbidden to the clergy; and a visitation was appointed in order to restore more perfectly the ancient rites.

Great dissatisfaction was manifested on account of the queen's proposed marriage to Philip II. of Spain: but she was inflexible on that point; and, in the summer of 1554, the marriage was solemnized.

The next object of the queen was to be rid of the title of supreme head of the Church of England, and subject it again to the rule of the bishop of Rome. Accordingly, Cardinal Pole, an Englishman who had been banished by Henry VIII. for opposing his divorce from the queen's mother, was sent as legate into England to accomplish this important purpose. As soon as he arrived, he importuned the parliament to become reconciled to his Holiness, and to exert their influence for restoring the Papal authority in the kingdom. Upon this, both houses presented addresses to Philip and Mary, "acknowledging that they had been guilty of a most horrible defection from the true Church, professing sincere repentance for their past offences, declaring their readiness to repeal all laws enacted in prejudice of the Church of Rome, and praying their Majesties that they would intercede with the holy Father for the absolution and forgiveness of their penitent subjects." The forgiveness thus humbly asked for the legate stood ready to grant; and both houses were graciously absolved from all guilt and past transgression. The whole kingdom was blessed with a similar absolution; and England was again received into the bosom of mother-church. And great was the rejoicing upon this important event. A law was directly passed, which repealed all the former statutes against the pope's authority, revived the ancient statutes against heresy, and re-established the lately-rescinded forms of Romish worship.

And now the way was prepared for the queen to enter upon her contemplated schemes of persecution and death. On the 28th of January, a court was opened, under the authority of the legate, for the trial of heretics. John Rogers and Hooper were first arraigned and convicted. Rogers was burnt at Smithfield on the 4th of February; and Hooper a few days after, in his own diocese of Gloucester. The fires of persecution, being thus kindled, continued to rage month after month, and year after year, to the end of Mary's reign. Sixty-seven persons were burnt in 1555, among whom were four bishops and thirteen priests. In the following year, eighty-five were burnt in different parts of the kingdom; no regard being had to age or sex, or condition in life. In 1558, thirty-nine were burnt. The whole number burnt during this reign was two hundred and eighty-four; while nearly as many were put to death in other ways. Surely this queen most richly deserves the damning appellation so commonly given to her, — "*the Bloody Mary.*" Had her reign continued as long as that of

Elizabeth, she might have utterly prostrated the Reformation in England, and quenched its holy fires in blood.

But, in merey to his afflicted people, God was pleased to cut short her mad career. She died on the 17th of November, 1558. Gardiner had died a little before her, and Cardinal Pole on the day following her decease. And thus the dominion of Popery in England came to an end, we trust never to be revived.

Elizabeth, the daughter of Henry by Anné Boleyn, succeeded to the throne, and was crowned on the 15th of February, 1559. Her life had been in great danger at times during her sister's reign ; but by her discreet conduct, and careful avoidance of every thing calculated to give offence, she escaped palpable persecution, and lived to be for more than forty years the queen of England. Her accession was the occasion of great joy to the nation in general, but of grief and mortification to the priests, and those of the Romish party who justly apprehended a new revolution in religion. One of the first things done was to order that the liturgy and the rest of the service should be read in English. The next thing was the choice of her counsellors, and the filling of the vacant sees. Dr. Matthew Parker, who had been her mother's chaplain, and her own instructor in youth, was made archbishop of Canterbury ; Sir Richard Cecil was secretary of state ; and Sir Nicholas Bacon, father of the celebrated Lord Francis Bacon, was made keeper of the seals. Parliament met on the 25th of January ; and the first thing done by them was to declare Elizabeth the lawful, undoubted, and true heir to the crown, and the queen of England. Bills were then passed for abolishing the monasteries recently established by Mary, and for re-annexing the spiritual supremacy to the crown. Elizabeth did not like the title of supreme head of the Church, but consented to be styled its *governess*, — a title which she afterwards pretty thoroughly vindicated. The crown was fully empowered “to make or repeal all canons, repress and punish all heresies, determine all points of discipline, and ordain or abolish any religious rite or ceremony, without the concurrence of either the parliament or convocation.” It was also declared, that whoever refused to take an oath acknowledging the queen's supremacy should be incapable of holding any office ; and, persisting in such offence, he should be accounted guilty of treason. Thus were vested in the crown, by the laws of the land, all the spiritual powers which had before been claimed by the popes. Another act was passed, known as “the Act of Uniformity,” by which the

mass was abolished, the liturgy of Edward re-established; and severe penalties were denounced upon all who should presume to adopt any other form of worship. This act was made to bear hard upon the Puritans before the close of Elizabeth's reign. Still another act was passed, which confirmed all the statutes of Edward on the subject of religion, and restored to the sovereign the nomination of bishops, without any election by the chapters.

When the period arrived for introducing the liturgy of Edward, and administering the oath of supremacy, all the bishops, except one, refused compliance, and were deprived of their sees; but the clergy generally took the oath, and remained in the establishment. The places of the deprived prelates were supplied by the most distinguished Protestants; and thus, in a few months after the coronation of Elizabeth, the Protestant religion was re-established throughout the kingdom.

The new edition of the liturgy adopted by Elizabeth was not precisely that which had been used in Edward's time, but was made more conformable to the views of Romanists. The Articles, too, underwent some modification; and the number of them was reduced to thirty-nine. Elizabeth was fond of pomp and ceremony in religion, and was inclined to retain more of the Popish ritual than was agreeable to many of her subjects. This brought her into frequent and sharp collision with the Puritans, and constituted one of the principal troubles of her otherwise prosperous reign.

The Puritan controversy may be said to have originated among the English exiles at Frankfort and Strasburg during the reign of the bloody Mary. As the exiles were now out of England, many of them wished to push the Reformation further than they had ever been permitted to do in their own country, and to conform their church service and organization more entirely to the standard of the reformed churches among whom they dwelt. Others wished to retain precisely the standards of Edward VI. The former of these classes were the Puritans, and the latter the high churchmen of those times. After the accession of Elizabeth, both classes returned into England, and brought the controversy with them; and it continued to rage there for more than a hundred years. Of course, Elizabeth and her court sided with the high-church party; and the Puritans were oppressed and persecuted through the greater part of her reign. The history of these struggles and conflicts is a deeply interesting one; but we cannot enter upon it here.

Elizabeth's other difficulties were with concealed Papists and Jesuits in her own and in foreign lands. These were continually plotting against her government and her life; and it is a wonder that she escaped their murderous hands. She was obliged to be constantly on her guard against them, and to treat them with a degree of severity, which, in other circumstances, could not be justified. The act for which she has been most censured was the execution of her cousin,—Mary, Queen of Scots. And yet it would be easy to show that this Mary was a very bad woman,—as wicked as she was beautiful; and that Elizabeth would have received no mercy from her, could she have got her within her power.

In short, Elizabeth was a genuine daughter of Henry VIII., and resembled him in many points of character. Like him, she was arbitrary, cruel, and ambitious; greedy of lucre, of honor, and of power. And yet her long reign was an eminently prosperous one, and a means, under God, of immovably establishing the Protestant religion in England.

CHAPTER XLV.

THE REFORMATION IN SCOTLAND AND IRELAND.

CHRISTIANITY was introduced into Scotland in the sixth and seventh centuries, by the Culdees, from the convent of Iona. This convent was no other than a missionary school, instituted by Columba, an Irish monk; from which issued some of the best preachers and missionaries of the ancient Church. These missionaries were called *Culdees*, a contraction of *cultores Dei*; indicating their piety as *worshippers of God*. They spread themselves over Scotland and the north of England, and extended their labors even to the Continent. Several schools of them sprang up in Scotland, formed after the model of that at Iona, by means of which the number of laborers was multiplied. Their influence in Scotland continued, with little abatement, until the beginning of the thirteenth century. At this period, Queen Margaret, the wife of Malcolm III., exerted all her influence in favor of the religion of Rome. She was an Anglo-Saxon princess, who had been educated in the Romish faith; and, being a fascinating and gifted woman, she did much to control the counsels of her husband and his court. Besides, she was the mother of the four succeeding Scottish kings; viz., Edmund, Edgar, Alexander I., and David I. This David succeeded, about the commencement of the fourteenth century, in breaking down the Culdee establishments, and subjecting them to the rule of the Catholic bishops. These facts render it probable that the influence of the gospel was not altogether lost in Scotland during the next two hundred years, and account for it that *the people* were so ready to welcome the Reformation when it came. We have no such instance of a simultaneous and decided movement of *the people* against the burthens and abominations of the Romish hierarchy as that exhibited in Scotland during the latter half of the sixteenth century.

The state of the Scottish Church at this period, and of the coun-

try under the oppression of that church, was most deplorable. A full half of the wealth of the nation belonged to the clergy; and the greater part of this was in the hands of a few individuals, who had the control of the whole body. The consequence was, that avarice, ambition, and a desire for pomp and display, reigned everywhere. Bishops and abbots rivalled the first nobility in magnificence, and preceded them in honors. The bishops and secular clergy never preached. This part of their duty was devolved entirely upon the mendicants, who performed it only for mercenary purposes.

At the same time, the lives of the clergy had become not only a scandal to religion, but an outrage upon all decency. While they professed chastity, and prohibited, under the severest penalties, the marriage of priests, they set an example before the world of the most shameless profligacy. Through the munificence of kings and nobles, *monasteries* had been greatly multiplied. The kingdom swarmed with ignorant, idle, and luxurious monks, who, like locusts, devoured the fruits of the earth, and tainted the very atmosphere with infection.

The ignorance of the clergy was as gross as their morals were dissolute. We read of one bishop who thanked God that he knew nothing of the Old Testament or the New. Many of the priests insisted that the New Testament was entirely the work of Luther, and that the Old only was the word of God. There was a fierce controversy at one time among the theologians of St. Andrew's on the question whether *the Pater Noster* (in other words, *the Lord's Prayer*) should be addressed to God or the saints. The religious service was mumbled over in a dead language, which many of the priests did not understand, and some of them could scarcely read.

Of the doctrines of Christianity, almost nothing remained but the name. Every avenue by which light and truth might find access to the minds of the people was carefully guarded. Learning was branded as the parent of heresy; and the most frightful pictures were drawn of the state of the heretic, both in this life and in that which is to come.

Such, in brief, was the state of things in Scotland, in a moral and religious point of view, at the commencement of the sixteenth century. No wonder the land "groaned and travailed in pain together," waiting for the deliverance which was just at hand.

It is likely that the writings of the Protestants had begun to find their way into Scotland as early as the year 1525; since an act of parliament passed in that year, strictly prohibiting the importation

of such writings, and forbidding all "disputation about the heresies of Luther, except it be to the confusion thereof."

The first martyr of the Reformation was Patrick Hamilton, who was burnt in the year 1527. He was a nephew of the earl of Arran and of the duke of Albany, and had been educated at the university of Marburg, in Germany. Here he became a convert to the reformed religion; and, although high preferments in the Church were offered him on his return to Scotland, he adhered to the doctrines of the Bible, and publicly taught them. He was decoyed by the priests to St. Andrew's, under pretence of having a free conference with him on religious subjects, where he was brought before an ecclesiastical court, and charged with maintaining and propagating heretical opinions. A sentence of condemnation was pronounced upon him, which was executed that very day. He was burnt at the stake, exclaiming, "How long, O Lord! shall darkness overwhelm this kingdom? How long wilt thou suffer the tyranny of these men?"

The death of this noble young man, and the patience and fortitude which he exhibited, awakened a general inquiry into his opinions, and was a powerful means of spreading the truth. As one remarked, "The smoke of Patrick Hamilton infected all that it blew upon." Many were converted in different parts of Scotland, several of whom were called to seal their testimony with their blood. Between the years 1530 and 1540, the faithful were everywhere persecuted. Large numbers fled to England and to the Continent: some few recanted, and made their peace with the Church; while others followed Hamilton to the stake, and won for themselves a martyr's crown.

Most of the martyrdoms at this period, and for years afterwards, were perpetrated by Archbishop Beaton of St. Andrew's. "He would rather," says M^rGavin, "have seen half the nation brought to the stake, than that one man should be allowed to read the Bible, and form his own judgment of its contents." For his eminent services in killing off the people of God, the pope conferred on him the rank of cardinal.

In the year 1542, James V., king of Scotland, died. He left a widow, Mary of Lorraine, sister of the Guises in France; and an infant daughter, afterwards Mary, Queen of Scots. The king left no will, and made no provision for a regency during his daughter's minority. The earl of Arran became nominally regent; but, by intrigue and fraud and force, Cardinal Beaton obtained the control

of affairs, and pursued with his wonted severity the adherents of the reformed faith. Among the objects of his wrath was George Wishart, a zealous and popular preacher of the new doctrines. While in the neighborhood of Edinburgh, Wishart had for a constant hearer John Knox, who was at that time tutor in the family of Douglas of Langniddrie. Going from Haddington to Ormiston to fulfil an appointment, Knox wished to accompany his favorite preacher; but Wishart refused to permit him, saying, "One for a sacrifice is enough." During the night, the house where Wishart lodged was assailed by armed horsemen: he was taken and carried a prisoner to St. Andrew's. The earl of Arran opposed his condemnation; but Cardinal Beaton was willing to take the whole responsibility. Accordingly, Wishart was tried before an ecclesiastical court, and sentenced to be burnt. When fastened to the stake, Beaton placed himself at an open window in the castle, that he might feast his eyes upon his devoted victim writhing in the agonies of conflagration. When the fire was kindled, Wishart said, "This flame does indeed bring pain to my body; but it hath in no wise broken my heart." And then, pointing to the cardinal, he added, "He who now so proudly looks down upon me shall in a few days be hanged out of the same window." And the prediction was fulfilled. The friends of Wishart were resolved to avenge his murder; and so, entering the castle very early in the morning, and making their way to the cardinal's apartment before any suspicion was entertained of their design, they thrust him through with a sword, and thus put an end to his bloody and diabolical career. To allay the tumult, and satisfy all concerned that the cardinal was dead, the conspirators hung out his lifeless body from the same window where he had been seated gazing upon the martyrdom of Wishart.

Soon after the death of Beaton, the reformed party took forcible possession of the Castle of St. Andrew's, and so strongly fortified it, that the regent and his troops could not dislodge them. They called John Knox to be their pastor; and it was under these circumstances that he commenced his ministry. It did not, however, continue long. The place was soon captured by a fleet from France; and Knox and his party were taken prisoners. Knox continued a close prisoner in the French galleys for nineteen months, when he obtained his liberty, and took up his residence in England.

In the year 1548, the child Mary, Queen of Scots, was removed from Scotland to the court of France, that she might be there educated; and, ten years after, she was married to Francis, the eldest

son of Henry II. In the marriage-treaty, it was stipulated that the dauphin should assume the title of *King of Scotland*, and that the crown matrimonial should be conferred upon him. At the same time, through the influence of the Guises, the uncles of the young queen, she was induced to take the title of *Queen of England*. This was a most unfortunate step for Mary, as it occasioned an irreconcilable jealousy between herself and Elizabeth, and may have been a means of bringing her to the block.

In the year 1554, the earl of Arran resigned the regency, which was given to the queen-mother, Mary of Guise; she promising at the same time to protect the reformers. But this promise she soon broke, as she subsequently did nearly all her promises.

Between the years 1554 and 1558, while the bloody Mary was on the throne of England, many Protestant preachers fled into Scotland, and helped to carry forward the work of reformation there. Among these were William Harlow and John Willocks, both native Scotchmen, who took this opportunity to return to their own country. Willocks was afterwards a colleague with John Knox.

When we last heard of Knox, he was a resident in England, where he remained until the accession of the bloody Mary in 1553. He became one of the chaplains of Edward VI., and had the offer of a bishopric, which he declined. He preached most of the time at Newcastle and Berwick, on the borders of his native country. In Berwick he formed an acquaintance with Miss Marjora Bowes, who afterwards became his wife. Soon after the accession of Mary, Knox went to France, to Geneva, and some parts of Germany, where he became acquainted with many of the reformers, and particularly with Calvin. At length, in the autumn of 1555, he returned to Scotland, and resumed his reforming labors there with increased energy, zeal, and success. Commencing at Edinburgh, he made a tour through a considerable part of the country, conferring with the nobles who favored the Reformation, and preaching in all places where congregations could be gathered. He gave a mighty impulse to the work of salvation in his native land. He was summoned by the regent to Edinburgh to give an account of his heretical proceedings; but, when he appeared, she did not dare to deal with him, and let him depart. He did not go, however, until he had preached to a great congregation; thus deepening the impressions which he had before made, and increasing the alarm and confusion of his enemies.

In the midst of these deeply-interesting but perilous labors, he received a pressing invitation from Geneva to return and take charge of an English congregation there. To this call he thought it his duty to listen, and departed for Geneva in 1556, taking his wife and his wife's mother with him. No sooner was he gone than the Popish clergy renewed their summons for him to appear at Edinburgh; and, upon his failing to meet them, he was tried, condemned, and burned in effigy at the market-cross, — an achievement sufficiently showing their courage and their impotent hate.

During the absence of Knox, an event occurred which had an important influence upon the Scottish Reformation. On the 3d of December, 1557, the earls of Argyle, Glencairn, and Morton, the lord of Lorn, John Erskine of Dun, with many other distinguished men among the lesser barons and influential country gentlemen, assembled at Edinburgh, and set their names to a common bond, or covenant, binding themselves before God and his congregation that "they would apply their whole power and substance, and their very lives, to the support and defence of each other and of the gospel of Christ." This remarkable document, which is too long to be quoted here, was called *The First Covenant*; and those who entered into it were called *The Congregation of the Lord*. This association of noblemen, who had power to maintain their principles by force of arms, was a great protection to the Protestant preachers, and a great restraint upon their enemies. Still they could not at once desist from their old measures of persecution and blood. There was an aged priest, named Walter Mill, who had been charged with heresy in the days of Cardinal Beaton, but had contrived to escape from his murderous hands. He was discovered at this time, seized, and brought to trial at St. Andrew's. The venerable man, now more than fourscore years old, defended himself with great spirit and ability. He was nevertheless condemned to be burnt; but so great was the compassion felt for him, and such the horror awakened by this barbarous outrage, that no person could be found to aid in the execution of the sentence, until the archbishop commanded one of his own domestics to perpetrate the crime. The old man died uttering these words: "As for me, I am fourscore and two years old, and cannot live long by course of nature; but a hundred better men shall arise out of my ashes. I trust in God that I am the last who shall suffer death in Scotland for this cause." And he was the last: the Papists were not able to bring another victim to the stake.

Much of the next year or two was spent in fruitless negotiations between the congregation of lords and the queen-regent: she endeavoring to get the reformed preachers into her power, that she might renew upon them her old persecutions, and they defeating her murderous designs; she making promises to them while under pressure, and breaking them as soon as the pressure was removed; and mustering an army occasionally to carry forward her plans of wickedness, but, when confronted with another army, not daring to strike. It was in the midst of these negotiations, evasions, and troubles, that Knox made his appearance the second time at Edinburgh. The regent had summoned four of the principal ministers to take their trial before her court at Stirling on the 10th of May, 1559. Upon the remonstrance of the lords, she had promised repeatedly that there should be no trial; and yet her clergy were holding a council at Edinburgh, in preparation for the trial, when some one came in in haste, exclaiming, "John Knox has come! He slept in the city last night: he is here now." The council was panic-struck. In dumb dismay, they saw the ruin of all their plans. At once they broke up the assembly, and dispersed to their homes.

It seems that Knox had been invited by the lords to hasten his return to Scotland: he had listened to their invitation; and on the 2d of May, eight days before the contemplated trial at Stirling, he had arrived at Leith, the port of Edinburgh. He spent but one day in the city; being resolved to cast himself at once into the heart of the conflict, and share the dangers of his brethren. He hurried on to Dundee, and joined those who were preparing to proceed to the trial at Stirling. But, instead of a trial, the queen-regent collected a body of French and Scotch troops, and hastened them forward to Perth to give the reformer's battle; and yet there was no battle, but, instead of that, a treaty, which the treacherous regent broke almost as soon as it was made.

The lords of the congregation now resolved to negotiate and temporize no longer, but to take immediate steps for abolishing the idolatrous worship of Rome, and setting up the reformed worship in all places to which their authority extended; and as Lord James Stewart, one of their number, was prior of St. Andrew's, he gave an authoritative invitation to Knox to meet him in that city on a certain day, and preach publicly in the abbey-church. Knox hastened to comply with the invitation, and, on the 9th of June, arrived at St. Andrew's. But the archbishop, hearing of his design,

collected an armed force, and sent word to Knox, that, if he appeared in the pulpit on that day, he would give orders to fire upon him. Under these circumstances, Lord James Stewart hesitated, and inquired of Knox what was to be done. Knox replied in the following characteristic language: "Let no man be solicitous concerning me. My life is in the hands of Him whose glory I seek. I wish no one to lift a hand or a weapon to defend me. I only crave *audience*; and that I must have."

On the next day, Knox appeared in the pulpit, and preached to a numerous audience, including the archbishop and many of the inferior clergy; thus fulfilling a prediction which he uttered when taken captive at St. Andrew's eleven years before,—that he should return, and again lift up his voice for God in that city.

When the regent heard what had been done at St. Andrew's, she sent forward her army to drive the reformers away; but, seeing their numbers, she dared not encounter them. She entered into a treaty with them, which she again broke. The lords of the congregation determined, therefore, to adopt more decisive measures, and secure by their own efforts what they could not gain by compromise. They advanced forthwith to Perth, and expelled the garrison which the regent had left there. Thence they went forward and seized Stirling; and, continuing their march, they took possession of Edinburgh, driving out the regent, who retired with her forces to Dunbar. And now, as the dread of the Popish rulers and clergy was removed, the rest of the kingdom quickly followed the example of Perth and St. Andrew's,—abolished the Romish worship, and set up that of the reformers in its place. Knox was chosen by the people of Edinburgh to be their minister; and John Willocks was appointed his assistant.

About this time the king of France died, and was succeeded by Francis II., the husband of Mary. Thus the crowns of France and Scotland seemed to be united; and an additional supply of money and troops was sent forward to the queen-regent to enable her to crush out the Reformation in Scotland. This led to a general meeting of the Protestant lords in Edinburgh in October, 1559, where, by a solemn vote, they suspended the queen-dowager from the office of regent, until the meeting of a free parliament, and at the same time elected a council for the management of public affairs during the interval. This act was proclaimed in all the chief towns of the kingdom, and intimated formally to the regent herself. She charged the lords with rebellion, and utterly

defied their power. Nor was her defiance altogether vain. By the help of her French troops and money, she fortified Leith; took possession of Edinburgh,—all but the castle; and was pressing on, through Stirling, in the direction of St. Andrew's.

Under these circumstances, the Protestants found it necessary to apply to England for help. The case was stated to Queen Elizabeth, showing her that her own crown was involved in the strife; and she resolved at once to send a fleet and an army to Scotland. At the approach of the English, the French retreated to Leith, where they hoped to hold out indefinitely; but, as the English had possession of the fort, no supplies could be furnished them from France, and they were under the necessity of capitulating. A treaty was formed, according to which the English and French troops were both to retire from Scotland; an amnesty was granted to all who had been concerned in the late rebellion against the regent; the principal grievances which had been complained of were to be redressed; a free parliament should assemble as soon as practicable to settle the affairs of the kingdom; and in the mean time the government should be administered by a council of twelve, all natives of the country, to be chosen, half by the estates of the nation, and half by the queen. During the adjustment of this treaty, the queen-regent died; and thus a principal hinderance in the way of a pacification was removed.

On the first day of August, 1560, the parliament which had been provided for assembled; and is regarded as the most important meeting of the estates which had ever been held in Scotland. The questions about religion were first to be considered; and the reformed ministers were called upon to present a summary of doctrine such as they wished to have established. In a few days a confession was furnished, agreeing for substance with the confessions of the other reformed churches. This was adopted almost unanimously; only two of the temporal lords voting against it. Parliament then proceeded to abolish the Papal jurisdiction; prohibited, under certain penalties, the celebration of mass; and rescinded all the laws formerly made in support of the Roman-Catholic Church. These acts were sent to France to be ratified by the king and queen, but without expecting or much caring for their ratification. Their enforcement had been guaranteed by anticipation, on the ground of the treaty.

Soon after the parliament had been dissolved, the reformed ministers and leading Protestants met in Edinburgh "to consult

upon those things which are to forward God's glory and the weal of his Church in this realm." This was the first meeting of the *General Assembly of the Church of Scotland*. It consisted of only forty members, and but six of these were ministers; but they were men of great abilities, of deep piety, and eminently qualified for the work which God had given them to do. Their first work was to prepare a *book of discipline* to accompany their confession of faith; which was approved by the General Assembly. It was next submitted to the Privy Council; but here it met with opposition, — partly because of its evangelical strictness, and partly because of the disposition which it made of the revenues of the old church for the support of the new religious and literary establishments. Several of the lords insisted on dividing these revenues among themselves.

It was at this time that Francis II., the young king of France, and husband of Mary, died; and the queen indicated her willingness to return to Scotland. On the 19th of August, 1561, she landed at Leith, and was conducted to Holyrood House, amidst great demonstrations of joy at her safe arrival. But she soon began to manifest her predilections for the religion of Rome in a way to be very offensive to many of her people. She had, indeed, the privilege of celebrating the Catholic worship without interruption in her own household; but this was as much as could be allowed her. Knox was highly displeased with her masses and other superstitious rites, and reproved her for them, but without any good effect. Her influence upon the nobility, or upon many of them, was soon very obvious; and several years were filled up with disputes between the lords, and the lords and ministers, respecting the Book of Discipline and other connected topics. The queen became at length so much incensed against Knox, that she caused him to be indicted and tried for treason; but he was most triumphantly acquitted, much to the mortification of Mary and her abettors.

In the year 1565, the agitation commenced respecting the queen's marriage with Lord Darnley. Darnley was the nearest heir to both the English and Scottish crowns, in failure of any direct heirs from the two reigning queens, Elizabeth and Mary. There was, therefore, a political convenience in a union between him and Mary, as likely to preclude any competition for the crown of either country. Add to this that Mary seems to have had a strong affection for him from their first interview, and was seriously intent upon

the marriage. But Darnley was a man of no fixed religious principles; though, so far as he had indicated his predilections, he was inclined to Popery. The Protestants, therefore, were afraid of him, and would gladly have prevented the marriage; but Mary could not be restrained. She hastened the matter forward with such precipitation as to anticipate all opposition. On the 19th of July, 1565, the nuptials were solemnized; and Darnley was proclaimed king without the consent of the estates of the kingdom.

I pass over the queen's intrigue with Rizzio, her Italian secretary, the jealousy of her husband, the murder of Rizzio,—to which her husband is supposed to have been accessory,—and her consequent aversion to her husband, and virtual separation from him. Suffice it to say, that on the 19th of June, 1656, she gave birth to a son, afterwards James VI. of Scotland, and James I. of England.

Shortly after this, her intimacy with Bothwell commenced,—one of the vilest men that ever lived; and this was followed by the murder of her husband. Poor Darnley was decoyed to Edinburgh, and there lodged in a solitary dwelling, which was blown up on the 10th of February, and he was destroyed. No one doubted that Bothwell was the responsible author of the crime; but the favor of the queen, who was supposed to be accessory to it, screened him from justice; and in three short months she was married to the infamous Bothwell. Fearing now for the life of the infant prince, the nobles formed a confederacy to avenge the king's death, and to rescue the child from its mother's hands. She tried to raise an army for her defence; but her troops would not fight for her and for her blood-stained paramour. Bothwell fled; and Mary was confined to Lochleven Castle. Her escape from the castle, the rallying of the Hamiltons for her defence, her defeat, her flight to England, her protracted imprisonment, and melancholy death—all these are well known to the readers of Scottish history, and need not be detailed here. Much sympathy has been excited for this wicked woman, and much censure heaped upon Queen Elizabeth for cutting her off, but, as it seems to me, without sufficient reason. That she was a consummate hypocrite, a murderess, and an adulteress, there can be no doubt; and that she was accessory to nearly all the leagues and plots which were formed by the Guises and the Jesuits, with a view to take the life of Elizabeth, is susceptible of the fullest proof. She early assumed the title of queen of England; and she was unscrupulous in her endeavors to make her title good. That she was a persistent traitor to the crown of

Elizabeth, and deservedly came to a traitor's end, is, in my view, unquestionable.

After the downfall of Mary, the earl of Murray was constituted regent during the minority of the young prince. His administration was so upright, and satisfactory to the friends of religion, as to secure for him the appellation of *the Good Regent*. It continued about three years, — until 1570, — when he was treacherously murdered by one of the Hamiltons. The regency then fell to the earl of Lennox, father of Darnley, and the grandfather of the young king. After his death, in 1574, the earl of Mar was made regent; and after him the earl of Morton, who continued in office until James assumed the government in 1578. During the most of this time, the country was agitated by dissensions, and rent by civil war. The Hamiltons headed one party, which aimed at the restoration of the exiled queen; and the regents the other party, which contended for the rights of the Church and the young king. There were violent disputes, too, in regard to the disposition of the revenues of the Church; the ministers insisting that they should be devoted to the interests of education and religion, but the nobility claiming that the principal share belonged to them.

In the midst of these commotions, Knox, the faithful guardian of liberty and religion, died. When his body was lowered into the grave, the Regent Morton (with whom Knox had been often in conflict) looked down into it, and said, "*There lies one who never feared the face of man.*" After Knox's death, the leadership in church-matters devolved chiefly upon Andrew Melville, — a man eminently adapted to carry forward and consummate what Knox and his co-adjutors had so successfully begun.

I have said already, that, in the year 1560, the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland held its first meeting, consisting of only forty members. It continued to meet from year to year, and often more than once in the year, down to the accession of James in 1578. In this time, though tossed and agitated by numerous conflicts, it had perfected its organization, adopted its confession of faith and book of discipline, established rules of procedure, and greatly increased in numbers and strength. Calvinistic in doctrine, and Presbyterian in government, it had become in fact, what it was in name, *the Established Church of Scotland*. The subsequent history of this church is one of great interest; but the history of the revolution, fitly termed *the Reformation in Scotland*, may with propriety be ended here.

It may be proper to close this chapter with a brief account of the Reformation in Ireland. Notwithstanding the proximity of Ireland to England, there had been little intercourse between the two countries before the middle of the twelfth century; nor, up to this time, had the churches of Ireland had any close and formal connection with the Church of Rome. They had been gathered and instructed by St. Patrick and his successors, and were far from being strict and obsequious Papists. Their religion was more like that of the Culdees. But, during the reign of Henry II. of England, one of the Irish chieftains or kings, being driven from his own country, had recourse to Henry, and promised to surrender to him his crown in case he would effect his restoration. At the same time, Henry procured from Pope Adrian a bull conferring on him the sovereignty of Ireland. Thus subjection to England and the Popish religion commenced at nearly the same time; and together they continued to dominate over Ireland, not without frequent struggles and conflicts, until the revolution under Henry VIII. in the sixteenth century.

When Henry renounced the pope of Rome, and made himself head of the English Church, he attempted to do the same thing in Ireland; and, though he succeeded in obtaining a major vote for it in the Irish parliament, the people and the clergy generally would not consent to it. Henry suppressed the monasteries, and confiscated their funds; but this did not suppress Popery. Nor did the Reformation in Ireland make much progress during the short reign of Edward VI. Hence, when Mary came to the throne, she at once restored every thing in that country except the confiscated property. She did not attempt to persecute the handful of Protestants in Ireland until near the close of her reign; when she sent over Dr. Cole with a commission for that purpose. But his commission was stolen from him on the way, and he was obliged to return for another; and, before he reached Ireland, the second time, the queen was dead, and he could not proceed with his bloody work.

Queen Elizabeth was proclaimed head of the Church in Ireland as well as in England, and undertook to enforce the Protestant doctrine and worship, but without much success. The Popish clergy lost their livings, and a Protestant establishment was set up; but the people at large would not attend Protestant worship. Hence, while the established religion was that of the Church of England, it was followed by few except the officers of government and some resident English families.

In the reign of James I. and his successors, many Presbyterians from Scotland settled in the north of Ireland. The English Puritans also took refuge there: so that the province of Ulster became, and still continues to be, in great measure Protestant. But the pure Irishmen, in the middle and south and west of Ireland, adhere to the Catholic religion. Protestant missions and schools have been established among them; and the conflict is still raging between the Romish and reformed religions. The Church of Ireland, which was Protestant-Episcopal, has recently been disestablished; and Christians of all classes are put upon their own resources. The religious future of Ireland is still uncertain, though it can hardly be worse than it has been for the last three hundred years.

CHAPTER XLVI.

THE REFORMATION IN SWITZERLAND AND FRANCE.

SWITZERLAND.

WE have traced the history of the Reformation in most of the countries of Europe, until it resulted, either in a total suppression of the work, as in Spain, Italy, and Bohemia; or in its permanent establishment, as in Germany, Denmark, Sweden, England, and Scotland. We have traced it in Switzerland to the death of Zwingle in 1531; in France to the death of Francis I. in 1547; and, in the Netherlands, to the abdication of Charles V. in 1555.

Before the death of Zwingle, in 1531, several of the Swiss cantons had either established the reformed religion, or had proclaimed an unrestricted liberty of worship. In the grisons, religious freedom was introduced in the year 1527. In the great canton of Berne, the reformed religion was established the next year; and this was followed by a similar change in the canton of St. Gall. In Basle, the struggle was more protracted: but in February, 1529, the Catholic members of the government were compelled to resign; and the reformed religion was introduced. In Glaris and Appenzell, the two parties compromised their differences by establishing religious freedom.

In the Protestant cantons, a league was formed before the death of Zwingle, under the name of "Burgher Rights," embracing Zurich, Constance, Berne, St. Gall, Biel, Mulhausen, Schaffhausen, and Basle. The city of Strasburg and the landgrave of Hesse were also connected with the league. But, notwithstanding this show of strength, Zurich was left almost alone to engage in the war with the five Catholic cantons, in which Zwingle was slain.

The results of this war were, on many accounts, unfavorable to

the Protestant cantons. They were obliged to pay all indemnities, and to abolish their league; and they lost, not only their great leader Zwingli, but also *Œcolampadius*. He died the same year, of disappointment and grief; but their places were soon filled by men of the like spirit. Henry Bullinger was the successor of Zwingli at Zurich, while Myconius took the place of *Œcolampadius* at Basle. There were divisions and contentions, too, among the reformed cantons, of which the Catholics took advantage to reassert their claims.

But, while the defeat at Cappel set bounds to the Reformation in German Switzerland, in the French cantons it gained an effectual entrance. For several years, Farel had been preaching in the French parts of the cantons of Berne and Biel, and also at Neuchâtel, where the Reformation was established in 1530; but in Geneva he found a much wider sphere for his energies.

The history of Geneva, which now claims our attention, is one of much interest. It was a well-known city of the Allebrogians in the time of Julius Cæsar, and continued to be a place of distinction under the following emperors. In the fourth century, the inhabitants embraced Christianity; and the city became an episcopal see. In the following century, it was the capital of the newly-established kingdom of Burgundy; but, in the time of Charlemagne, it was transferred to the French monarchy, and its ancient privileges and laws were restored. Under Henry the Fowler, it was united to the German Empire; and, in 1153, Frederic Barbarossa resigned the entire government of the place into the hands of the bishop, who thus became a *prince-bishop*, or temporal prince.

The Genevans had always been a liberty-loving people; and for the next three or four hundred years it is interesting to trace their conflicts — with their prince-bishops on the one hand, and the dukes of Savoy on the other, and sometimes with the pontiffs and the German emperors — to preserve their political existence and the liberties which still remained to them. Wearied out with these long struggles, in the year 1526 the Genevans entered into an alliance with the Swiss, and adopted a form of government like that of the other cantons. They had their three councils, — the lesser council; the council of sixty; and the council of three hundred, which was over all.

In consequence of this alliance, the reformed doctrines came to be known in Geneva; and in 1535 — chiefly through the in-

fluence of Farel and Viret — the Papal authority was abolished, and the worship of the reformed churches was established. In the next year, Calvin arrived there on a journey, thinking to tarry but for a night; but his coming was made known to Farel, who went to him at once, and used every persuasive method to retain him. Finding, however, that persuasion was powerless; that Calvin's purpose was to go to Basle or Strasburg, and devote himself to private studies, — Farel lifted up his hand, and said, "In the name of the Almighty, I declare to you, that if, under the pretext of love to your studies, you refuse to unite your labor with ours in this work of the Lord, *the Lord will curse you in your retirement, as seeking your own will, and not his.*" Awed by this denunciation, Calvin gave over the prosecution of his journey, and yielded, not only to the wishes of his friend, but to what seemed to him the will of Providence. By the suffrages of the presbytery, the magistrates, and of the whole people, he was chosen preacher, and also professor of sacred literature; which office he accepted in August, 1536.

The first object of Calvin's attention at Geneva was to publish a formula of doctrine, and a short catechism adapted to the state of the Genevese Church on its first emerging from the delusions of Popery. He also prepared some necessary rules of order and discipline. As might have been expected, these excited opposition. Nevertheless, on the 26th of July, 1537, the senate and citizens of Geneva entered the council-house, and publicly took the oath of adherence to the articles of doctrines, and rules of discipline, which had been prepared.

Just at this time there was an influx of Anabaptists at Geneva, who took occasion to stir up strife by propagating their levelling principles. Calvin and his colleagues proposed to have a public conference with them; which proposition was accepted: and so completely were they confuted by the testimony of Scripture, that they left the place, and made no more efforts of the kind at Geneva.

There were those at Geneva who professed to be Christians, who had assented to the creed and rules of the Church, and claimed the right to come to its ordinances, whose characters and lives were base and vicious. All prudent methods had been taken to reclaim them, but to no purpose. And now what shall be done? Shall all persons be allowed to come to the sacrament as they had been accustomed to do in the Romish Church? or shall the dis-

cipline of the Church be sustained, and the flagrantly delinquent be excluded? Calvin and his colleagues were aware that to exclude them would create a difficulty: for to be shut away from communion in those times was equivalent to becoming an outlaw; and the delinquents were among the magnates of the city. Nevertheless, these faithful men did not hesitate. They resolved to adhere firmly to what they conceived to be their official duty, and abide the consequences. They refused to dispense the Lord's Supper to those whose characters were vicious, and who refused to abide by the rules of discipline which had been adopted.

This was the first attempt, of which we have any account, to enforce discipline in the reformed churches, and exclude the unworthy from the supper of the Lord; and we can hardly realize how much we are indebted to Calvin and his colleagues for the stand which they took on this trying occasion. Had they decided differently, the discipline of our churches might have been as utterly prostrate at this day as is that of the Lutheran Church in Germany, or the Church of England.

A controversy followed, as the ministers had anticipated. The censured syndics refused to submit. They could accept Calvin's *decretum absolutum*, or almost any thing else in point of doctrine; but to have their sinful indulgences interfered with, and be excluded from the communion of the Church, they could not submit. They resorted to all methods of stirring up strife; and at length obtained an order in an assembly of the people, that Calvin, Farel, and Viret should leave the city in two days. When this decision was announced to Calvin, he simply said, "Had I been in the service of man, this would have been a poor reward: but it is well; I have served Him who never fails to repay his servants all that he has promised."

Calvin retired from Geneva, first to Basle, and then to Strasburg, where he resolved to rest for a time, and prosecute his favorite studies. Here he found some of the more distinguished ministers in the Reformed Church, such as Bucer, Capito, Hedio, Nizer, and Sturmius. Calvin was soon appointed professor of theology in the college at Strasburg, and succeeded in gathering a French Church, of which he became pastor, and in which he established the same order of worship and discipline which he had introduced at Geneva. At the same time, he exercised a general supervision of the Church at Geneva, and by messages and letters endeavored to heal their divisions, and protect them from the machinations of the Romanists and other enemies.

Calvin was absent from Geneva about three years; in which time he was married to a widow lady, by whom he had a son. The child died in 1545, when about four years old. He also visited Germany, attended the diets of Worms and Ratisbon, and became acquainted with Melancthon.

Meanwhile God had been visiting a just retribution upon the reprobate syndics at Geneva who had effected the expulsion of Calvin. One of them, in endeavoring to escape from the officers of justice, fell through a lattice, and was killed. Another had been convicted of murder, and was executed. Two others had been banished from the city, and forbidden ever to return. In short, two years had materially changed the face of things at Geneva; and the people sent an embassy to Calvin to solicit his return. At first, he positively refused; but at the solicitation of friends, and after having adjusted matters to his satisfaction, he thought it his duty to comply. He arrived at Geneva Sept. 13, 1541, and was received with the gratulations of the whole people; while the senate ordered a public thanksgiving to God for so great a blessing.

We shall not pursue the history of Calvin and of the Church at Geneva further. It belongs, not to a history of the Reformation, but rather of the entire Reformed Church. Suffice it to say that he remained steadfastly at his post for the next twenty-three years, — abounding in all sorts of ministerial labor, and pre-eminent in usefulness, — the teacher not only of his own church and people, but indirectly of all the reformed churches. Nor has his influence ceased, or scarcely diminished, to the present time. It is felt wherever his name is known or his works are read. He died on the 24th of May, 1564, aged fifty-four years, ten months, and seventeen days.

In the other cantons of Switzerland, the Reformation came to a stand soon after the death of Zwingli. They were divided in respect to religion, — part of them Catholic, part Protestant, and part mixed; and so they continue to the present day.

FRANCE.

We have before traced the history of the Reformation in France to the death of Francis I. in 1547. His excellent sister Margaret, queen of Navarre, who, though she never formally separated herself from the Romish Church, was yet the fast friend and protectress of the reformers, died two years after, — in 1549.

Francis was succeeded by his son, Henry II., whose wife was the infamous Catharine de Medicis, niece of Pope Clement VII. She was an unprincipled, deceitful, cruel woman, — the mother of the three succeeding kings. She was a persecutor of God's people, and a curse to France for many years. During the reign of Henry, the same system of oppression which had marked the character of his predecessor was rigidly adhered to. He emulated the zeal and imitated the example of his father by attending in person the executions at Paris. With a singular inconsistency, but from motives of policy, while he pursued his own Protestant subjects with fire and sword, he formed an alliance with the Protestant princes of Germany, and sent his armies to assist them in the defence of their religion. Thus did Providence overrule and control the enemies of his Church by making them the instruments of their own discomfiture and defeat.

In this reign we begin to hear of the two Guises, brothers of the ancient house of Lorraine, who had great influence with the government, and were bitter enemies of the Reformation. At their instigation, an edict was published by Henry, establishing the Inquisition. The inquisitors were empowered to inflict capital punishment upon all heretics. The severity of this edict was somewhat softened by an act of parliament. Still the institution was one of terror and death to the Protestants, as it had been in all places where it was set up.

In the year 1559, the duke of Ferrara died; and his widow, Renata, a daughter of Louis XII., returned to France. She took up her residence in the Castle of Montargis, avowing openly her attachment to the Reformation, and receiving and protecting those who professed its doctrines. This she had done in Italy during her whole married life; and she persisted in the same course after her return to France. She was to the Reformed Church what the lamented Margaret had been who died ten years before. The duke of Guise, being highly incensed that she extended protection to the Protestants, threatened to batter the walls of her castle unless she dismissed them; but she said to his messenger, "Tell your master that I shall myself mount the battlements, and see if he dare kill a king's daughter." She lived after her return to France sixteen years, and died in 1575.

Notwithstanding all the influences that were exerted for the suppression of the reformed religion, it continued to make progress during the whole of Henry's reign. The entire Bible had been

translated into the French language by Olivetan, the uncle of Calvin; and the Psalms had been versified by Marot. This last publication was immensely popular. The verses of Marot were set to music, and were sung everywhere, even by the king and his court. No gentleman professing the reformed religion would engage in morning or evening worship, or sit down at his table, without singing a psalm. Many of the nobility declared themselves Protestants, among whom were the king of Navarre, the prince of Condé, and the admiral Coligni. At length, the Popish clergy became alarmed, and called upon the king to put forth his power, and suppress the hated Reformation before it had infected all classes of his subjects. The king roused himself to the bloody work with the determination to carry it through effectually; when Providence again interposed for the safety of the Protestants. The king was killed at a tournament on the 29th of June, 1559, in a tilt with one of his knights.

This same year, the Protestant Church of France became more fully organized than ever before. A general assembly, consisting of eleven ministers, was secretly held in Paris, and prepared a comprehensive confession of faith. Without any concert with other Protestant churches, it harmonizes entirely with the confessions of them all; thus showing, that, under the teaching of God's Spirit, no good men, however scattered, can seriously differ in the interpretation of Scripture.

Henry II. was succeeded by his son, Francis II., at the age of fifteen. Yet he had been married for some months to Mary, Queen of Scots. His mother, Catharine, supported by the Guises, took possession of the government, and undertook at once the work of persecution which the sudden death of Henry had left unfinished. Dubourg, a noble member of parliament, was brought to trial, and, after a little delay, was executed. He might have saved himself by some slight evasions and modifications; but he disdained on such terms to accept of life, and nobly and resolutely met his fate. It was the intention of the government to proceed to other executions; but the threatening aspect of public affairs prevented. The Huguenots entered into a conspiracy to put down the Guises, and reform the government; but their design was discovered, and the leaders were put to death. The prince of Condé and the king of Navarre were both in prison, and would have been executed in a few days; when the king died, at the age of seventeen, having reigned only seventeen months.

Charles IX. was in his eleventh year when called to succeed his brother Francis. His reign of fourteen years was a stormy one, filled up with religious quarrels, civil wars, and massacres. Contrary to the wishes of the Guises, his mother was appointed regent. To secure her power, she now sought the friendship of the king of Navarre and of the Protestants, and even listened to some Protestant preachers. She needed money; and in 1561 the states-general were called together. But they did nothing but wrangle; the Catholics insisting upon the extirpation of all heretics, and the Protestants demanding toleration. In hope of restoring harmony and peace, a conference of Catholic and Protestant divines was held at Poissy in July, 1561. In behalf of the Protestants, Theodore Beza was present from Geneva, and Peter Martyr from Zurich. The dispute was conducted with a good degree of courtesy and moderation; though, as might have been expected, a compromise was found to be impossible. Notwithstanding the prevailing disorders, the Protestants at this time were prosperous; and their numbers were continually increasing. They are said to have had not less than two thousand one hundred and forty congregations dispersed through every part of France.

In January, 1562, a national convention assembled at St. Germaine, and agreed that the Protestants should be allowed to hold private worship until otherwise determined by a general council. Neither party was satisfied with this decision; and it was followed by tumultuous proceedings. In order to secure an addition to his territory, the king of Navarre now abandoned the Protestants, and summoned the duke of Guise to the capital to aid in suppressing the existing tumults. On his way, his soldiers fell upon a congregation of Protestants who were assembled for worship, and two hundred and sixty of them were put to death. The queen-regent and her son, not thinking themselves safe in the power of the Guises, retired to Fontainebleau; but they found no safety there. An army was sent to bring them back to Paris, where they were retained in a sort of custody.

The result was a civil war. The Protestants made Orleans their headquarters; and the prince of Condé and the admiral Coligni were their leaders, while the Catholics were commanded by the duke of Guise, the apostate king of Navarre, and the constable Montmorenci. Much blood was shed in this conflict; and many towns were taken and ravaged. The king of Navarre was slain in battle; the duke of Guise was assassinated; while Montmorenci

was taken prisoner by the Protestants, and Condé by the Catholics. Peace was concluded at Amboise in March, 1563, on the ground of a general amnesty for the past, and free toleration of Protestant worship in all the towns of which they held possession.

This treaty was not well observed; and the Protestants, finding the court determined on their ruin, renewed the war in 1567 under Coligni and the prince of Condé. In this second war Montmorenci fell, and many other noblemen on both sides. Peace was concluded early in 1568 on nearly the same terms as before; but within three months, in consequence of hostile movements by the court, the war was renewed with increased violence. It was carried on with various success and with terrible ferocity for the next two years. The prince of Condé fell in battle. In the course of the war, the queen of Navarre, with her son (afterwards Henry IV.), and her nephew the young prince of Condé, joined the Protestants, bringing with them three thousand men. This queen of Navarre (Jean de Albret) was daughter of Margaret, queen of Navarre, the old friend and protector of the Protestants. She inherited the principles and virtues of her mother; and, when her husband went over to the Catholics, she had no longer any regard for him. She died at the royal palace shortly after this, under a suspicion of having been poisoned by the queen-mother.

Despairing of being able to subdue the Protestants by force, the Catholics concluded to give them a favorable peace, and endeavor to lull them into a false security. A treaty was signed in 1570, on the conditions of amnesty for the past, free toleration of the Protestants everywhere for the future, a right to except against Catholic judges, and the possession of four cities, of which Rochelle was the chief, to be garrisoned by Protestants for two years. The terms of the treaty were strictly enforced; a marriage was proposed between the young king of Navarre and King Charles's sister; Coligni, the young prince of Condé, and other Protestant nobles, were invited to court; and every thing was done to overcome the prejudices of the Protestants, and allay their fears. But all this was hypocritically and cruelly done in preparation for the approaching assassination on St. Bartholomew's Eve.

Paris was at this time full of Protestants, who, under one pretence or another, had been decoyed thither. The bloody scene commenced at midnight, Aug. 22, 1572, at the tolling of the great bell of the palace; and continued three days. Coligni was the first victim; and with him five hundred noblemen and six

thousand Protestants were butchered in Paris alone. Orders for a like massacre were despatched to all parts of the empire; and more than thirty thousand — some say seventy thousand — perished by the hands of the royal assassins. The joy of the pope, the cardinals, and of Philip II., king of Spain, was unbounded, in view of what had been done. The pontiff went in state to his cathedral, and returned public thanks to Heaven for so signal a mercy. In commemoration of the event, he ordered a jubilee throughout Christendom.

But the results of this dreadful massacre were not such as had been anticipated. The Protestants were indeed stunned and paralyzed, but not destroyed. On the other hand, an abhorrence of the dreadful crime caused many Catholic noblemen to join the Protestants. As to the king, he seemed never to have had any peace afterwards. He was nervous and agitated. The blood he had shed seemed ever to stream before his eyes. He was visited with a disorder which is sometimes witnessed in our days. His blood-vessels were not able to retain his own blood. It oozed from them continually, smearing his attenuated and wretched body. He died May 30, 1574, leaving his mother regent until the throne could be filled by his absent brother.

This brother was Henry III., who had been made king of Poland, and was now absent in that country. He wore the crown of France about fifteen years; and his reign is justly regarded as one of the most contemptible in the annals of that country. For the first two years there was war with the Protestants, which was terminated by a peace in 1576. The Protestants were to enjoy freedom of worship everywhere, except at Paris and within two miles of the court of the king. Courts, half Catholic and half Protestant, were to be established in the principal cities; and ten cautionary towns were to be given them. The Catholics, dissatisfied (as usual) with these concessions, combined with the pope and the king of Spain to prevent the king from carrying the treaty into effect. Hence the war was renewed the next year, and continued, with some interruptions, until 1580; when the Protestants were again allowed their former liberties and their cautionary towns for six years.

In 1584, the Catholic chiefs, led on by the Guises, formed a league with Philip, king of Spain, for exterminating the Protestants, and transferring the crown to the family of Guise on the decease of the present king. This led to a war, not only with

the Protestants, but with the adherents of the present reigning family ; and, at the instigation of the king, the duke of Guise was assassinated. Henry now found it necessary, in order to his own personal safety, to become reconciled to the king of Navarre and the Protestants, who generously supported him until his death. He was assassinated by a Dominican friar, Aug. 2, 1589. A little previous to this, the Cardinal Guise, brother of the duke, had been sent to prison, where he was despatched by his guards.

Twelve days after the assassination of the Guises, the queen-mother, Catharine, breathed her last. For more than thirty years — during the reigns of her husband and her three sons — she had been the disturber and corrupter of France, a curse to the people, a Jezebel in the house over which she ruled. Her influence was all gone before her decease ; and she died unpitied and unlamented. In the miserable death of the Guises and of the queen, we see the end of the prime movers in the terrible Massacre of St. Bartholomew's. Verily there is a God who judgeth in the earth ; and he is sometimes known, even here, by the judgments which he executeth.

The successor of Henry III. was Henry IV., late king of Navarre, and the first of the royal house of Bourbon. He was supported by all the Protestants, and by the Catholics who adhered to the late king. But the party of the Guises refused to acknowledge him ; and he was obliged to contend several years for his crown. At length, in the year 1595, as a matter of policy, and with a view to put an end to the civil wars, he made profession of the Catholic religion. Yet he never ceased to love and protect his Protestant subjects. In the year 1598 he published the celebrated Edict of Nantes, designed to be the basis of their future liberties. By this edict, he confirmed to the Protestants all the immunities ever before conceded to them. He gave them equal rights and privileges in the universities and public schools ; allowed them courts, half Protestant and half Catholic, in the principal cities ; made them eligible to all public offices ; and allowed them to establish public worship in places prescribed throughout the kingdom. He also gave them an annual stipend of forty thousand crowns for the support of their ministers. And though the Catholics murmured, and endeavored to deprive them of their rights, Henry protected them to the end of his reign.

Having succeeded to a great extent in quieting dissensions, Henry devoted himself to the good of his subjects, and to a cul-

tivation of the arts of peace. He was never loved, however, by the bigoted Catholics, and fell by the poniard of Ravailiac, a Jesuit, in 1610. He was one of the best monarchs that ever sat on the throne of France.

The number of Protestants in France at this period was not less than one million five hundred thousand, among whom were some men of great learning and distinction. They were in close fellowship, both as to doctrine and discipline, with the Church of Geneva and the Dutch Protestants. Notwithstanding all their commotions and persecutions, they had continually gathered strength, and prospered.

Though the reign of Henry IV. extended beyond the sixteenth century, the proper period of the Reformation, it may be proper to sketch the history of this interesting branch of the Protestant Church a little farther.

Henry IV. was succeeded by his son, Louis XIII., a mere child, under the regency of Mary de Medicis, his mother. He was a weak prince, and a bigoted Catholic. His prime-minister and principal adviser was the celebrated Cardinal Richelieu. It was thought that France never could be safe and enjoy peace until the reformed community was deprived of its fortifications, castles, strong towns, and other high civil privileges which it had long enjoyed. It must cease to be an *imperium in imperio* (a state in some respects by itself), and become merged in the general government of France. To effect this object, war was declared against the Protestants; and, after various efforts and conflicts, Richelieu obtained his object. By means of a mole which was constructed in the harbor of Rochelle, this strong fortress was taken in 1628, and subjected to the king. This last of their fortresses being subjugated, the Protestants had little to rely upon but the clemency of the government. To be sure, the Edict of Nantes was still in force, and they had many privileges as a tolerated sect. They had a longer peace than they had before enjoyed, and cultivated among themselves the arts of peace. They increased in number and in wealth, and constituted a very important part of the population of France.

Louis XIII. died in 1643, and was succeeded by his son, Louis XIV., then a minor, and under the regency of his mother, Anne of Austria. His reign continued until 1715,—more than sixty years. During the first part of it, while under the direction of Cardinal Mazarin, he favored the Protestants; and they pros-

pered, as they had done during the latter part of his father's reign. But, at the instigation of the Jesuits, he began at length to change his policy, and to oppress and persecute his Protestant subjects. Their cemeteries were defaced; their churches, in many instances, were taken from them; and, where they were not, they were robbed of their bells, ornaments, and others appendages. The Huguenots were excluded from office, and, like the Jews in the middle ages, were often forbidden to sue for their debts. Their homes were invaded; their children taken from them; and their families, in many instances, were broken up. They were openly denounced as heretics and rebels; mobs were stirred up against them; and the destruction of their property was winked at by the official authorities.

Proceedings such as these, pertinaciously persisted in, were preparatory to a still greater outrage, — *the formal revocation of the Edict of Nantes*. This took place in 1685, and left the poor Protestants more entirely at the mercy of their enemies than ever before. A new system of proselytism was now entered upon, — one never heard of before or since; viz., that of the detestable dragonades. These were companies of soldiers accompanied by priests. They were sent into Protestant towns and villages, quartered upon the people, and instructed to perpetrate all sorts of outrage, until the miserable inhabitants would submit, and accept the Romish faith. The atrocities which followed this course of proceeding are beyond all description; and they were persisted in until France was more than half ruined. Although the poor Protestants were forbidden to emigrate, and bands of soldiers were placed everywhere on the frontier to carry the mandate into execution, yet from five to eight hundred thousand — and these some of the more useful men in France — did find their way to other countries. Not a few came to this country, and were an ornament and honor to it as long as they lived.

From this terrible infliction neither the Protestants of France nor France itself have ever recovered. Within less than a century, the blood of the Huguenots was terribly avenged; and both the altar and the throne were crushed together under the ponderous wheels of the first French revolution.

CHAPTER XLVII.

THE REFORMATION IN THE NETHERLANDS.

OF the Reformation in the Netherlands to the year 1555, when Charles V. abdicated the government in favor of his son, Philip II., we have before spoken. The edicts of Charles against the Protestants were severe and arbitrary; and many were called to seal their testimony with their blood. A modified Inquisition was established; but it could not be worked vigorously in any of the provinces, and in some of them could not exist at all.

Philip II. was, or might have been, the most powerful monarch in Europe. His dominions embraced Spain, Sicily, Naples, Sardinia, Milan, Portugal, and the Netherlands. He possessed the gold and silver mines of Mexico and Peru, and controlled the commerce of the East and West Indies, of Africa and the Levant, of the North Sea and the Baltic. By his marriage with Mary, queen of England, he exercised for a time a strong influence in the councils of that kingdom; yet with all his dominions, his authority and power, he was really one of the most unfortunate and contemptible of men. He had but one idea, that of his own greatness; but one ambition, that of command; and but one enjoyment, that of inspiring terror. He was selfish, careworn, irritable, melancholy, and destitute of all those affections which go to soften and ennoble human nature. Though ignorant, he was cunning, and an adept in all those arts of deceit and falsehood which went to constitute the kingcraft of the age: add to all, he was an unyielding, unmerciful bigot, who believed that his most acceptable service to God was to promote the Catholic religion, and destroy heretics. Such was the man who now entered upon that long and terrible reign which menaced utter ruin, not only to the Protestant religion, but to national prosperity, in the Netherlands.

Philip continued in the Netherlands some four years after his coronation, — long enough to show his dislike of the people, and

their utter dislike of him. He re-enacted the persecuting edicts of his father, revived the Inquisition, and established thirteen new bishoprics, for the double purpose of being able to exercise a more perfect ecclesiastical supervision, and of augmenting the number of his satellites in the assembly of the states-general. To provide for the endowment of so many new bishops, he suppressed the abbeys and monasteries, and employed their revenues for this purpose.

In the commencement of his reign, Philip engaged in war with the pontiff, Paul IV., and with Henry II. of France. Having come out of these with honor, he formed the design of going into Spain. He constituted the duchess of Parma, who was his half-sister, viceroy during his absence, with Granville, bishop of Arras, as her principal adviser. He also quartered a large body of foreign troops in the cities and towns to enforce obedience, and at the same time to be supported by the people.

Before his departure, he summoned a convention of the States, which met at Ghent. He attended in person, with the new regent and the bishop of Arras. He urged upon the deputies the maintenance of order, and a strict enforcement of the edicts for the suppression of heresy. Whatever else was done or omitted, the ancient faith must be supported.

The reply of the deputies was not so obsequious as Philip anticipated. They remonstrated firmly against the foreign troops remaining in the provinces, against the establishment of the Inquisition, and against the unwonted severity of his edicts; and even intimated that a persistence in those measures might occasion an open resistance to his authority. But the king was inexorable, affirming "that he had rather be no king at all than have heretics for subjects."

All things being in readiness, on the 20th of August, 1559, Philip set sail, with a great fleet, on his way to Spain. He encountered a terrific storm in the Bay of Biscay: many of his ships were wrecked, and more than a thousand of his soldiers perished in the waves. The disaster made a strong impression upon the king, under the influence of which he fell upon his knees, gave thanks to God for his deliverance, and solemnly pledged himself that the future of his life should be devoted to the extirpation of heresy. And most fearfully was that pledge redeemed. It was at this period that the Inquisition in Spain was making its most vigorous efforts to destroy the last vestiges of Protestantism in that

country. After the king's arrival, new fires were kindled for his special gratification. More than thirty persons were brought to the stake at Valladolid. The king, with his courtiers and guards, enjoyed the pleasing spectacle; and in the exultation of the moment he drew his sword, and took a solemn oath to support the Inquisition and its ministers against all heretics and apostates, and to compel his subjects everywhere to yield obedience to its decrees.

For some little time after Philip's departure, the Netherlands enjoyed a degree of prosperity; but the popular discontent began soon to be manifested in opposing the measures which he had dictated to the regent. When these measures were communicated to the council of state, William, prince of Orange, and some other of the nobles, resisted their enforcement, as being in direct violation of the fundamental laws of the constitution. William was at this time a Roman Catholic, but objected strongly to the violent methods proposed for the suppression of heretical opinions, which he knew pervaded every province, town, and village. "Men," he said, "must be convinced of error by reason and argument: heresy can never be eradicated by fire and sword." Philip consented, after a time, to dismiss Bishop Granville, who had been made a cardinal, and was unrelenting in the execution of the persecuting edicts: but the edicts themselves were not revoked; and the causes of general dissatisfaction still remained.

Finding all other methods unavailing, the nobles, in November, 1565, entered into a confederacy for the defence of their own and their country's rights against the detestable tribunal of the Inquisition and other persecuting measures. A strong written bond was drawn up, called *the Compromise*, which was subscribed by the confederate nobles, and by vast numbers of all ranks, both Protestants and Papists. Having formed their league, the confederates resolved to present to the regent a catalogue of their grievances, and to ask a repeal of the obnoxious laws. Accordingly, a deputation of some four hundred gentlemen waited on her for this purpose. Intimidated by their number, she betrayed her fears by the pallor of her cheeks: whereupon her attendant and chief councillor whispered to her, and told her not to be afraid of *Gueux* (beggars). An epithet thus applied to the confederates in contempt was adopted by them as a distinctive title of their party. They were for a long time called *the Gueux* (beggars).

The appeal of the confederates having been treated with contempt, the popular feeling began to show itself in mobs and

tumults. In many of the cities, and particularly at Antwerp, the churches and monasteries were forcibly entered; and every object of idolatrous worship was seized and destroyed. The Protestant ministers and the nobles endeavored to quell the tumults, but in vain. The excesses and riotous proceedings were persisted in, until many of the nobles withdrew from the provinces; and the confederacy was virtually dissolved. Many who had subscribed to the *Compromise* united their influence to the regent's authority, and thus succeeded in dispersing the mobs, and restoring tranquillity to the country. The only effect of this rising of the populace was to provoke the government to new severities. A cruel vengeance was taken on the iconoclasts, the Gueux, and on all heretics. The executioners were everywhere full of work. In every city, the victims might be counted by hundreds.

At this time, the regent, Margaret, wrote to the prince of Orange and to others of the nobility, requesting their opinion as to the real state of affairs, and the general policy which it would be advisable for her to pursue. Of course, they recommended moderate measures and an attempt to conciliate the people; and the regent was inclined to accept their counsel: but the king would hear nothing of it. The confederacy was overthrown, he said; the power of the Protestants was broken; and now was the time to crush out the last remains of the heresy which had produced so much confusion and disorder. Accordingly, he resolved to send into the Netherlands a formidable army under the command of an experienced and successful general, with full power and authority to put down all resistance, and establish the Catholic religion everywhere.

On the 22d of August, 1567, the duke of Alva entered Brussels at the head of twenty thousand men. When information was received of his coming, thousands upon thousands fled into other countries. The roads were thronged with bands of emigrants, and the sea was covered with fugitive vessels. Germany, France, and England received these unfortunate refugees; but the Netherlands lost them, and their loss was irreparable.

This duke of Alva was one of the most unfeeling tyrants that ever lived. Morose, wily, without compassion, and withal superstitious and vindictive, it may be truly said of him in the language of Scripture, "His mouth was full of cursing and bitterness, and his feet were swift to shed blood. Destruction and misery were in his ways; and the way of peace he had not known." On his

arrival, the regent, Margaret, resigned her authority, and retired into Italy. Alva was at the head of the government for the next six years; and they were emphatically years of blood.

One of the first acts of Alva after his arrival was the institution of a tribunal, entitled *the Council of Disorders*, but which the Flemings called more appropriately *the Council of Blood*. It was designed to assist the inquisitors in the discovery and apprehension of heretics, and consisted of twelve persons, principally Spaniards. Alva was himself president; and John de Vargas, a Spanish lawyer, distinguished for his avarice and cruelty, was vice-president. The jurisdiction of the tribunal was unlimited; and its powers were exercised as dictated by the governor. Among its first victims were the Counts Egmont and Hoorn, who were seized by treachery, and beheaded. The rich were the most likely to be taken, as their destruction furnished, not only blood, but spoils. Alva himself boasted that he had caused by this instrumentality the death of eighteen thousand persons, and that the property of the murdered and proscribed brought into the royal treasury twenty million of dollars annually.

The whole machinery of Papal oppression and cruelty was now put in active operation; while the army was so organized, and distributed through the provinces, that resistance was impossible. No distinction was made of age, sex, or condition. Persons in the morning of life, and those worn out under the infirmities of age; persons of the highest rank, as well as the lowest of the people, (on the slightest evidence, and sometimes on bare suspicion), — were alike sacrificed to the rapacity and cruelty of the governor and his associates. At the time of the carnival, the soldiers, accompanied by the inquisitors, were let loose like so many wolves among the Protestants, who were seized, often in the middle of the night, and thrown into prisons and dungeons. They were dragged by horses to the place of execution; and, before their bodies were committed to the flames, their torments were prolonged with ingenious cruelty. To prevent them from bearing testimony to the truth of their profession, their tongues were first scorched with a glowing hot iron, and then screwed into a machine so contrived as to produce the most excruciating torment.

In the year 1567, the first of Alva's administration, a Dutch historian says that "the gallows, the wheels, and the trees of the highways, were so loaded with dead bodies, that the air, which was made for the respiration of the living, was impregnated with the effluvia of death."

In the next year the king passed a decree, declaring all the inhabitants of the Low Countries, with the exception of a few whose names had been sent to him, heretics, or the abettors of heresy, and, as such, guilty of high treason; and they were to be proceeded against as such. So horrid a sentence had never before been passed upon a whole nation since the foundation of the world; and the persecutors left no means untried to carry it into full execution. To show with how much carelessness persons were often condemned, we may cite a single instance. James Hessels, one of Alva's judges, used to sleep after dinner upon the bench while trying the heretics; and, when they aroused him to give sentence, he would rub his eyes, and say, "*Ad patibulum*" ("Let him be executed"), as if the life of a man was the merest trifle. Some ten years after, Hessels was himself hanged in the city of Ghent.

In the year 1572, some events transpired, which, in their consequences, led to an entire revolution in the affairs of the Netherlands, and to the emancipation of the seven northern provinces from the dominion of Spain. Many of the Protestants, who had been driven from their homes by persecution, and had concealed themselves in the woods and marshes, became organized as guerilla bands, and preyed, as they had opportunity, upon the property of their enemies. Others had procured vessels, and were engaged in piratical exploits on the sea. They plundered the ships of Philip, and often took rich prizes. In the year 1572, a fleet of these pirates, under the direction of Count de la Mark, attacked and captured the town of Brill, which was the stronghold of the Belgic provinces. This movement was powerfully seconded by the prince of Orange. Under him, many of the inhabitants who had so long groaned under the oppression of the Spanish governor flew to arms, eager to avenge their wrongs, and retaliate upon their persecutor. The cities of Holland, Zealand, and Friesland, joined in the revolt; which was further strengthened by the accession of Utrecht. In an assembly at Dort, July 15, 1572, William was appointed stadtholder, or governor, of the revolted provinces; and thus was laid the foundation of the new republic.

Alva redoubled his efforts to recover what he had lost; and desolation and carnage marked the progress of his arms. He sent his son, Don Frederic, into Gelderland, who surprised Zutphen, and treated the inhabitants most barbarously. He caused fifteen hundred burghers to be hanged upon trees, or drowned in the Yssel; and ordered the town to be set on fire in eight places. He extorted

great sums of money from the other burghers, and did not spare even the Romish clergy. He then repaired to Narden, the inhabitants of which opened to him their gates, and entreated his pardon. Yet all of them, except sixty, were put to death. Catholics and Protestants shared the same fate: the churches, convents, and hospitals were plundered. The young Alva was not willing to be outdone in cruelty by his father.

Harlem was besieged at this time by the Spaniards; and after a protracted and obstinate defence, the city was taken. Its capture was followed, as usual, by the most frightful atrocities. The Spaniards glutted their rage upon the soldiers and burghers; and vast numbers of them were put to death. Those who were willing to confess to the priests were beheaded; and those who refused confession were hanged. About three hundred persons were bound together, two and two, and thrown into the lake. But the Spaniards paid dear for this conquest: it cost them not less than twelve thousand men. They attempted soon after to capture Almar, but failed; thus showing that they were not invincible.

But the administration of the duke of Alva was now at an end. He was recalled at his own request, and left for Spain in December, 1573. Never was such an administration before — so bloody, so tyrannical, so maliciously cruel — in any civilized land; and yet Vargas, his lieutenant, complained that “the Low Countries were lost out of a foolish compassion.”

The duke of Alva was succeeded in the government by Don Lewis de Requesens, who is represented as an honest, well-meaning, moderate man. The principal event of his administration, which lasted about two years and a half, was the siege of Leyden, which he failed to capture. After having endured the utmost privations from sickness and famine, the miserable inhabitants were relieved by the prince of Orange. He ordered the dikes to be opened and the sluices raised, and swept off the besiegers by the waves of the sea. More than a thousand Spanish soldiers perished in the flood. Requesens died of fever on the 5th of March, 1576.

It would be superfluous to notice all the civil changes which took place at this period in the government of the Netherlands. Requesens was succeeded by Don John of Austria, a son of Charles V.; but he died in less than two years, without having accomplished any thing of special importance. Owing to the discontent of the Spanish troops, and the superior generalship of the

prince of Orange, all the provinces, with the exception of two or three in the south-eastern part of the Netherlands, revolted from Spain, and united in what was called *the Pacification of Ghent*. Such was the state of affairs in 1578, when Alexander Farnese, prince of Parma and a nephew of Philip, assumed the command of the Spanish troops.

Meanwhile an alliance had been formed with Queen Elizabeth of England. This she was induced to accede to from an apprehension that the provinces would otherwise place themselves under the protection of France. She had previously refused the possession and sovereignty of Holland, Zealand, Friesland, and Utrecht, offered to her by an embassy from those States; but now policy dictated a bolder and more decisive course. By this treaty, she agreed to furnish a contingent both of men and money.

The differences of religious opinion which prevailed between the northern and southern portions of the provinces enabled the prince of Parma to conduct his plans of re-conquest with considerable success. Protestantism was the prevailing religion of the north; and Popery, of the south. He made a skilful use of these dissensions, and thus separated those who adhered to the faith of Rome from Holland, Zealand, Friesland, Utrecht, Gelderland, Overyssel, and Gröningen, which had established the reformed worship. These seven provinces were formed into a distinct confederacy by the treaty of Utrecht on the 23d of January, 1579. Their declaration of national independence was not made, however, until July, 1581. The prince of Orange was at once elected their chief magistrate, with the title of stadtholder; and it was through his influence that they were induced to declare their independence as a defence against the proscriptions of the king of Spain. Philip was so enraged at the success of William, and the loss of those seven provinces, that he offered the sum of twenty-five thousand crowns for his assassination. This was accomplished at Delft, in 1584, by a bigoted Papist and Jesuit, Balthasar Gerhard. Gerhard had communicated his design to several other Jesuits, who encouraged him in it, and assured him, if he died in the attempt, that he would be reckoned among the martyrs. In order that he might have free access to the prince, the murderer pretended that he was the child of one who had suffered death for the reformed religion. He appeared very devout; frequented the Protestant churches; and always carried about with him the Bible, the Psalms, or some other religious book. William had given a public

dinner at Antwerp; and, as he was quitting the dining-room to go to his private chamber, Gerhard stepped forward, and presented him a private petition; and, while William was reading it, the murderer discharged a pistol at his head. The ball struck him under the left ear, and went out through the right cheek. As he staggered and fell, he exclaimed, "O God! have mercy upon me and upon my poor people."

Few characters have ever presented themselves on the page of history more worthy of study and imitation than that of William, prince of Orange. He was wise, brave, truthful, conscientious, who loved his country, and had sacrificed every thing for its welfare. He was a Catholic in the former part of his life, but afterwards became a Protestant. He was a man of great liberality, and better understood the subject of religious freedom than any one of that or the following age. He would suffer no one, whether Catholic or Protestant or Anabaptist, to be molested for his religious opinions, if he was not a disturber of the public peace.

His murderer was instantly seized, and suffered death in the usual barbarous manner of the times. But the Jesuits honored him as a martyr, and continue to do so to this day. They carefully gathered up his remains, and exposed them as holy relics for public veneration.

After the death of William, the prince of Parma used his utmost endeavors to induce the seven United Provinces to return to their allegiance to the king of Spain; but they rejected every such overture with abhorrence. They seemed resolved to show, that, however much they honored their fallen leader, their existence did not depend upon him alone. A council of state was at once established, consisting of eighteen members, at the head of which was unanimously placed Maurice of Nassau, son of the late prince, who had already given evidence of the highest wisdom and valor.

But, though the prince of Parma could not flatter or force the United Provinces into subjection to the king of Spain, he was gradually gaining ground in the other provinces. Town after town either opened its gates to him, or submitted to his arms; so that, within a year after the death of William of Orange, the authority of Spain was again established in nearly all of what in our times is denominated Belgium. He had the greatest struggle with the city of Antwerp. This endured a siege of fourteen months; and it was only by the greatest efforts that it was brought at the end of that period to capitulate.

But these victories of the prince of Parma were barren in any of those results which humanity would wish to see in a train of conquest. The reconciled provinces presented a most deplorable spectacle. The chief towns were well-nigh depopulated. Multitudes had been destroyed; more had emigrated; and few were coming in to take their places. Villages were abandoned; grass grew wild in the streets; and those who had formerly been persons of rank and wealth were reduced to beggary.

The United Provinces, feeling that they were not alone able to withstand the power of Spain, renewed their application to the queen of England for help; and she sent them over a considerable sum of money, and six thousand troops under the command of the earl of Leicester. Leicester came with great pomp and display; and the people received him with all honor. They conferred on him the title of governor and captain-general of the provinces; but he quickly showed that he had neither courage nor capacity equal to the trust confided to him. By his arbitrary and indolent conduct, he soon disgusted those whom he had come over to assist. Leicester continued in the provinces but about a year, when he returned, much to the satisfaction of all concerned.

Meanwhile, young Maurice, prince of Nassau, was winning golden opinions. He was raised to the dignity of stadtholder, captain-general, and admiral of Holland and Zealand; and showed himself worthy of the honors he received.

Several things took place at this time calculated to weaken the power of Spain, and to divert it from the war in the Netherlands into other channels. One was the fitting-out of the grand Armada for the purpose of invading England. This swallowed up, for the time, all the resources of Spain; and the failure of the mad enterprise inflicted a blow upon that unhappy country from which it has never recovered. Another was the interest which Philip felt in resisting the claims of Henry IV. to the throne of France. Here, again, he failed; and the failure was not only a disappointment to him, but a source of weakness. But that which, beyond every thing, tended to hasten the close of the war in the Netherlands, was the failure of Parma's health. His exposures and hardships had worn him out; and he died on the 3d of December, 1592. A few years later, Philip died; and the wars of the Low Countries were ended.

The last martyr in this protracted struggle was Anne Hove, who suffered in 1595. Her punishment was, to be buried alive. After she had been laid in the grave, they first threw some earth

upon her feet, and then, little by little, upon her body, up to her neck. The Jesuits then asked her whether she was willing to retract her errors, and return to the bosom of the Church. But she said, "No. Those who thus seek to save their lives here shall lose them hereafter." The executioner then threw the earth upon her face, and trod it down with his feet. Her groans were heard for a few minutes, and then were silenced in death.

Philip II. left the government of the ten Catholic provinces to his daughter Isabella, who was married to the archduke of Austria. War was continued between the archduke and the United Provinces until 1609, when a truce was concluded for twelve years. At the close of this period the war was renewed, and was not finally terminated until 1648. By the treaty of Munster, at this time entered into, the independence of the United Provinces was distinctly acknowledged, and all claim of sovereignty over them, on the part of Spain, forever renounced.

Meanwhile the United Provinces had been making rapid progress in every thing which contributed to national honor and greatness. Their cities and towns were filled with manufactures of various kinds; their commerce whitened every sea; their merchants were princes; and their pecuniary resources knew no bounds. In the cause of general and public education, too, they were an example to other nations. As early as 1575, while in the midst of their contest for independence, the states-general founded the University of Leyden. Others were subsequently founded at Utrecht and Gröningen.

Their church was organized and a confession of faith published in 1563, which is strongly Calvinistic. The government of their churches is Presbyterian, though not precisely after the model of the Church of Scotland. The church courts or judicatories are called consistories, classes, and synods. The consistory is the lowest court, and is made up of the clergy and elders of a particular church or town. It corresponds to the session of the Presbyterian churches. The classes consist of deputies from several consistories, and correspond to the presbyteries of Scotland and America. The synods are either provincial or national; the first being assembled every year, while the other is brought together only on important occasions, when essential doctrines are to be discussed.

The struggle in the midst of which these Dutch reformed churches took their rise was more terrific than any other connected with the Reformation, — more terrible, I had almost said, than any the

world ever saw. There was nothing in the Decian or Diocletian persecutions to compare with that which was visited upon the Netherlands under the duke of Alva. But having emerged from the storm, and become established, these churches of Holland set the first example of a universal toleration. All denominations were permitted to enjoy, unmolested, their several forms of worship, provided no attempts were made to disturb the tranquillity of the State. It was in Holland, it will be remembered, that our Pilgrim Fathers found a refuge when they were driven out of England. The descendants of the Pilgrims will never forget the debt of gratitude which they owe to the worthy Hollanders for the hospitality which was showed them at that trying period.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

DIFFERENT CHURCHES AND SECTS IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY,
SUBSEQUENT TO THE REFORMATION.

I.—THE ROMISH CHURCH.

THE points of difference between the Romish and Protestant churches may be resolved into *two*, which are *fundamental*, and out of which all other differences spring.

1. The Romish Church everywhere acknowledges a *subjection to and dependence on the Roman pontiff, the bishop of Rome*. He is the head of all power and authority; and the bishops and all other church-officers are dependent on him. This the Protestant churches deny; many of them regarding him as no Christian bishop at all, but rather as Antichrist.

2. The second point of difference respects *the rule of faith*. With Protestants, the *Scriptures*, and these alone, are the rule of faith. With Romanists, the rule of faith is the *Scriptures as interpreted by the fathers, the Church, and the ecclesiastical traditions and canons*. Here, you see, is a mighty difference, — one wide enough to let in all the minor differences which are found to exist. Give to the Romanist his rule of faith, and you give him all: his whole system of usurpation and superstition is established.

The Roman pontiffs were chosen in the sixteenth century — as they had been for several hundred years, and as they are now — by *the cardinals*. These cardinals are seventy in number, — six bishops, fifty presbyters, and fourteen deacons, of the Church of Rome. They not only elect the pontiff, but constitute his *standing council*, whom he is bound to consult on all important matters, and whose advice he is expected to follow. No one is eligible to the office of pontiff who is not already a cardinal and a *native Italian*.

The Romish Church was continually occupied during the greater

part of the sixteenth century in its controversy with the reformers ; and its particular history has been anticipated in the history of the Reformation. When the struggle with the Protestants was measurably over, and the different churches had become established, the Romanists, finding that they had lost a considerable part of Europe, undertook to make up for the loss by extending their religion into foreign lands. Before the close of the century, the Spaniards and Portuguese commenced propagating their religion in their newly-acquired provinces of North and South America. Also Francis Xavier and his associates and followers began their missionary operations in the East Indies. Xavier entered upon this work, under the direction of the Portuguese, in 1542. Seven years later he proceeded to Japan, and laid the foundation of that numerous body of Christians which flourished there for a long period. Three years later he sailed for China, but did not live to reach the coast. He died within sight of China, in the year 1552. He was followed to China by Matthew Ricci, an Italian missionary, who may be regarded as the founder of Romanism in that vast empire. Ricci was a Jesuit, and pursued the same compromising, corrupt mode of conducting missions as the other Jesuits. He suffered his converts to offer sacrifices to their deceased ancestors, to visit the idol temples, and to place crosses wreathed with flowers among the idols.

One of the most important events in the history of the Romish Church in the sixteenth century was the institution of the order or society of *Jesuits*. The founder of this order was Ignatius Loyola, a stern fanatic, who, after passing through a variety of experience, was appointed general of the order in 1541. This new order was much needed by the pontiff at this time. The mendicants, who had been his body-guard for some centuries, had become comparatively imbecile and inefficient ; and he stood in need of a class of men like the Jesuits, who should be wholly devoted to his interests, and whose only object in life should be to extend his dominion, and exalt his power. The Jesuits entered at once, and with great spirit, into the work of foreign missions, and by their zeal provoked others to follow them. For the success of its missions, and the strengthening of its cause in the sixteenth century, the Church of Rome owes more to this single new society than to all its other ministers and resources.

The great Protestant defection, occurring in this century, was not without an indirect favoring influence upon the Church of

Rome. The pontiffs were constrained to be a more decent class of men, in point of morals, than they had been for a long period; and the same was true of the clergy generally. They could not otherwise have been tolerated. Then *the revival of learning* consequent upon the Reformation, the spring which was given to the human mind, the necessity for study which was laid upon all classes who were connected in any way with this protracted struggle, acted favorably upon the cause of learning in the Romish Church. Her teachers *must* give themselves to reading and research, — they *must* study the Bible, the fathers, and the history of the Church, — or they must be overwhelmed. Among the learned Romanists of the age, I may mention Cajetan, before whom Luther had his first hearing in Germany; Eck, with whom Luther and Carlstadt disputed at Leipsic; Bellarmine, the great polemic of his church; and Baronius, her great historian. Baronius's "Annals" were published, near the close of the century, in twelve volumes folio.

The Council of Trent was held in this century, commencing in 1545, and finally closing in 1563; holding twenty-five sessions, and embracing a period of eighteen years. In this time the council was twice broken up, and twice revived. On some accounts, this was the most important council that the Romish Church ever held. It gave creed and law to the entire Church and (on Catholic principles) to the whole Christian world from that period to the present. And yet how poorly it was entitled to exercise such authority is evident from the fewness of its members, and from the perpetual intrigues, disputes, and quarrels by which it was characterized. After long expectation and preparation, the pope's legates arrived at the time and place appointed, where seats had been provided for four hundred members; but not a single member, except the bishop of Trent, was there. At the end of a week, only three had arrived; and, during the whole period of the first convocation of the council, the average attendance was not over fifty. At the two subsequent convocations the number was greater, but never more than two hundred and fifty, — less than the whole number of bishops even in Italy.

To narrate all the disputes and squabbles which occurred in the council during the eighteen years of its continuance would require volumes; and when its work was done, so obscure and unsatisfactory were some of its decrees, that it produced more controversies than it settled, and needed an order of men to be set apart

expressly for the purpose of interpreting it. However, the decrees of this council, and the connected creed of Pius IV., are the latest and most authoritative symbols of the Church of Rome.

Besides the controversies which the Church was obliged to sustain against the Protestants, she had several at this time in her own borders. The first had relation to the extent and magnitude of the powers of the pontiff. The Jesuits maintained that the pontiff is infallible; that he cannot err; that he is the source of all the power which Christ has imparted to his Church; that all bishops and teachers are dependent on him, and subject to him; that he is not bound by any ecclesiastical decrees or rules; that he has a right to frame his own decrees, which no one can resist without mortal sin. But others were disposed to qualify these strong statements. They taught that the pope's authority was inferior to that of councils; that he was bound to respect the decrees of councils; and that, if he did not, a council might be called to sit in judgment upon him, and even depose him.

The old controversy respecting *depravity*, *predestination*, and *grace*, was still carried on in the Romish Church. Formerly it had been contested between the Dominicans and Franciscans: now it was debated chiefly between the Jesuits and Jansenists; the Jansenists affirming the views of Augustin in relation to these points, and the Jesuits denying them.

There were warm disputes also, between the Jesuits and many others, respecting the efficacy of the sacraments; the Jesuits insisting that their saving virtues are imparted *ex opere operato*,—by the mere *external act*, without any reference to the state of mind and heart in the recipient,—while others taught that faith and a good heart were necessary.

The Jesuits likewise taught a very loose and corrupt system of morality, which exposed them to the keen shafts of their adversaries. Those who wish to study *this* controversy will do well to read Pascal's "Provincial Letters."

In short, the state of the Romish Church in the sixteenth century was any thing but satisfactory. It commenced the century in peace and prosperity: but, in the course of it, its power was weakened; its ranks were broken; it was divested of a considerable part of its European possessions; it received a blow from which it has never recovered, and never will. A vial of wrath was poured out upon the seat of the beast; his kingdom was full of darkness; and his followers gnawed their tongues for pain.

II.—GREEK AND OTHER ORIENTAL CHURCHES.

The Greek Church of the sixteenth century is the same as the old Eastern Orthodox Church, which had so long been in controversy with the Church of Rome. It includes all those Christians which are in connection and fellowship with the patriarch of Constantinople. The right of electing the patriarch of Constantinople belongs to the twelve bishops nearest the city. The right of confirming him in office belongs to the sultan, and is usually paid for at a pretty dear rate.

The Greeks acknowledge as the basis of their religion the Holy Scriptures and the decisions of the six first general councils. Their symbol, or creed, is entitled "The Orthodox Confession of the Catholic and Apostolic Oriental Church." The Roman Catholics have often tried to effect a union with the Greek Church, but in vain. The Lutherans made an attempt of this nature in the sixteenth century, but with no better success. Melancthon sent a letter to the Greek patriarch on the subject, but did not even obtain an answer. The great body of the Russians are connected with the Greek Church, though the metropolitan of Moscow is nearly and perhaps entirely independent.

There are some Roman Catholics scattered through the East; but the great body of Christians not connected with the Greek Church are either Nestorians or Monophysites. The Nestorians reside chiefly in the Koordish mountains, near the head-waters of the Tigris. Formerly they were a great people, their churches extending through all Central Asia and into China; but by the conquests of the Tartars, Turks, and Persians, they have been diminished, and brought low.

The Monophysites include the Armenians in Asia, and the Abyssinians and Copts in Africa. These African Christians are in a state of great ignorance and depression. The Armenians have more light and wealth and influence, but are inveterately wedded to their superstitions. Both classes, however, have had the firmness to resist the most strenuous efforts of the Catholics to draw them into the embraces of Rome.

III.—THE LUTHERAN CHURCH.

The Lutheran Church, as a distinct body of Christians, had its origin in the sixteenth century. It commenced in the year 1520,

when Luther formally withdrew from the Church of Rome, and burned the pope's bull of excommunication against him. It acquired a stable form and consistency in 1530, when the Augsburg Confession was drawn up and adopted. It became a legally recognized community in 1552, when a permanent peace was given to the Protestants.

The rule of faith in the Lutheran Church, as in all the other Protestant churches, is the Holy Scriptures. The symbolical standards of this church are the Augsburg Confession; also the Articles of Smalcald, the Catechisms of Luther, and the Formula of Concord.

The Lutheran churches do not all observe the same rites and forms; nor are they all subject to the same kind of ecclesiastical government. In Sweden and Denmark, these churches are Episcopal. In Germany, they occupy a middle ground between Episcopacy and Presbyterianism. Their ecclesiastical courts are called *consistories*; and what would be bishops in some other countries are here called *superintendents*.

In one respect, the Lutheran churches in Europe are all alike: they are in close connection with the State, — bound hand and foot to it, — and cannot exercise that spiritual freedom and independence which their best good requires.

The sixteenth century was an age when the cause of learning revived and made great progress, not only among the Lutherans, but in all parts of Europe. New universities were founded; old ones were rejuvenated and reformed; schools were established; and literature and literary men were patronized. All who aspired to the sacred office were required to make themselves familiar with the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew languages. Ecclesiastical history was profoundly studied and illustrated by Flacius and others, commonly called the Magdeburg Centuriators. It was their great work which roused Baronius to publish his "Popish Annals," hoping thereby to refute and defeat them.

Luther and Melancthon, though profoundly versed in the Aristotelian dialectics, soon came to despise them. They needed a freer and more natural method of publishing the truth. But, when *they* were dead, their successors soon reverted to the old forms. Aristotle was restored, and reigned another hundred years, — till the times of Bacon and Descartes.

Luther and Melancthon reformed, not only the philosophy of the times, but also the mode of interpreting the Scriptures. Renoun-

eing the old allegorical methods, they aimed to unfold the *real sense* of the sacred writings. In this they were followed by other commentators; and a permanent change was effected in the matter of biblical interpretation.

In theology, Melanethon was the oracle to the end of the century. His "Loci Communes" passed through many editions, and served as a common guide to all the Lutheran teachers of theology, both in their lectures, treatises, and public discourses.

The internal state of the Lutheran Church was peaceful so long as the great reformer lived. His authority was sufficient to overcome opposition; and those who were unwilling to bow to it had no alternative but to retire beyond the bounds of the Church. It was his authority which cleared the Church of the fanatics, Anabaptists, and other high-fliers, with which, for a time, it was infested.

After the death of Luther, which took place about the middle of the century, the peace of the Church was often disturbed. Melanethon, though more than equal to Luther in point of learning, had not his firmness and strength of character, or his influence over the popular mind. For the sake of peace, he was disposed to yield certain points both to the Catholics and Calvinists which Luther would have preserved inviolate. Hence arose a violent controversy between what may be called the *strict* and the *moderate* Lutherans; in which some of the former did not hesitate to denounce Melanethon as an apostate from the true religion. This controversy related to several points: as, 1. *Things indifferent*; Melanethon admitting more things to be regarded as indifferent than his opposers would allow. 2. *Synergism*, or whether the human will acts while acted upon by the Holy Spirit; Melanethon affirming such action, and his opposers denying it. 3. The necessity of *good works* in order to salvation: Melanethon holding that they are in some sense necessary; his opposers denying this, and even affirming (or some of them did) that they are prejudicial to salvation. 4. *Original sin*; the opposers of Melanethon affirming, and he denying, that it attaches to the very substance of the soul. 5. The presence of Christ in the eucharist; Melanethon being less strenuous on this point than Luther.

After the death of Melanethon, in the year 1560, some of the Lutheran princes of Germany took measures to put an end to these bitter controversies. They first got together a convention to discuss the points in dispute. But, this effort failing, they appointed

James Andreae, a professor of Tübingen, to draw up a formula of concord, which all parties were expected to adopt and subscribe. After long labor, the formula was prepared; but, as it usually happens with such paper compromises, it created more difficulties than it healed. Few really liked it; and the followers of Melancthon were specially displeased with it. However, it received the sanction of most of the princes, and was admitted to a place among the symbolical standards of the Lutheran Church.

The principal men among the Lutherans in the sixteenth century (after Luther and Melancthon) were James Andreae, Paul Fagius, Matthias Flacius, Martin Chemnitz, Francis Lambert, Osiander, Bugenhagen, &c.

IV.—REFORMED CHURCHES.

Those who separated from the Romish Church in the sixteenth century are divided by the German historians into two general classes,—the Lutheran and the Reformed. All those who left the Romanists, and did not join the Lutherans, are classed together under the name of Reformed. These constitute, not one church, but several distinct churches, inhabiting different countries, and practising different rites and forms. Thus the Church of England is Episcopal; the Church of Scotland, Presbyterian; and others are Congregational, or Independent.

The first founder of these reformed churches was Ulric Zwingli, a pastor of Switzerland. He differed from Luther in regard to the real presence of Christ in the eucharist. In consequence of this difference, they were led to separate; and their followers became distinct communities. Much pains was taken by the Protestant princes of Germany to harmonize them; but in vain. Zwingli died early (A.D. 1531),—sixteen years before the death of Luther. He died in the defence of his country against the Roman Catholics.

The second father of these reformed churches was John Calvin. To the original ground of difference between the Lutherans and the Reformed, Calvin added another; viz., the Augustinian doctrine of predestination, which the Lutherans, in general, reject.

Until the time of Calvin, the reformed community was small in extent, being confined almost entirely to Switzerland; but owing to his energy and zeal in writing, preaching, lecturing, and publishing, and more especially in establishing a theological school, to

which young men from different countries resorted with a view to qualify themselves for the ministry, he was a means of extending the reformed communities over a considerable part of Western Europe. Calvin died in the year 1564, — eighteen years after the death of Luther.

The churches which embraced the reformed religion were the palatine churches in Germany, the Protestants of France (commonly called Huguenots), the churches of England and Scotland, and the Dutch-Reformed churches.

King Henry IV. of France was originally a Protestant. He embraced the Catholic faith as a matter of policy when he came to the throne; but by the Edict of Nantes he gave to his Protestant subjects a firm legal toleration, under which they flourished and prospered for almost a hundred years.

The state of the Church of England in the sixteenth century was various, — Protestant under Henry VIII. and Edward VI., Catholic under Mary, and Protestant under Elizabeth and her successors. This was the age of the Puritan controversy in England. This controversy commenced among the English exiles in the reign of Mary. Some of these exiles were for carrying the Reformation farther than it had ever been carried in England, — were for conforming their worship and discipline to that of the Swiss churches; others were for preserving the Episcopal forms and rites as they had been left by Edward VI. On the death of Mary, these exiles returned into England, and carried the controversy with them; where it raged through the long reign of Elizabeth, and far down into the next century. The Puritans were severely persecuted by Elizabeth and her successors, but could not be exterminated. They gave birth to the dissenting churches of Old England and to the first settlers of New England. They were the earnest advocates, not only of simplicity in worship, but of the Christian sabbath, and of civil and religious liberty. Mr. Hume (who was no friend to them) allows that the English are indebted to them for almost all the liberty which they now enjoy.

After the promulgation of the formula of concord in Germany, some of the more moderate Lutherans, who were displeased with it, left their own church, and joined the reformed. This was the case with the princes of Nassau, Hanau, Isenburg, Anhalt, and some others. Before the close of the century, the remains of the Hussites, or Bohemian brethren, also of the Waldenses and Albigenses, were brought into close connection with the reformed churches.

The Holy Scriptures, and these alone, are held in all the reformed communities to be the rule of faith. Nearly all of them have creeds of their own, which are regarded, not as taking the place of Scripture, but as concise and convenient expressions of what they conceive to be the sense of Scripture.

Calvin set the example of excluding profane and immoral persons, and such as gave no evidence of piety, from the communion of the Church. This was a new measure in those times, and caused the reformer a vast deal of trouble. Men could bear his doctrine of absolute decrees much better than they could bear to be stigmatized (for it was then a stigma) in being excluded from the supper of the Lord. The example of Calvin in this respect was copied by some of his followers. It has obtained in all the Puritan churches both of Europe and America.

Learning was much cultivated in all the reformed churches in the sixteenth century. The philosophy studied was that of Aristotle. At the head of all the interpreters of Scripture stand Calvin and Beza. Calvin's "Commentaries" are in high repute at the present day. They have recently been translated into English, and published in fifty octavo volumes.

Calvin stands at the head, too, of the *teachers* of theology. His "Institutes" are a text-book in most evangelical theological seminaries. Systems of theology were also prepared by Musculus, Peter Martyr, Piscator, and some others.

There were fewer controversies in the reformed churches in the sixteenth century than in the Lutheran. The principal one was the Puritan controversy in England, to which I have already referred. Calvin had frequent controversies with subverters of the gospel at Geneva. At one time, the opposition was so strong against him, that he was banished from the city, and retired to Strasburg. But he was soon recalled; and his authority was more firmly established than ever. He had controversy with a class of Antinomian fanatics, whom he calls Spirituals and Libertines. They were of the same stamp with the Brethren of the Free Spirit, of whom we read in the previous centuries. They held that religion consists in such a union of the soul with God, that those who have attained to it cannot commit sin. Whatever they may do, they are as guiltless as God himself. Calvin had controversy also with Castalio and Bolsec and Ochin and Servetus; all of whom seem to have been enemies to him because they were enemies to the right way of the Lord. Calvin has been

charged with treating those from whom he differed with undue severity; and, judged of by the customs and standards of our own times, I have no doubt that the charge is true; but, judged of by the standard of the age in which he lived, I think he may be honorably acquitted. He did not treat those from whom he differed with more severity than was thought to be right by religious men of that day. He has been often charged with burning Servetus; but this is not true. Servetus was burned by a decree of the senate, and *against* the wishes and advice of Calvin. He wished the sentence of death to be commuted; but the senate would not yield to him.

This century was an age of great men, more especially in the reformed churches of Europe. Besides Zwingle, Calvin, and Beza, there were Bucer, Œcolampadius, Bullinger, Farel, Peter Martyr, Musculus, Ursinus, Cranmer, and many others, who were lights to the age in which they lived, and to the succeeding ages.

V.—THE ANABAPTISTS, OR MENNONITES.

Among the sects which arose in Protestant Europe in the sixteenth century, a prominent place is to be given to the Anabaptists. We have heard of them already in the history of the Reformation. Through all the middle ages, God had a people in the earth. They were poor, despised, persecuted, ignorant, superstitious, and holding to many fanatical notions; but yet many among them were truly pious. They bore different names in different countries and at different times; such as Paulicians, Paterines, Cathari, Albigenses, &c. By their enemies, they were denounced as Manichæans. They were waiting and longing for spiritual liberty; and, when the Reformation came, they thought they had gained it. They rose almost simultaneously in different countries, and, under the influence of bad leaders, were soon involved in reproach and ruin. They held to the doctrine of perfection and a community of goods. They would have no religious teachers, and no magistrates. Many of them denied the proper divinity of Christ, and the eternity of future punishment. They believed in visions and revelations; rejected infant-baptism; and baptized all who joined them, whether they had been before baptized or not.* At first, they satisfied

* These Anabaptists did not insist on immersion as essential to baptism; nor did they uniformly baptize by immersion.—See *Chris. Review* for July, 1861, p. 399.

themselves with merely *publishing* their peculiar sentiments; but, urged on by their leaders, they soon rushed to arms. They expected the immediate coming of Christ to set up his kingdom in the world; and *their* mission was to fight the Lord's battles, and so prepare the way for his universal reign. Their first military leader was Thomas Munzer, who gathered a large army in 1525: but his forces were utterly routed by the German princes; and he was put to death. Eight years later, they rallied again, under John Bockold, a tailor of Leyden; took the city of Munster, and there practised their fanatical rites: but again they were routed, and their leaders were slain.

Finding all their plans defeated, they now scattered themselves into different countries. Some went to Holland, some to France, some to Britain, and many remained in Germany. In this scattered condition God raised them up a leader, Menno Simonis, who was altogether suited to their wants. He had been a Popish priest, and was a man of some learning, — learning enough to be deemed an oracle by the ignorant people whom he undertook to lead. He corrected their extravagances, reformed their abuses, healed their divisions, and, from a turbulent, distracted multitude, brought them into a sober, compacted state. From him they took the name of Mennonites, which the Baptists in Holland still retain.

In the course of the century, they became divided into two classes, — the *strict* and the *moderate*, or the *fine* and the *gross*. The *strict* adhere more closely than the rest to the original principles and discipline of the Anabaptists: the *moderates*, sometimes called *Waterlanders*, approximate more nearly to the views and practices of other Christians. These Waterlanders drew up a confession of faith, and (except in the matter of baptism) differed but little from the reformed churches. They gave a commendable attention to learning; and many of their teachers were learned men.

In the contest of William, prince of Orange, against the Papists, the Mennonites aided him with money and soldiers; and, to reward them for their kindness, he gave them a legal toleration in Holland. This took place about the year 1572, and was the *first* legal establishment which they gained in Europe.

To the persecuted and dispersed Anabaptists of Germany, the Baptists of England and America undoubtedly owe their origin. For a long time, they retained more or less of the peculiarities of the original sect; and, for a still longer period, they bore something of their reproach; but, in our times, they have cleared themselves of both.

VI.—THE SOCINIANS.

This sect originated with Lelius Socinus, about the middle of the sixteenth century. He was an Italian by birth, but spent most of his mature life at Zurich, in Switzerland. He adopted the Socinian peculiarities, but never professed them: he continued in communion with the Swiss churches till his death.

Faustus Socinus was the nephew of Lelius. He inherited the private papers of his uncle, and from them drew out and published what has since been called the Socinian doctrine.

The Socini were not the first, however, after the beginning of the Reformation, who called in question the proper divinity of Christ. This was done, as I just now said, by some among the Anabaptists. It was also done by Hetzer, Campanus, Servetus, and many others. These earlier Unitarians were for the most part Arians or Semi-Arians; and, after being driven from place to place, many of them took refuge in Poland. Here they mingled for a time with the Lutherans and Calvinists, and would not be known as a separate people. Many of them were men of talents and learning. Their works are published in several folio volumes, entitled "*Opera Fratrum Polonorum.*" They translated the Scriptures into the Polish language, and published a confession of faith, commonly called the Racovian Confession.

To this community Faustus Socinus attached himself in the year 1579, and, after a good deal of discussion and opposition, brought them to adopt his peculiar views. He revised their confession of faith, and secured for them a quiet legal establishment.

About this time, Socinianism was propagated in Transylvania by George Blandrata and Francis David, and obtained a legal establishment there.

The Socinians of these early times were much like those of our own age. They denied the plenary inspiration of the Scriptures, and took great liberties in interpreting them. They regarded Jesus as a highly-gifted man, and no more: he taught a pure morality, and sealed his doctrines with his blood.

The Socinians of the sixteenth century were not entirely harmonious among themselves. They all believed in the simple humanity of Jesus Christ; but, notwithstanding this, Socinus and some others held that he should be worshipped. This Francis David denied; and, for his denial of the right of worshipping Christ, Socinus caused him to be shut up in prison till his death.

Persecution for conscience' sake was not peculiar to any sect in the sixteenth century.

The Socinians continued to flourish in Poland through the sixteenth century, and till the middle of the seventeenth. Then they fell under the power of the Papists, who commanded their schools to be broken up, their instructors to be banished, their printing establishment to be destroyed, and their churches closed. Soon after this, they were driven from Poland; and it was made a capital offence either to profess their doctrines, or to harbor those who did.

From this dispersion the Socinians have never recovered as a distinct sect. They were scattered into most of the countries of Europe, and have lived by silently mingling with other sects, and propagating their opinions among them. In this way they have corrupted, in a greater or less degree, most of the Protestant sects of Christendom. The Lutherans of Germany, the Genevans, the Dutch, the Protestants of France, the Presbyterians of old England, and the Congregationalists of New England, have all received, secretly, the leaven of Socinianism: it has gradually worked in these communities; and it is of the Lord's mercies that the entire lump has not been leavened.

PERIOD IX.

THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

CHAPTER XLIX.

HISTORY OF DIFFERENT CHURCHES AND SECTS.

I. — THE ROMISH CHURCH.

THE Roman Catholics commenced their foreign-missionary operations in the sixteenth century; but they continued them (chiefly through the instrumentality of the Jesuits) with still greater vigor and success in the seventeenth. Institutions were established at Rome for the purpose of educating men to be foreign missionaries, and also to send them forth and support them in their fields of labor. The principal of these was the celebrated *Congregatio de Propaganda Fide*, established in 1522, the annual income of which was about twenty-four thousand dollars.

The Romish missionaries in this age visited several parts of India; also Siam, Tonquin, Cochin-China, and China itself. Under the ministry of the Jesuits, the Catholic religion prevailed extensively in China, and also in Japan. In Japan, the missionaries expected to change the religion of the entire country; and, for a time, appearances seemed to justify the expectation: but when success had rendered them insolent and overbearing, and had emboldened them to interfere with the affairs of government, suddenly the emperor took the alarm. He commenced a most terrible, relentless, and desolating persecution, and persisted in it until Christianity was completely overthrown. The missionaries were banished; and all the native Christians who refused to return to the old

religion were put to death. Perhaps there has never been a persecution more unsparing and relentless, or borne with seemingly greater fortitude, than this. From the close of it until very recent times, Japan has been shut against all Christian influences, and has had almost no intercourse with the other nations of the earth.

It was in the seventeenth century that the Romish religion was propagated all over Spanish and Portuguese America; but this was accomplished almost entirely by force. The natives were not instructed or reformed, but were compelled to accept the religion of the conquerors, or be put to death. Indeed, Cortez recommended that the converts, in some instances, should instantly be put to death: for "if they live," said he, "they will certainly apostatize, and may lose their souls; whereas, if we kill them as soon as they are baptized, we shall save them."

But the zeal of the Romanists for church-extension was not manifested merely in missionary efforts. It attempted by all methods to break down and destroy the Protestant churches of Europe, and thus recover the ground which in the preceding century it had lost. To this end, it involved Europe, in the first place, in a thirty-years' war. This terrible war commenced in Bohemia in 1618; and was carried on, with various success, until 1648. On the Protestant side, the principal powers engaged were the Bohemians, the Danes, the Dutch, the French, some of the German princes, and especially Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden. This victorious assertor of Germanic liberty fell in the battle of Lutzen in the year 1632. Those on the other side were the Austrians, the emperor of Germany, and the king of Spain. This dreadful war was terminated by the Peace of Westphalia, in which Rome was defeated of her object, and the rights of the Protestants were confirmed.

Meanwhile the Romanists were harassing and persecuting the Protestants wherever they had the power. The Hungarians, the Poles, the poor Albigenses and Waldenses, and the Protestants of France, — all were the objects of cruel and relentless persecution. In the previous century, Henry IV. of France had secured to his Protestant subjects a legal toleration by the Edict of Nantes. But this was repealed by Louis XIV. in 1685, and was followed by a persecution more cruel and terrible than any which has been experienced in modern times. Vast numbers were put to death; others were compelled by a thousand modes of torture, vexation, and suffering, to profess with their lips what they abhorred in their

hearts; while not less than half a million made their escape to other lands. Many took refuge in England and America. Not a few of our best families are descendants of the exiled Huguenots of that period.

Another measure of the Romanists, having the same end in view, was the final expulsion of the Moors from Spain. These Moors were descended from the Saracens, who invaded Spain in the eighth century, and had held possession of a considerable part of it through all the intervening period. They had before been despoiled of their political power; but they had become incorporated with the people, dwelt among them, and were a peaceful and useful class of citizens. But the clergy did not cease to importune the king, till in this century he drove them all from the country. They were very numerous; and from the loss of so many industrious people, — laborers and artisans, — poor, impoverished Spain has never recovered.

Through the whole seventeenth century, the designs of the Romanists against England were unwearied and incessant. Early in the century occurred the famous gunpowder-plot, which was got up by the Jesuits with a view to destroy the king (James I.), his son, and both houses of parliament, at a stroke. For this purpose, a large quantity of gunpowder was concealed under the parliament-house, and, at an appointed signal, was to be fired. The plot was discovered barely in time to prevent its execution.

When all these and like means of crushing the Protestants had failed, the Romanists had recourse to milder methods. They undertook to negotiate and compromise, and cajole the Protestants into a union; but these measures were attended with very little success. There could be no union with Rome but by submission; and this the Protestants were not at all inclined to yield.

The controversies of the Romish Church in the seventeenth century were the following: —

1. With several of the Papal states and kingdoms, respecting the extent of pontifical power. The popes were arrogant and ambitious as ever; but the princes gave them to understand that they could not be cowed and coerced as formerly. The Venetian senate had a long quarrel with the pope. Afterwards, there was a more serious contest between the pontiff and the king of France.

2. There was a long controversy with the Jesuits respecting their peculiar mode of conducting missions. They always proceeded on the principle of compromise: "Meet the heathen half-

way in order to draw them towards you the other half; concede all you can to their heathen practices, that you may induce them to adopt some of the more essential of the Christian rites." Thus Robert de Nobili, a Jesuit missionary in India, feigned himself to be a Brahmin from a distant country, and by staining his face, and adopting a Brahmin's course of life, persuaded the people to believe him. Other Jesuit missionaries followed the example of Robert; and a famous mission was established on these principles at Madura. The missionaries deceived the natives as to their true character, and, when charged with such deception at Rome, persistently denied it. Their converts practised most of the heathen rites, and were as degraded in character as the other natives.* But this mode of conducting missions seemed very defective to the Capuchins, Carmelites, and other orders of monks; and a protracted controversy was the result, which it took all the wisdom of the court of Rome to heal.

3. The next controversy in this age was that between the Jesuits and Jansenists respecting the doctrines of predestination and grace; the Jansenists arguing in favor of these doctrines, and the Jesuits against them. This was protracted through long years; each party appealing to the pontiffs, and each being put off with vain excuses and promises. At length, the question was decided against the Jansenists; and they were bitterly persecuted. From this period, nearly all appearance of piety has departed from the Church of Rome.

4. There was still another controversy with the Mystics respecting the nature and evidences of piety; the eloquent Bossuet taking one side, and Fénelon, Madame Guion, and their associates, the other. This controversy was decided against Fénelon; and the venerable prelate was publicly censured for the part he had taken in it.

II.—THE GREEK AND ORIENTAL CHURCHES.

Of the Greek Church in the seventeenth century little requires to be said. The old attempts at union with the Latins were renewed, but with no better success than before. The most distinguished of the patriarchs of Constantinople was Cyrillus Lucaris, a learned man who had travelled over Europe, and whose mind had been liberalized and enlightened. He favored the Protestants

* See Am. Pres. Review for October, 1869, p. 676.

more than the Catholics, corresponded with them, and sent them valuable manuscripts from the East. He sent to England the celebrated Alexandrine codex of the Bible, and with it a copy of Clement's First Epistle to the Corinthians. We owe it to him that we have this most valuable relic of the apostolical fathers. For his favor to the Protestants, Lucaris incurred the hostility of the Roman Catholics and of some of his own people, who complained of him to the sultan, by whom he was put to death.

In that part of the Greek Church which is subject to the Russians, there was quite a revival of religion and learning in this century, under Peter the Great. He invited learned men to his court, established schools, and endeavored to awaken in his rude subjects a love for liberal pursuits. He granted liberty of conscience to his people, though he would not suffer the Jesuits to come among them with their proselyting arts. It is to be regretted that his successors have not all of them followed his good example.

The Nestorians and Monophysites, once so powerful in the East, had at this time been subjugated, and brought low. Their religion too, like that of the Greeks, had degenerated into mere lifeless forms, — a skeleton, from which flesh and soul had both departed. They have a name to live, but are dead; and need to be quickened into life by the power of the Spirit and the gospel as much as the heathen.

III. — THE LUTHERAN CHURCH.

In the century before us, several of the German princes left the Lutheran Church, and joined the Reformed. This was true, in particular, of the landgrave of Hesse and the elector of Brandenburg. Various attempts were made to bring about a union with the reformed churches, but without success.

Great attention was given to learning in the seventeenth century in all branches of the Lutheran Church. The philosophy chiefly studied in the beginning of the century was that of Aristotle; but this gradually gave place to the systems of Descartes and Leibnitz. The theology of Melancthon continued to be studied, and also a system prepared in this age by George Calixtus.

Through the greater part of the century, the religion of the Lutherans was characterized by a general coldness and formality.

The spirit and fervor of the first reformers had in great measure passed away. There was needed a reformation on the back of their former reformation; and, before the close of the century, there was a precious revival of religion under the direction of such men as Arndt, Spener, Franké, Anthony, &c. Their followers were contemptuously called Pietists; and, because they exhibited more of the spirit of religion than their cold and formal neighbors, all manner of evil was falsely said of them. These good men found, to their cost, that the offence of the cross had not yet ceased.

The Pietists instituted the University of Halle, which for a considerable time was a fountain of learning and of true religion. Here most of the missionaries were educated, who founded and conducted the mission at Tranquebar, in the East Indies, more than a hundred years ago. In short, these reproached and persecuted Pietists constitute altogether the fairer portion of the Lutheran Church in the seventeenth century.

Other efforts were made in the course of the century to establish missions among the heathen, but without success. In the year 1664, Justinian Ernest, baron of Wells, proposed the formation of a society for this purpose, and agreed to advance twelve thousand dollars towards the object. He published two letters addressed to the Lutherans, in the first of which he urges the following home-questions: "Is it right that we, evangelical Christians, should keep the gospel to ourselves, and not seek to spread it abroad? Is it right that we should encourage so many to study theology, and yet give them no opportunity to go abroad, but rather keep them waiting three, six, or more years, for parishes to become vacant, or for the posts of schoolmasters? Is it right that we should expend so much in dress, high living, useless amusements, and expensive fashions, and yet furnish no means for spreading the gospel?" Finding little encouragement at home, Baron Wells shipped for the Dutch West Indies to engage personally in missionary labor; but he was no more heard of. His name surely should be kept in remembrance.

There were various controversies among the Lutherans in this age, the most important of which was that concerning the Pietists. These good men set up prayer and conference meetings much like those which are so common in our own times; they labored to promote a reformation of morals, and a stricter church discipline; they insisted that none should be inducted into the gospel minis-

try but those who gave evidence of vital godliness ; and established schools for the training-up of suitable ministers. These, and others of the like nature, were new measures at that time ; and they awakened a controversy which shook the Lutheran Church to its centre.

In the course of the century, the Church was disturbed by different classes of fanatics, the principal of which were Jacob Behmen and Robert Fludd. Behmen pretended to have intercourse with the spiritual world, and to receive revelations from it. Fludd was a kind of chemico-religionist, who taught that regeneration, and other changes in the mind, are brought about much as natural bodies are changed by fire. Fludd was an Englishman ; but his books and his principles had a wide circulation in Germany. His followers were called Fire Philosophers.

IV.—THE REFORMED CHURCHES.

The most disastrous event in the history of the reformed churches in the seventeenth century was the repeal of the Edict of Nantes, and the consequent persecution of the Protestants of France. Of this I have spoken in another connection. The poor Protestants were forbidden to leave their country ; and yet they were terribly persecuted in it. At the same time, the Waldenses were dreadfully persecuted. In the year 1655, their valleys were invaded by an army of twenty thousand men ; and such scenes of blood were enacted as the civilized world had never before witnessed. Houses and churches were burned to the ground. Infants were torn from the breasts of their mothers, and their brains dashed out upon the rocks. The sick were either burned alive, or cut in pieces, or thrown down the precipices with their heads tied between their legs. Mothers and daughters were violated in each other's presence, impaled, and either carried on pikes at the head of the regiments, or left upon poles by the roadside. Men, after being barbarously mutilated, were cut up limb by limb as butchers cut up their meat. Some had gunpowder thrust into their mouths and other parts of the body, and were then blown up. Some were dragged by the hair at the tail of a mule until life was extinct. Numbers were cast into a burning, fiery furnace. Young women fled from their pursuers, and leaped down the rocks ; preferring rather to be killed in this way than to submit to brutal violence. Such was Rome in the middle of the seventeenth century.

When these things were reported, as they shortly were, to the Protestant States of Europe, the effect was instantaneous and tremendous. Remonstrances were poured in from every quarter; and envoys were sent to put an end to this bloody procedure. One of them, Sir Samuel Morland, who was sent by Oliver Cromwell, addressed the duke of Savoy, the chief persecutor, in the following words: "In view of what has been done, the very angels are seized with horror. Heaven is astonished, and men are amazed, at this atrocious cruelty. The very earth blushes, being discolored with the blood of so many innocent persons." Cromwell sent a messenger to the king of France, demanding that this butchery should stop; and it did stop. Cromwell was not a man to be disobeyed with impunity. He proclaimed a fast throughout Britain, and ordered a contribution to be taken up for the surviving Waldenses, amounting to more than thirty-eight thousand pounds.

It was at this time that Milton, Cromwell's secretary, wrote the inimitable sonnet beginning thus:—

"Avenge, O Lord! thy slaughtered saints, whose bones
Lie scattered on the Alpine mountains cold,
Slain by the bloody Piedmontese, that rolled
Mother with infant down the rocks. The moans
The vales redoubled to the hills, and they
To heaven."

The reformed churches accomplished something in the seventeenth century in the way of spreading the gospel. After the Dutch came in possession of the Islands of Ceylon and Formosa, and other countries in the East, they undertook to establish the Protestant religion, and oblige the natives to conform to it. They divided Ceylon into parishes, built churches, established pastors over them, and undertook to promote religion by a governmental process. The consequence was, that multitudes of the natives made profession of the Christian faith. Near the close of the century, Dr. Leusden wrote to Dr. Increase Mather of Boston, that, "in and near the Island of Ceylon, the Dutch pastors had baptized about three hundred thousand of the natives." But when the Dutch government was overthrown, and the island passed into the hands of the English, the most of these professors relapsed into their old heathenish practices: so that when our American missionaries went to Ceylon, in the early part of the present century,

nought remained of the old Dutch Christianity but some deserted and dilapidated houses of worship. Among the natives, not a professing Christian could be found. A good comment, this, on the governmental mode of conducting missions to the heathen.

It was in the seventeenth century that our Pilgrim Fathers came to this country; and it was a part of the object of their coming to Christianize the American Indians. They entered early upon this work, and prosecuted it vigorously, and with encouraging success. Those principally concerned in it were John Eliot, Thomas Shepard, the Mayhews, the Sargeants, and several others. Mr. Eliot translated into the Indian language primers, catechisms, "The Practise of Piety," Baxter's "Call to the Unconverted," several of Mr. Shepard's works, and at length the whole Bible, which was twice published in this country. In 1687, there were six churches of converted Indians in New England, and eighteen assemblies of catechumens professing Christ. There were at the same time twenty-four native preachers of the gospel.

Great attention was given to learning at this period in all the reformed churches. The philosophy of Aristotle, which had been so long in use, gave place during the century to the systems of Gassendi and Descartes. Gassendi introduced what has been called the empirical, mathematical, matter-of-fact philosophy; and Descartes, the metaphysical. The former has prevailed chiefly in England; the latter, in Germany and France.

The two principal expositors of Scripture among the reformed were Grotius and Cocceius. The former is a fair, though somewhat liberal interpreter: the latter abounds in types and allegories. It is commonly said that "Cocceius finds Christ everywhere in the Old Testament, and Grotius nowhere." The first part of the adage is most true; the last, not so true. Cocceius goes upon the principle, that the entire Old Testament is but an emblematic history of Christ and his Church.

It was in this century that the Arminian heresy made its appearance in the reformed churches. Its founder, James Arminius, was professor of theology at Leyden. While undertaking to refute a work which assailed the doctrine of predestination, he became a convert to the views he was opposing, and thenceforward rejected the Calvinistic doctrines. He died, however, before the controversy had fairly commenced. It was carried on by his pupils and followers, and was finally submitted to a general synod of the reformed churches which met at Dort in 1618. By this synod,

the Arminian doctrines were condemned; and by the states-general of Holland the Arminian teachers were silenced, and some of them banished. They did not, however, remain long in banishment. A re-action took place in their favor: they were restored to their country and their privileges, and were soon in a situation to spread their principles more effectually than before.

The Arminians, however, have scarcely been known as a distinct sect. They have spread their principles by secretly mingling with other sects, and corrupting them. Thus the originally Calvinistic Church of England became Arminian under Archbishop Laud, about the middle of the century; and those churches which fell ultimately into Socinianism came to it through the channel of Arminianism. Originally Calvinistic, they first became moderate Calvinists, then Arminians, then Arians, then Socinians. This was the course which things took at Geneva, in France, in Holland, among the English Presbyterians, and among the Unitarians of our own country.

The English Church passed through a variety of changes in the course of the century. Under James I., it was governed much as it had been under Elizabeth. The Puritan controversy still raged; and the Puritans were oppressed and persecuted. Under Charles I. and Archbishop Laud, the Puritans were more severely persecuted; and an attempt was made to force high-church Episcopacy upon the whole British Empire. But this aroused an opposition before which the throne and the hierarchy fell. The king and the archbishop were both beheaded; monarchy was overthrown; the commonwealth was established; and Cromwell ruled under the title of Protector. All sects were tolerated under Cromwell.

Upon his death, the monarchy was re-established; and Charles II. came to the throne. He promised liberty of conscience, but soon violated his word, published his act of uniformity, and commenced persecuting all who dissented from the Established Church. This course of things continued through his wicked and voluptuous reign, and during the reign of his brother and successor, James II. Both these kings were concealed Papists.

At length, the English nation could endure no longer. They hurled James from the throne, drove him into exile, and invited William, prince of Orange, and Mary his wife (who was a daughter of James), to take possession of the throne. They came; and their government was established. In 1689, they published an act of toleration, which put an end to further persecution. From that

time to this, though Episcopacy is the established religion of England, all other sects demeaning themselves peaceably have been tolerated.

During the protectorate of Cromwell, full liberty of conscience was enjoyed, and consequently new sects arose. There were the *fifth-monarchy men*,—a fanatical sect, who expected the speedy coming of Christ to set up his kingdom in the earth. The four great, universal monarchies of ancient time had passed away; and the fifth and last was about to be established by the Saviour. Hence they were called *fifth-monarchy men*.

There were the Antinomians, who had made their appearance at different times in every period of the Church's history, and who now arose under the leadership of Dr. Tobias Crisp. He held that all the sins of the elect were put over to the Saviour, and all his righteousness put over to them; so that they were as holy and immaculate as Christ himself. What would be sin in others was no sin in them. Crisp's sermons were published after his death, and occasioned a long and bitter controversy in England.*

The Quakers also arose at this period,—a class of modern mystics,—the followers of George Fox. Though they do not expressly set aside the Scriptures, yet, like all mystics, they profess to be governed chiefly by the inner light. They repudiate an established ministry and outward ordinances, and speak only as the Spirit gives them utterance. They were at the first a turbulent, factious people, and were severely persecuted; but latterly they have become remarkably quiet and orderly, and are pretty numerous both in England and America.

The Independents, or Congregationalists, arose before the time of Cromwell, and were particularly favored under his government. They commonly speak of John Robinson as their founder. It was the Congregationalists who colonized and settled New England; and they are a numerous and powerful body of Christians, both in Britain and in this country.

The Baptists, as a sect, appeared in England at about the same time with the Congregationalists, and agree with them in the matter of church independency. They probably sprang from the Anabaptists of Germany, as many of these are known to have emigrated into England. The first Baptist church in this country was founded at Providence by Roger Williams in 1638. The Baptists in both Old England and New are divided into two

* Hist. of Dissenters, vol. i. p. 399.

classes, — the Arminian and Calvinistic, or the general and particular. In both, they constitute large and highly respectable bodies of Christians.

In the seventeenth century appeared the first open opposition to Christianity which occurred in modern times; and, strange as it may seem, it sprang up in Protestant England. Pre-eminent among the old English infidels were Thomas Hobbes; John Wilmot, earl of Rochester; Anthony Astley Cooper, earl of Shaftesbury; Lord Herbert, Charles Blount, John Toland, Neville, Martin, Harrington, and others. Their forms or systems of infidelity were various; but they all aimed, covertly but really, to discredit the Bible, and overthrow the Christian religion. Their influence extended into the next century, and laid a foundation for that terrible development of atheism and blood which occurred in the first French revolution.

In this century flourished Benedict Spinoza, a Portuguese Jew, who may justly be regarded as the father of modern Pantheism. He taught that the universe and God are one and the same; and that whatever takes place arises from the immutable laws of Nature, which necessarily existed and were active from all eternity. This form of religion, or rather of irreligion, prevails extensively in Europe at the present time; and the name of Spinoza is highly venerated.

The seventeenth century was an age of distinguished philosophers and of learned men. Among the English flourished Lord Bacon, Sir Isaac Newton, Robert Boyle, Ralph Cudworth, Henry More, Isaac Barrow, John Milton, and John Locke. Among the Italians, we find Galileo; among the French, Descartes and Gassendi; among the Danes, Tycho Brahe; among the Germans, Kepler, Leibnitz, and many others. Never was the human mind more active than it was in Europe during this century; nor were greater advances ever before made in most branches of science and learning. Where shall we look for a longer or brighter array of eminent scholars than is furnished in the history of the seventeenth century?

PERIOD X.

FROM THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY
TO THE PRESENT TIME.

CHAPTER L.

HISTORY OF DIFFERENT CHURCHES AND SECTS.

I.—THE ROMISH CHURCH.

AT the commencement of the eighteenth century, the Church of Rome was enjoying the ordinary measure of prosperity. Her missionaries were laboring with considerable success in India and China. The long dispute between the Jesuits and other missionaries in regard to the best mode of conducting missions was decided in 1704 against the Jesuits. Still they paid little regard to the decision of the pontiff, and continued to prosecute their labors much as before.

The protracted controversy between the Jesuits and Jansenists had been decided against the Jansenists in the seventeenth century. Still the difficulty was not at an end. It revived again in the eighteenth century, and troubled the Romish Church for a time. At length, however, the previous decisions of the pontiffs were re-affirmed; and nought remained to the poor persecuted Jansenists but to flee out of France into Belgium, where a remnant of them still remains.

The expulsion of the Jansenists was a great injury to the Church of Rome. It alienated some of her best members and ministers, extinguished almost entirely whatever of the spirit of religion was left, and tended in many ways to bring on that series of calamities

which all but overwhelmed the Church towards the close of the century.

There were nine pontiffs in the chair of Rome during the eighteenth century; and six more have held the same high station in the present century. Compared with some of the pontiffs of the middle ages, these were moral and learned men. Public opinion would not allow them to be otherwise.

The Jesuits, who had so long reigned supreme in the Church, and had trampled on the rights, not only of princes, but of the other ecclesiastical orders, found their popularity waning, and a retribution preparing for them, in the course of this century. Benedict XIV., who filled the Papal chair from 1740 to 1758, was opposed to them; while their ambition, their avarice, and their disposition perpetually to intermeddle with the affairs of government, made most of the courts of Europe their enemies. In Portugal, they were charged with an attempt upon the life of the king; in consequence of which they were banished, and driven into Italy. Next the order was suppressed in France, then in Spain, then in Naples, in Catholic Switzerland, and in the duchy of Parma. The court of Rome was now beset with entreaties, and sometimes with threats, to follow up the blow which the Catholic sovereigns had inflicted; and, after some delay and hesitation, the pontiff yielded. By a decree passed July 21, 1773, Clement XIV. "abolished and annulled the Society of Jesus, their functions, houses, and institutions." The crushed Jesuits, constrained to retreat from Catholic Europe, took refuge, some in Russia, and some in England, in Prussia, and in other Protestant countries. This was a step of very great importance. It caused much excitement all over Europe, and paved the way for the coming encroachments on the powers and prerogatives of the Church.

Infidelity began to make its appearance in France about the middle of the eighteenth century. It was slyly insinuated in the writings of Bayle; and more boldly in those of Voltaire, Rousseau, Diderot, and D'Alembert. Mixed up with their infidelity, these men, and others associated with them, combined the most radical notions of liberty and equality. These they industriously circulated among all classes of the people, and thus prepared the way for the first French revolution. This subverted, not only the Church of France, but the throne; involving both in one common ruin. Nor did the ruin stop here. The contagion flew to other countries; and all Europe was convulsed. The revolution-

ary torrent first spread into Belgium, then into Holland, then into the Rhenish provinces of Germany, and then into Italy. Rome was invaded, and the palace of the pontiff invested. Pope Pius VI. entreated his enemies to let him, an old man of eighty, die where he had lived. But they replied, that he could die anywhere else as well. They plundered his apartments, robbed his person, and even tore the ring from his finger: they then took him, and carried him off to France, where he died in the summer of 1799.

It now seemed as though the Papal power was forever crushed. The deep hostility of the revolutionists, and their constant successes, apparently looked at no other result. Events, however, very soon occurred to defeat such expectations. Some advantages having been gained over the revolutionists by the allied princes, the cardinals were emboldened to get together, and elect a new pontiff. Pius VII. was chosen on the 13th of March, 1800.

Napoleon Bonaparte, who had long been in the ascendant, and was fast rising to imperial power, now resolved on the re-establishment of the Catholic religion in France. He entered into negotiations with the new pontiff on the subject; and the preliminaries were speedily arranged, though involving enormous concessions on the part of the Church. This event took place in the year 1801.

At the request of Bonaparte, the pope consented, in 1804, to go into France, and give to the coronation of the emperor and empress the sanction of the holy oil. But this act of condescension proved no benefit to him in the end. Bonaparte only wished to use him as a tool for the accomplishment of his own purposes; and, when he ceased to be as pliant a tool as Napoleon expected, he sent and took from him his temporalities, brought him into France, and shut him up at Avignon, a mere pensioner upon the emperor's bounty. This degradation was reached in the beginning of the year 1813.

But, almost immediately, the course of events was changed; and Popery revived again. Napoleon's defeats in Russia and at Waterloo, and the consequent successes of the allies, inspired the pontiff with new hopes; and in May, 1814, he returned to Rome. It was the three anti-Catholic powers of Europe — Russia, Prussia, and England — which restored him.

Almost immediately after his return, he re-established the order of the Jesuits, and claimed to exercise the power of his predecessors. This, however, was not granted him. He met with resistance in

France, in Spain, and in other Catholic countries. In the revolution of 1848, Pius IX. was obliged to flee in disguise from Rome.

In 1829 occurred what has been called the Catholic emancipation in England. The disabilities under which the English Catholics had remained from the accession of William and Mary, in 1688, were removed; and they were placed, in respect to civil privileges, on a level with other dissenters.

On the whole, the fortunes of the Papacy from the beginning of the eighteenth century to the middle of the nineteenth have been various. From a state of quiet and prosperity, the Church ran down, stage after stage, until, at the close of the last century, it had reached its utmost degradation. It could go no lower. It seemed as though it could never revive; and it never would, but for the intervention of the anti-Catholic powers. But, from the early part of the present century, Popery has been gradually recovering. It has had some rebuffs, particularly in the loss of its temporal dominions, and in the recent crippling of Austria, and the revolution in Spain: still it retains something of its former vigor; and how much longer it is to remain to scourge and afflict the guilty nations, God only knows.

II.—THE GREEK CHURCH, ETC.

Of the Greek and Oriental churches during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, very little of interest can be said. Through the eighteenth century and the first quarter of the nineteenth, they were sorely oppressed, and often persecuted, by the Turks. For the last thirty years, the Turkish government has been more liberal. It is, however, a wretched government, under which nothing can prosper; and all its subjects are more or less oppressed. The political event of more interest to the Greek Church than any other in the period under review was the independence of Greece. This was achieved after a long and bloody conflict, and was acknowledged in the year 1828.

In Russia, belonging to the Greek Church, there was an effort made to give the Bible to the people near the commencement of the present century, under the patronage of Alexander I. The Scriptures were circulated, and missions were established in different parts of Asiatic Russia; but, when Nicholas came to the throne, these works of mercy were, in general, suppressed.

The present monarch, Alexander II., has shown himself the

friend, not only of civil liberty, but of the Bible. He has liberated millions of serfs. He has procured a new translation of the Scriptures, and is laboring to circulate them through his vast empire.

The brightest hope for the Greek and other Oriental churches — for those especially lying out of Russia — rests now on the missions established within their borders, bringing to the benighted people education, the Bible, a Christian literature, and a preached gospel.

III. — THE LUTHERAN CHURCH.

The Lutherans celebrated in peace and prosperity the two-hundredth anniversary of their church in 1717, and that of the Augsburg Confession in 1730. The Pietistic revival commenced in the seventeenth century, but continued to exert its happy influence through the first half of the eighteenth. The University of Halle was founded by the Pietists, and was for many years a fountain of good influences to Germany and to the world. Here those excellent missionaries were educated — Zeigenbalg, Swartz, and others — who were sent by the king of Denmark to Tranquebar in the East Indies, and the fruits of whose faithful labors remain to this day.

The Moravians commenced their establishment at Hernhut, in Germany, about the year 1730. To be sure, they were not Lutherans; but they were taken under the patronage of Lutherans, and were protected by them. They were, in their early days, and have continued to be, a pious, devoted class of Christians. The missionary spirit never burned purer or stronger among any people than it did among the Moravians during the first thirty years of their existence as a church. In spirit they were *all* missionaries, and were ready and waiting to become such in reality. They were willing to go anywhere, — to Labrador, Greenland, Iceland, among the Hottentots, West-India slaves, and American Indians, — anywhere, to any people, wherever the Lord their God should call. Though few in numbers, and feeble in resources, they soon had their missionaries in almost every part of the heathen world.

The Lutheran religion was preserved in a good degree of doctrinal purity down to the middle of the eighteenth century; but, in the latter part of the century, it was sadly corrupted, not to say subverted, by the inroads of Rationalism, Pantheism, and other forms of infidelity. Among the causes which led to this disastrous

result were the writings of the English and French infidels, which were translated, and widely circulated. Frederic the Great, who reigned over Prussia from 1740 to 1786, was an infidel, the friend of Voltaire, who did all he could to discredit serious religion, and make his subjects as unbelieving as himself.

Another cause which led to the religious revolution in Germany was the prevalence of *dangerous systems of philosophy*. The Leibnitzian philosophy, as interpreted by Wolfe, had a strong tendency in this direction. But much stronger and more disastrous was the influence of the transcendental philosophy, as inculcated by Kant and his successors. Kant himself was no better than an infidel; but Fichte, Schelling, Hegel, and others of the same school, have pushed out their speculations, until they have left, not only Christianity and truth, but common sense and reason, far behind them: They have corrupted and (so far as they could) subverted the religion of their country.

The first of the rationalistic theologians was Semler. He commenced his career as a theological teacher in 1752. He was a man of varied and extensive learning, but employed all his learning to unsettle the faith of his countrymen in the divine authority and inspiration of the Bible, and in the most essential religious truths. Semler was educated at Halle; and it was through his influence that this noble university, which was founded by the Pietists, and had long been used by them as an instrument for the promotion of Christ's kingdom, was one of the first and most deeply corrupted. The *moral* condition of the students at Halle, and even of the theological students in the latter part of the eighteenth century, Tholuck tells us, was deplorable. Those of them who resided in Dr. Semler's house were frequently seen abroad in a state of nudity. Bahrdt, who called himself a theologian, kept a coffee-house of his own, where he received his boon companions, and where, says Tholuck, "the waiting-maid took the place which belonged to the wife." He died in early life of a vile disease, the result of his debaucheries.

Next to Semler, Lessing bore an important part in corrupting the Lutheran churches of Germany. While in charge of the great Ducal library at Wolfenbattel, he published certain "Fragments," so called, pretending to have found them in manuscript in the library. It is now known that they were written by Prof. Reimarus, and set forth the principles of the English deists. The leading thought of the book is, that the convictions of Christians

as to the truth of their religion are of no more value than those of the Mohammedans or Hindoos as to the truth of theirs.

This neology, or new divinity, as its promoters called it, was for a time immensely popular in Germany. It spread from place to place, from one university to another, until nearly all were corrupted. The University of Berlin was scarcely less infidel than that at Halle. "A Berlin theologian and an infidel," Tholuck tells us, "were regarded as quite synonymous terms."

It would be endless to mention all the theologians (so called) who helped to carry on this miserable crusade against the Bible and religion. After Semler, some of the more considerable were the following. — Henke, Wegscheider, Bretschneider, Gesenius, Eichhorn, De Wette, Gabler, Gruner, Eberhard, and Steinbart.

The Rationalists of Germany, properly so called, were distinguished for the loosest, wildest schemes of biblical criticism and interpretation. They amused themselves, and startled others, by the strangest methods of explaining away the miracles and other plain representations of Scripture. This course of things at length received a check, and from a source where it might least have been expected. I refer to the publication of Strauss's "Life of Jesus" in 1835. Strauss ridicules the efforts of his brethren to explain away the miracles of Christ; proposes to let them stand as they are recorded; and then turns them all into myth and fable. It was never intended that the sacred record should be understood literally, but parabolically, conveying truth under a fictitious garb. The publication of this infidel book produced a great shock in Germany. It was attacked by theologians of different classes, and produced a re-action, which was, on the whole, favorable to evangelical truth.

Since the year 1820, there certainly has been a reviving of evangelical religion in Germany under the influence of such men as Tholuck, Neander, Hengstenberg, Krummacher, Olshausen, and many others. Previous to this, the evil had gone so far in different directions, that some of its abettors became frightened at themselves. They started back from the vortex to which they were nearing, and in which all their institutions of Church and State were likely to be whelmed together.

That the tendency of things in the Lutheran Church is now, and for some years has been, upward, I rejoice to believe. Still, most of the German theologians, even the best of them, hold some of the essential truths of the gospel very loosely; and, until they

break away from the trammels of their transcendental philosophy, I have little hope that they will emerge into the clear and holy light of the gospel.

I only add, that the Lutheran Church has greatly extended itself within the last century by emigrations to the United States of America. I am not able to state the precise number of their churches in this country; but it is known that they are very numerous. They constitute one of our largest denominations of Christians.

IV.—REFORMED CHURCHES, AND OTHER SECTS.

The course of things in the reformed churches of Continental Europe during the eighteenth century was uniformly downward,—first a moderate dead Calvinism, then Arminianism, then Arianism, then Socinianism. So it was in Geneva, the home of Calvin; so it was in Holland. Arminianism, condemned in the Synod of Dort, soon spread itself secretly through the churches, rooting out serious, evangelical religion, and preparing the way for greater defections. So it was with the reformed churches in Germany. They slid down with the Lutherans into rationalism and infidelity, and with them, we hope, are now returning to the faith and spirit of the gospel. A strong effort was made by the king of Prussia, about forty years ago, to unite the Lutheran and Reformed churches in his dominions, and bring them all into one body; but the union has encountered a violent opposition, particularly on the part of the ultra Lutherans; and what the result may ultimately be, it is impossible to say.

Though the articles of the Church of England are Calvinistic, the prevailing theology had come to be Arminian previous to the commencement of the eighteenth century. In some instances, it was even worse than that. In the year 1772, between two and three hundred clergymen of the English Church—among whom were Archdeacon Blackburn and Bishop Law—petitioned Parliament for relief from the necessity of subscribing the Thirty-nine Articles, on the ground, mainly, that they did not believe them, or at least some of them. The truth is, they were Unitarians. Their petition, however, was not granted; and yet (with a single exception) they all compounded the matter with their consciences, and clung to their livings in the Church.

There have been frequent discussions in the Church of Eng-

land, within the period under review, as to the divine right and authority of Episcopacy. The old founders of the English Church — Crammer, Jewett, Ridley, Latimer — were all of them what would now be called Low Churchmen. They preferred Episcopacy to any other form of government, but had no thought that it was of divine institution, and, as such, binding upon all the churches of Christ. The doctrine of divine right was first advocated in England by Bishops Bancroft and Laud in the first part of the seventeenth century; and from that time to this the question has been a contested one. In the first part of the eighteenth century, Bishop Hoadly appeared as the advocate of Low-Church principles, and was soon involved in a violent controversy, which (as Hoadly was bishop of Bangor) is commonly called the Bangorian controversy. In our own times, Dr. Pusey has distinguished himself as the advocate of extreme High-Church principles; in following out which, many of his party have dropped the name of Protestant, and adopted most of the Popish rites. Some have gone over by profession to the Romish Church.

During the greater part of the eighteenth century, the state of religion in the Church of England was low. Many of the clergy were a disgrace to their profession; and dead formalism generally prevailed. But, with the opening of the present century, a better state of things was introduced. A powerful evangelical party has risen up in the Church, the influence of which is everywhere happy. The gospel is preached, the Bible is circulated, the cause of missions is promoted; and the Church itself seems quickened, animated, by a new and living spirit.

At the same time, a disposition is manifesting itself — we hope but temporarily, and on a small scale — to relapse into the latitudinarian principles and interpretations of Germany. Unless the efforts of certain prominent individuals* in this direction are effectually checked, the Church of England may have occasion to lament over an apostasy such as she has never before experienced.

The dissenters of England have had no occasion to complain of palpable persecution since the accession of William and Mary in 1689. Queen Anne did not favor them; yet she never revoked the toleration which had been granted by William. Under the house of Hanover, they have been generally favored, and have

* The authors of the celebrated *Essays and Reviews*.

prospered. They have increased and multiplied, until they probably outnumber the Establishment.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, the most considerable body of dissenters in England was the Presbyterians; but Arianism sprang up among them in 1720, and most of their churches fell into Unitarianism, and almost to nothing. Of late, there has been a reviving among them. They are far exceeded, however, in point of numbers, by the Independents and Baptists, who, as a general thing, have held fast their integrity, and been greatly prospered.

The old English Deists commenced their publications in the seventeenth century, and continued them far into the eighteenth. Among their later writers were Tindall, Chubb, Mandeville, Morgan, Lord Bolingbroke, David Hume, and Thomas Paine. The poison of their infidelity extended into France, and led on to French atheism and the French Revolution. It extended into Germany, and prepared the way for those forms of infidelity of which I have just spoken. Wicked men, when they enter upon their courses of error and sin, little think what immense evils may grow out of them.

In our own country, the religion of the first settlers continued to prevail through the seventeenth century, and through the first half of the eighteenth; though, as early as 1730, there were frequent complaints of laxity in doctrine, and of a tendency to Arminianism. But, in 1735, the great revival under President Edwards, Whitefield, the Tennents, and their co-adjutors, commenced, and continued for about twenty years. It reached nearly all the settled parts of New England, and far into the Middle and Southern States. It prevailed at the same time in England and Scotland; and hundreds and thousands were hopefully converted. This revival was an inestimable blessing to the countries where it was enjoyed. It rekindled the holy fires of the sanctuary when they seemed fast going out. It revived and strengthened the things that remained which were ready to die.

Closely connected with it, both in England and in this country, were the labors of the Wesleys, and the commencement of that widely-extended connection, the *Wesleyan Methodists*, which has since grown up. The Wesleys and Whitefield were students together at Oxford. They were converted and commenced their labors together; and together would they have continued to labor, but that they differed in regard to some of the high points of Cal-

vinism. The Wesleys were Arminians in doctrine; and so has their connection continued to be to the present time. Their Arminianism, however, is not of the cold, unevangelical stamp; it is full of warmth, vigor, and life: and they have carried the salvation of the gospel to thousands and millions who might otherwise have perished in their sins.

The followers of Whitefield, like those of Wesley, in many places formed separate churches; but these, for the most part, have disappeared, being merged in other denominations.

In Scotland, during the period under review, Presbyterianism has been almost the only form of church government. There were a few Episcopal churches in the eighteenth century, as there are now, which are generally of the High-Church, exclusive stamp. There have been frequent secessions, also, from the established Presbyterian Church, as the Glassites, the Burghers and Antiburghers, the Sandemanians, &c.; but the greatest secession was that of the Free Church, which took place almost in our own times. Believing that their religious liberties had been invaded by the civil power, and would be again, the better part of the Church of Scotland, under the lead of the great Chalmers, seceded from the Establishment, and set up public worship by themselves. This secession has thus far been greatly prospered; while their example has exerted a favorable influence upon the church which they left behind.

Among the sects which have sprung up in the period under review are the Swedenborgians, the Shakers, and the Universalists. Swedenborg died in 1772; and his New-Jerusalem Church was organized soon after. He has a few followers in Sweden, Germany, France, England, and in this country.

The Shakers commenced their establishment in 1774. They are the followers of Anne Lee, and, with all their strange notions and practices, are the only successful communitists of modern times. They are an industrious, economical people; and some of their establishments are wealthy and flourishing.

The first congregation of Universalists was founded in England, in 1760, by James Rely. He was soon joined by Murray and Winchester; and from England the doctrine spread into this country. It has prevailed here much more extensively than in England. The Universalists have changed their ground of reasoning several times; but all agree in the grand conclusion, that the whole human race will finally be saved.

I have spoken of the great revival in this country which occurred about the middle of the last century. This was followed by a long season of coldness and worldliness. From the year 1760 to 1790, there were few revivals, and the spirit of religion greatly declined. The political troubles of the country, resulting in the war of the Revolution and in the establishment of American independence, engrossed the minds and hearts even of good people, and tended to smother the spirit of religion.

It was during this season of declension that a foundation was laid for Unitarian and Universalist errors, which crept in unawares, and have carried away many of the sons and the churches of the Pilgrims.

Universalism began to be preached here, and societies to be formed, as early as 1770. The general convention of Universalists was organized at Oxford, Mass., in 1785.

Unitarianism was embraced by some of our ministers quite as early; but it was held in secrecy and silence. No one would acknowledge himself a Unitarian. It was not till the spring of 1815 that the mask of concealment was fairly taken off, and American Unitarianism stood confessed to the world.

The season of declension of which I have spoken continued till near the close of the last century; when the cloud seemed to pass away, and a new era to open upon our evangelical churches. While true religion was reviving among the decayed Protestants of Europe, it revived still more conspicuously and gloriously in this country. Seasons of spiritual refreshing were multiplied; and with them new systems of effort were inaugurated, having for their object the spread of the gospel throughout the earth. Of these various efforts for the diffusion of religious knowledge, and the spread of Christ's kingdom, I shall speak in my next and concluding chapter.

The two great things for which our age, in a religious view, is distinguished, are *revivals of religion* and *the spread of the gospel*, — kindred objects, which always must proceed together. Let these be kept uppermost, as they should be, in the minds of Christians, and go on harmoniously and vigorously together, and the day cannot be distant when the knowledge of the Lord shall fill the earth as the waters fill the channels of the deep.

CHAPTER LI.

BENEVOLENT OPERATIONS IN THE PRESENT CENTURY.

AT the close of the last chapter, I spoke of a revived state of religion in some parts of Europe and in this country near the commencement of the present century. An era of revivals seems then to have commenced, which has continued, without much interruption, to the present time. In these revivals, the tone of religious thought and feeling has been elevated; new churches have been gathered, and old ones strengthened; multitudes of young and active Christians have been brought into the fold of Christ; and a vast machinery of effort has been put in operation for the diffusion of religious knowledge, and the spread of the gospel throughout the earth. My present object is to give a condensed account of some of these efforts; showing where and how they commenced, how they have prospered, and what their present condition and results. It will appear to my readers, I am sure, as it does to me, that they constitute one of the signs of the present time, and ought not to be omitted in a general history of the Church of Christ. I begin with some notice of efforts to translate and circulate the Bible.

In the course of the eighteenth century, several societies were formed in Great Britain, having for their object, in part, the dissemination of the Scriptures. But no concentrated effort was made for this purpose until the year 1804, when the British and Foreign Bible Society was organized. The particular circumstance which led to the formation of this society was the great scarcity of Bibles in the principality of Wales. In the year 1802, a Welsh clergyman inquired of a little girl belonging to his meeting if she could repeat the text from which he had preached the preceding sabbath. Instead of answering him, she wept, and remained silent. At length she told her minister that her custom had been to travel seven miles, over the hills, to get sight of a Welsh Bible in which to

study and commit the text, but that the bad weather during the week had prevented her going. The remark struck her minister with great force. It revealed "a famine of the Word" of which he had no conception. He lost no time in taking measures for the better circulation of the Scriptures, and, at the end of two years, had the satisfaction of assisting in the formation of a society for this noble purpose.

Such was the origin of the British and Foreign Bible Society, — a society, which, for the extent and importance of its operations, may challenge comparison with any other on the globe. The society received at once the approbation of a number of the prelates of the English Church, of several synods of the Scottish establishment, and of various bodies of dissenters. It was fortunate in securing for its first president the excellent Lord Teignmouth. Still the society encountered for a while a strong opposition, particularly from the unevangelical part of the Church of England. Its friends were divided, too, on the question of publishing, in connection with the Bible, the apocryphal books of the Old Testament. This question was finally settled; and the apocrypha was excluded about the year 1826.

From that time the society has gone forward and prospered, and has accomplished an immense work for Christ and his kingdom. Besides supplying Britain with English Bibles, it had, twenty years ago, published the Scriptures in a hundred and forty-four different languages and dialects, in the most of which the Scriptures had never been printed. It is supported by not less than four thousand auxiliaries. It has already expended millions of pounds sterling; and its operations and usefulness were never greater than at the present time.

Following this great Bible establishment in England, similar societies sprang up in rapid succession in different parts of Europe and in India. It would be needless to mention all of them. The following are some of the more important societies, together with the date of their establishment: The Prussian Bible Society was instituted in 1805; the Swedish, in 1809; the Russian, in 1813; the Danish, in 1814; the Calcutta Bible Society, in 1811; the Protestant Bible Society at Paris, in 1818; and the Bombay and Madras Bible Societies, in 1820.

Meanwhile, the same work has been undertaken, with great vigor and success, on our side of the Atlantic. From the beginning of the century, several local societies had been established in

this country for the dissemination of the Scriptures ; but there was a loud call for a more extended plan of operation. The subject was talked of for several years, when in 1815 a proposal was issued by the New-Jersey Bible Society for the formation of a national institution. A convention was held for this purpose in New York on the 11th of May, 1816 ; when the American Bible Society was formed. A member of the convention thus describes the meeting : “ We came together,” says he, “ in great weakness, humility, and prayer ; fully sensible of the difficulty of combining all denominations ; and feeling, each one, the necessity of keeping his own heart and tongue, lest, a spark of unhallowed fire falling on the train, it should explode. We felt that the place where we stood was holy ; that God was there : and none of our fears were realized ; but our hopes were surpassed, so perfect and cordial was our unity.” The principal agent in bringing about this noble organization was the lamented Samuel J. Mills.

The first president of the society was the Hon. Elias Boudinot, ex-governor of the State of New Jersey. The local societies which were already in existence soon connected themselves with the national society as auxiliaries. Almost a hundred of these smaller societies were thus annexed in the first year. These auxiliaries have constantly increased to the present time : they number already about fifteen hundred, and are located in nearly all the States and Territories of the Union. Besides circulating the Scriptures among all classes of our population, — in prisons and hospitals, among seamen and boatmen, in the army and navy, among the colored people of the South, and Indians in the West, — the American Bible Society has contributed largely to their distribution in the Roman-Catholic countries of Europe, in South America, and Mexico ; also in China, India, Ceylon, Africa, and the Pacific islands. Numerous editions have been published in foreign languages, — some of them barbarous languages, which have been reduced to writing for this very purpose. Probably not less than twenty millions of Bibles and Testaments have been already circulated. The annual receipts of the society for several years have been more than half a million of dollars.

For the first twenty years of the society’s existence, it embraced Christians of all denominations in the United States. But, in 1836, the greater part of the Baptist denomination withdrew, that so they might circulate foreign versions favoring their particular views as to the mode of baptism. They organized at once a society of

their own, called the American and Foreign Bible Society, which has since been an efficient helper in disseminating the Scriptures.

I have thus sketched, as briefly as possible, what has been done in the present century for the general circulation of the Bible, and chiefly through the instrumentality of two great societies, — the British and Foreign and the American Bible Societies. We hope nothing may occur to check the progress and growth of these noble institutions until the Bible shall be translated into every language under heaven, shall be carried to every land, and be laid at the door of every human being.*

We turn now to contemplate another branch of the great work of the age in which we live, — *the missionary work*. I have spoken already of the revivals which commenced near the beginning of the present century, and which have continued, with little interruption, to the present time. Now, the spirit of religion and the spirit of missions are the same; and hence, when the former is revived, the latter must be. And so it has proved in the present instance.

We do not say that there were no successful modern missions previous to the commencement of the present century. There certainly *have been* such missions, and those, too, of great value. Witness the Danish mission at Tranquebar, and the missions of the United Brethren, both of which were commenced and successfully prosecuted in the last century. But there is this peculiarity about the missions of our own time, especially the foreign missions, — *they look to the conversion of the whole world to Christ*. Previous missionary efforts have aimed at the conversion of a single province or people; but those now in progress have a wider aim. With them, “the field is the world;” and they are looking to its entire evangelization.

The honor of commencing these new missionary efforts belongs to the Baptists of England. The movement originated with the Rev. William Carey, in which he was assisted by Drs. Fuller, Ryland, and several other Baptist ministers. Their society was formed in 1792; and, in the following year, their first two missionaries, Messrs. Carey and Thomas, commenced their mission to India. The first station permanently occupied by them was Serampore,

* Since the establishment of the British and Foreign Bible Society, it has issued more than fifty-seven million copies of the Holy Scriptures. The American Bible Society has issued twenty-five millions, and other Bible societies twenty-five millions more; making more than a hundred millions in all.

about twelve miles north of Calcutta. Here, having been joined by other missionaries, they set up schools, and a large printing establishment for supplying the natives with the Scriptures and tracts in their own language. This oldest of the modern missionary societies has stations in different parts of India, in Western Africa, in Jamaica, and other West-India islands. In proportion to the means at its disposal, its success has been very great.

Closely following the effort above noticed was the establishment of the London Missionary Society, which is sustained chiefly by the Independents, or Congregationalists. The immediate occasion of the formation of this society was an "Appeal" published by Rev. David Bogue in 1794. The society was organized the following year; and a large company of missionaries, with their wives and children, were sent to the Society Islands in 1796. These brethren went out under the most promising circumstances; were favorably received at first, but were destined to meet with great discouragements. After laboring seventeen years, instead of having made any converts from heathenism, one of their own number had relapsed into heathenism, and had taken a heathen wife. In consequence of desolating wars, they were driven from Tahiti, and obliged to take refuge in the neighboring islands. Very soon, however, a revolution took place: King Pomaree became a convert, and was restored, a general revival of religion followed, and most of the natives professed to be Christians. The prosperity of the mission was afterwards much hindered by an invasion of the French, who took possession of the islands, and endeavored to bring over the natives to the Roman-Catholic faith. The most of them, however, adhered to their original profession; and they have become a Christian people.

In 1806, the London Missionary Society commenced a mission to China. The celebrated Dr. Morrison was their first missionary, who succeeded in preparing a Chinese grammar and lexicon, and translating the whole Bible into that difficult language. The society early established missions in India, at Madagasear, the Cape of Good Hope, and the West-India islands. It has long been, and still is, one of the most efficient organizations for the spread of the gospel.

The Church Missionary Society is next in order among the establishments of Britain for the propagation of the gospel. It originated in a revival of religion in the evangelical portion of the Church of England near the beginning of the present century. Among

its earliest friends were Simeon, Cecil, the Venns, and William Wilberforce. The society was formed in 1801, and had its first missionary station on the western coast of Africa. It has missions also in Eastern Africa, in Australia, at New Zealand, in different parts of India and China, in Greece, and among the Indians of British America. This is one of the strongest missionary organizations in the world. For many years, its annual income has been more than half a million of dollars.

Another of the great British establishments for the spread of the gospel is the General Wesleyan Missionary Society. Under the direction of Dr. Coke and others, the Wesleyans had established missions in the West Indies and in British America before the close of the last century. Coke died, while on his way with a company of missionaries to the East Indies, in 1813. Two years later, the General Wesleyan Missionary Society was formed. The present missions of this society are in Ireland, Germany, France, Switzerland, Spain, India, China, New Zealand, Australasia, Polynesia, South and West Africa, the West Indies, and in British America. It will be seen that they have spread themselves over no inconsiderable part of the world. The success of these missions has been very great. Their annual income is even larger than that of the Church Missionary Society.

In Scotland as well as England, the revival of evangelical religion, near the close of the last century, was followed by a revival of the missionary spirit. In 1796, under the presidency of the venerable Dr. Erskine, a missionary society was instituted in Edinburgh and Glasgow. An overture was transmitted to the General Assembly with a view to interest that great body in the work, and to secure, through them, a general collection in the churches to aid in propagating the gospel among the heathen. But the moderates had then a majority in the assembly; and the proposition was rejected. After thirty years, another effort was made, and with better success. A board of missions was instituted, collections were taken up, and the work of spreading the gospel was commenced. The celebrated Dr. Duff was their first missionary, and the first that had ever been sent out by a Protestant church in its corporate capacity. Those which preceded him had all been commissioned by voluntary societies. In the subsequent disruption of the Scottish Church, the Free Church carried with it almost all the missionaries, and most of the missionary spirit, of Scotland. The seat of most of the Scottish missions is in India.

We have not time to speak particularly of other Protestant missionary societies in Europe, as those of France, Switzerland, Sweden, Norway, the Netherlands, and Germany. They are earnest, active, useful bodies, doing what they can to promote the great work of the Church in these latter days; but their means and their influence are comparatively limited.

I spoke in the last chapter of the missions of the Moravians, or United Brethren, and of the zeal and success with which their work was prosecuted. It has continued now for more than a hundred years; and, though the ardor of their first love may have somewhat abated, they have never ceased to be a missionary people. They have stations in various countries, — Labrador, Greenland, Iceland, South Africa, and the West Indies, — where their brethren and sisters are patiently laboring and suffering, and gathering fruit unto eternal life. What Christian would not deem it an honor and a privilege to cast in his lot with such a people?

But it is time that we turn to contemplate the missionary work in our own country. Several local missionary establishments were commenced in this country as early as 1801, designed chiefly to carry the gospel to our new settlements and to the American Indians. In 1809, some of the students of the Theological Seminary at Andover — Messrs. Mills, Judson, Newell, and Nott — projected a mission to the heathen in some foreign land. They laid their plans before the General Association of Massachusetts; and, in the following year, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions was duly organized. This is the largest, as well as the oldest, of all our foreign missionary establishments. In 1812, their first missionaries — four in number — sailed for Calcutta, not knowing exactly where they should find an open field in which to labor. From these small beginnings, the American Board has been pressing onwards for more than half a century, occupying new fields, and multiplying laborers, until their missions are now found in every quarter of the globe. Their earliest establishments were in Bombay and Ceylon; but they now occupy a considerable part of Southern India. They have their stations in China, in Persia, in Turkey, Syria, and Greece, in Southern and Western Africa, in the Pacific islands, and among various tribes of American Indians. Through the instrumentality of this board, the Sandwich-Islanders have been raised from the condition of mere savages and idolaters to that of a civilized and Christian people. They are already sending out missionaries of their own to plant Christianity in the islands

around them. The annual receipts of the American Board for several of the last years have been nearly half a million of dollars.

The Calvinistic Baptists of this country conduct their foreign missions through the American Baptist Missionary Union. The immediate occasion of the formation of this society was the conversion of two of the first missionaries of the American Board — Messrs. Judson and Rice — to the particular views of the Baptists. These brethren changed their sentiments soon after their arrival in India; and a society was immediately formed by the Baptists of this country for their support. The society was first called the General Missionary Convention; but in 1846 it assumed the name of the American Baptist Missionary Union. Its first mission was formed by Dr. Judson at Rangoon, in the Burman Empire; but its principal success has been among the Karens in that vicinity. It has stations also in Assam, in China, in Western Africa, and in France, Germany, and Greece. Its annual receipts for several years have been about a hundred thousand dollars.

The Presbyterians in this country, and the Protestant-Episcopal Church, conduct their missions by means of ecclesiastical boards. The Presbyterian Board have missions in Northern India, in China, in Western Africa, and among the American Indians. The Episcopal Board have missions in Liberia, in China, in Greece, and at Constantinople. Both are efficient bodies, and are doing much for the general diffusion of the gospel.

The energy with which the Methodist-Episcopal Church, from its first planting in this country, has prosecuted the work of domestic missions, will account in part for the lateness of its efforts for the salvation of the heathen. The Methodist-Episcopal Missionary Society was formed in 1836. It has missions in Liberia, in South America, in China, and among various tribes of American Indians.

The American Missionary Association was formed in 1846. It has been, from the first, of a decidedly antislavery character, and grew out of a difference of opinion among some of the supporters of the American Board in reference to that subject. It has missions in Western Africa, in Siam, in Jamaica, and among the American Indians; but, since the close of the late war, its efforts have been chiefly directed to the freedmen in the Southern States. Its income is large at present; and it is doing a great and good work.

The American and Foreign Christian Union was formed in 1849. It labors chiefly for the conversion of Roman Catholics; and its

stations are found in most of the Catholic countries of Europe and America, not forgetting the numerous Catholic emigrants to the United States. It occupies a wide and important field. We only wish that its receipts were increased, that so it might occupy it more efficiently.

There are several smaller foreign-missionary associations in the United States, of which I will mention only that of the Freewill Baptists. It was founded in 1837. Its principal mission is at Orissa, in the East Indies.

The work of home missions in this country was commenced earlier than that of foreign missions. Several local societies were in active operation previous to the commencement of the present century. These continued to multiply until the year 1826, when the American Home Missionary Society was formed; and most of the societies already in existence became auxiliary to it. Formerly the Presbyterians were connected with this society; but they have left it, and are conducting their domestic missions through their ecclesiastical boards. At present, therefore, the American Home Missionary Society is confined to the Congregationalists. Its receipts are large; and it is doing a vastly important work. Its missions are found in nearly all parts of the country, from Eastern Maine to the Pacific Ocean.

Inhabiting so vast a country as we do, and the most of it a new country, the home-missionary work assumes an importance here which it can present nowhere else. Evangelical Christians of every class enter heartily into it, and are exciting one another to love and good works. It would be needless to mention particularly all the various home-missionary organizations. Next to the Congregationalists and Presbyterians, those of the Methodists and Baptists are the most numerous and efficient. The Lord prosper every well-directed effort to send the gospel into all parts of this broad land until the whole of it shall be given to Christ!

The Christians of Europe have not the same inducements with us to engage in the work of domestic missions. The field has been long occupied, and is a comparatively contracted one. Still they are doing something for this object, particularly in Great Britain and among the Protestants of France. It would be interesting to speak of their different organizations; but we have not time.

It remains that we refer briefly to some other important benevolent efforts which characterize the age in which we live. One of them is to seek out and educate pious and promising young men,

and prepare them to become pastors and missionaries. And much of this work is doing, and has been done. The establishment of theological seminaries in this country dates back to the early part of the present century. There were no such institutions here at an earlier period. And the origin of education societies is even more recent than that of seminaries. The American Education Society was formed in Boston in the year 1816 (more than half a century ago), and has been in constant and efficient operation ever since. It has aided in sending two thousand young ministers into the great field of the world, of whom about two hundred have been foreign missionaries. Other societies and educational boards have accomplished nearly as much.

The circulation of religious books and tracts has also been undertaken both in this country and in England, and has been carried to a vast extent. The London Tract Society was formed in 1799, chiefly through the instrumentality of Rev. George Burder. It was aided by Christians of different denominations, and was pledged to publish nothing to offend any class of serious, evangelical Christians. At the end of fifty years, its receipts had been almost six millions of dollars; and the number of publications issued was five hundred millions. It must have published as many more since that time. Religious tract societies have also been established in France, in Holland, in Germany, and even in Russia.

The American Tract Society at Boston was formed in 1814, and, after a fruitful and prosperous course of about ten years, was united with the larger society at New York. Owing to a difference of opinion as to the propriety of circulating antislavery publications, the two societies separated several years ago, and have not as yet become united. They have accomplished the same great work in this country which the London society has performed in England. Their issues of tracts and books in different languages amount to millions, while their annual receipts have been not less than three hundred thousand dollars.

We shall not enter at large into the history of the Sabbath-school enterprise. It commenced in England, under the direction of Robert Raikes of Gloucester, and William Fox of London; and was at first intended only for the children of the poor. The English Sabbath-school Union was established in 1803; and its influence is felt in every part of the British islands. The Sunday schools in this country are of later origin; but their extension and

usefulness have been immense. In the year 1824, most of the existing Sabbath-school societies were merged in the American Sunday-school Union at Philadelphia, intended to unite the several evangelical denominations in establishing and sustaining schools throughout the country. From that day to this, the work of the union has been vigorously prosecuted in sending out agents to establish schools in destitute regions, and supplying their schools with libraries and books. The Methodists, and some other denominations, have preferred not to unite with the Union, but to prosecute their Sabbath-school operations by themselves.

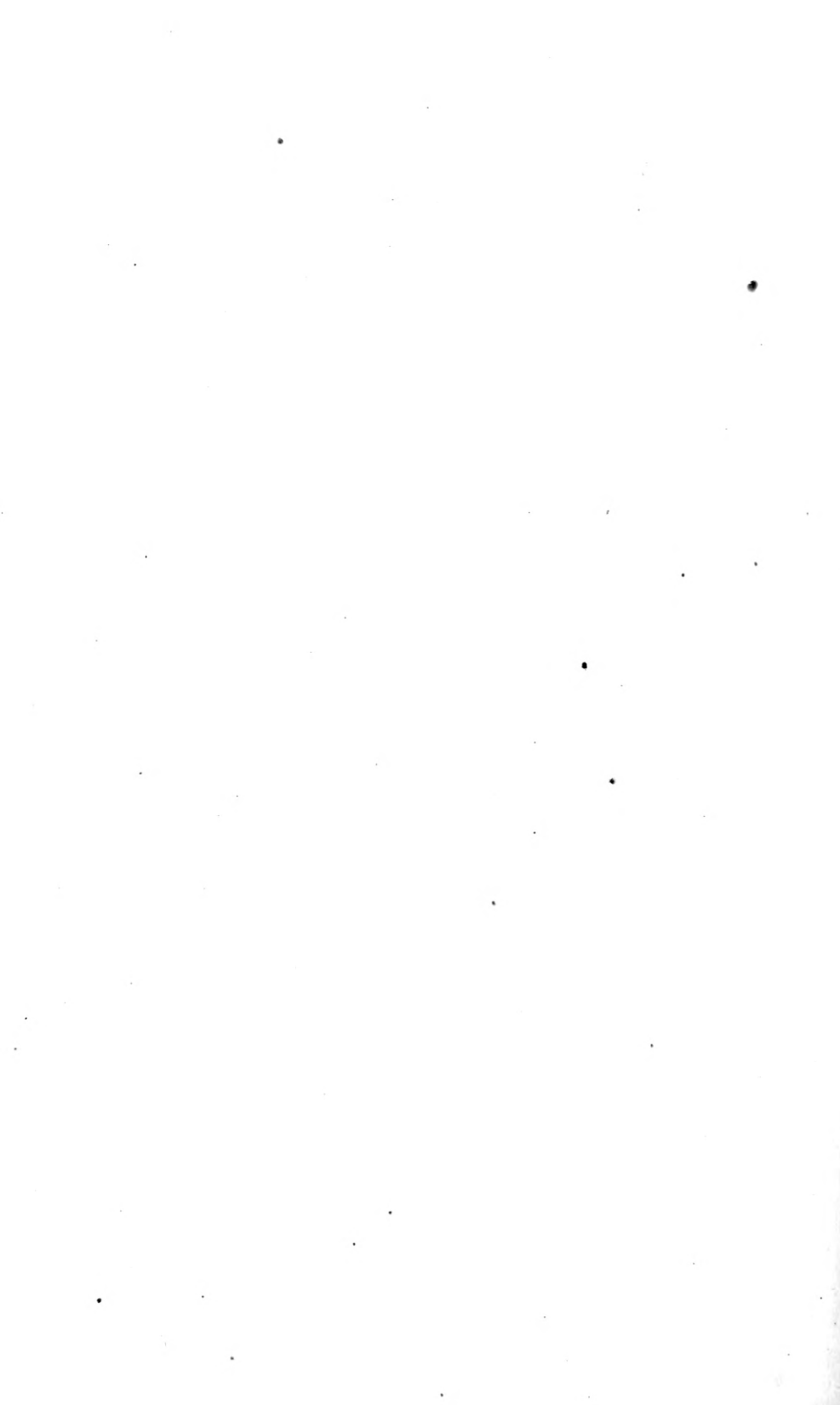
In addition to this vast array of benevolent operations, all looking directly or indirectly to the same end, — the spread of Christ's kingdom throughout the earth, — much has been done in various ways to abolish unchristian practices, and promote a moral reformation. My space will allow me to speak of only two of these; viz., the *temperance reformation*, and the *overthrow of slavery*. There was a steady increase of intemperance in the United States in the early part of the present century, which awakened the greatest solicitude among all good men. The evil was vigorously assailed, in the pulpit and out of it, by such men as Dr. Rush of Philadelphia, and Drs. Beecher, Humphreys, Hewit, and Justin Edwards; and a deep and general impression was made. Temperance societies began to be formed as early as 1813; and these have been steadily increasing in numbers and efficiency, and have been improving their methods of operation, to the present time. The result has been an entire change in the habits of the community, from the promiscuous sale and use of alcoholic liquors to an almost entire abstinence. In several of the States, the sale of such liquors is sternly prohibited; while, in all, a public sentiment has been created, which renders their sale and use unpopular, and even scandalous. The gain to morality and religion which this reformation has accomplished is incalculable. We wish that it had made as much progress in other countries as in our own.

One hundred years ago, not only slavery, but the African slave-trade, was in full blast; and the enormity of it was scarcely suspected. Good men participated in it without compunction or restraint. The evil seemed to be past removal; but God opened the eyes of individuals in England and in this country to see the enormity of it, and stirred them up to expose and attack it. The slave-trade was first assailed in the British Parliament by such men as Wilberforce, Sharp, and Clarkson; and, after a long and severe

struggle, was abolished in 1807. Next followed the emancipation of slaves in the British West Indies in 1833; and, ten years later, the abolition of slavery in the British possessions in the East. And, within the last few years, not only the slave-trade, but slavery, has been abolished in our own country. At the same time, the emperor of Russia has emancipated millions of serfs or slaves in his dominions. In view of these rapid and surprising changes, involving a loss, to the owners of slaves, of untold millions, we can only look on with wonder, and exclaim, "What hath God wrought!" The world could never have been evangelized while the curse of slavery was upon it: and, to the admiration and gratitude of all good men, God has suddenly interposed; and the insuperable obstacle is taken out of the way.

In concluding this hasty sketch of what has been accomplished for Christ and his kingdom since the commencement of the present century, is it not obvious that we are living in a most remarkable period of the world? Through the entire track of ages over which we have passed in this history, from the beginning to the present time, where shall we find another such period, or any thing approaching to it or resembling it? And what do these great and glorious events which our own eyes see occurring around us — what do they mean? What do they portend? Can we, or can we not, discern the signs of the times? Remembering the predictions of the holy prophets, that a day is to come when "the knowledge of the Lord shall fill the earth as the waters fill the channels of the deep;" when "the kingdom and dominion, and the greatness of the kingdom under the whole heaven, shall be given to the people of the saints of the Most High," — can we avoid the conclusion, that the latter-day glory of the Church is near at hand, and that the great movements which we have contemplated are preparing the way for it? For myself, I acknowledge that I can put no other interpretation upon them. I *would* put no other. I see the hand of God in all the changes which have been wrought, and the great things which have been accomplished, — the same God who inspired the utterances of the holy prophets; and I cannot resist the conclusion, that these utterances are already in the progress of fulfilment, and that the day is approaching when they shall be to the letter fulfilled. I know that there is a great deal of wickedness yet in the world; alas! a great deal. There is ignorance to be removed, and prejudice to be subdued, and oppo-

sition to be broken down, and sin to be extirpated; but the God of all the promises is on the throne, and he is able to fulfil them. It is not his wont to begin a great work, and then abandon it. He who has already accomplished so much as we have seen, and all in the same direction, will assuredly carry it on to a glorious completion. Let us, then, patiently wait, and fervently pray, and earnestly labor, for Christ and his kingdom, and be ready to meet him at his coming.



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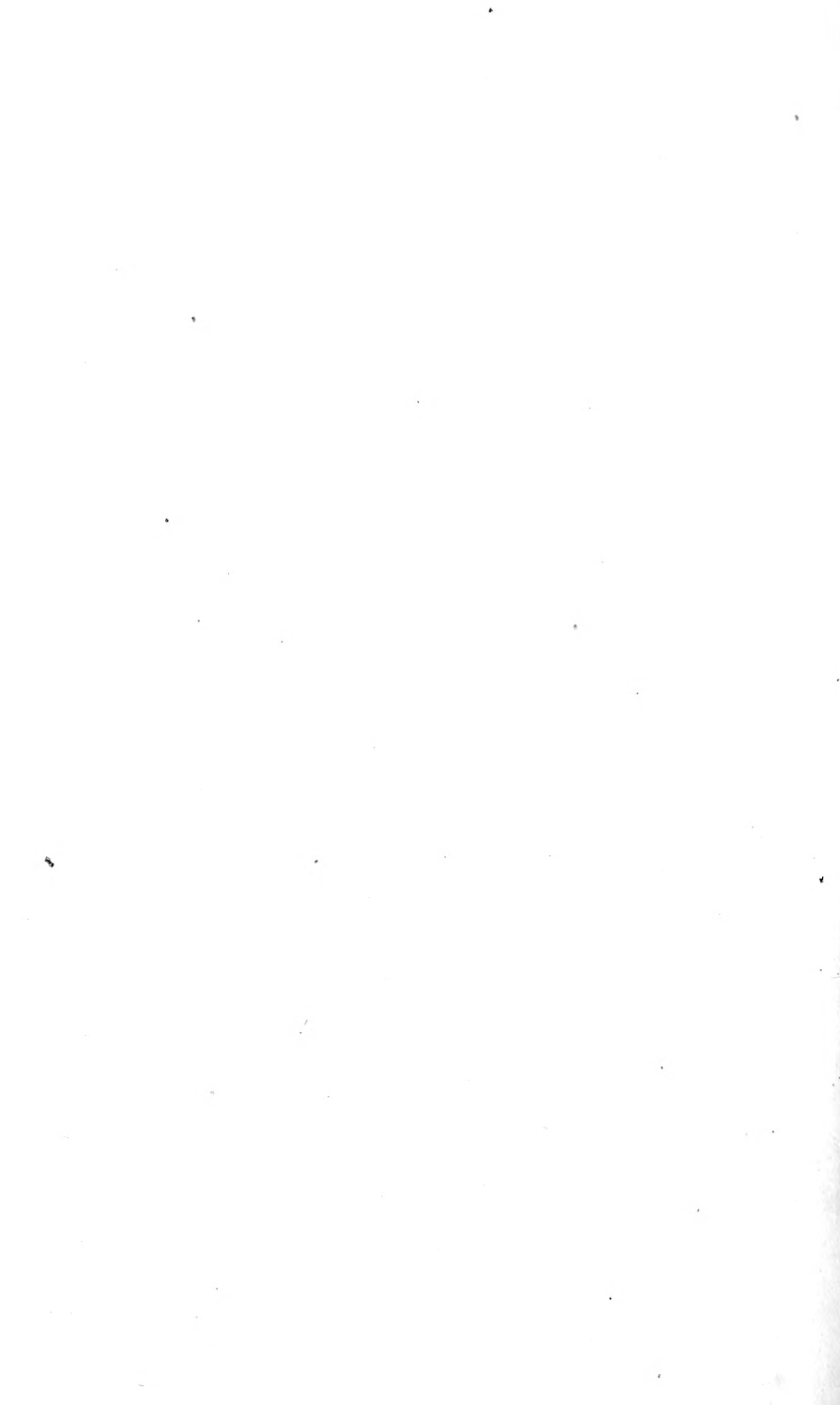
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